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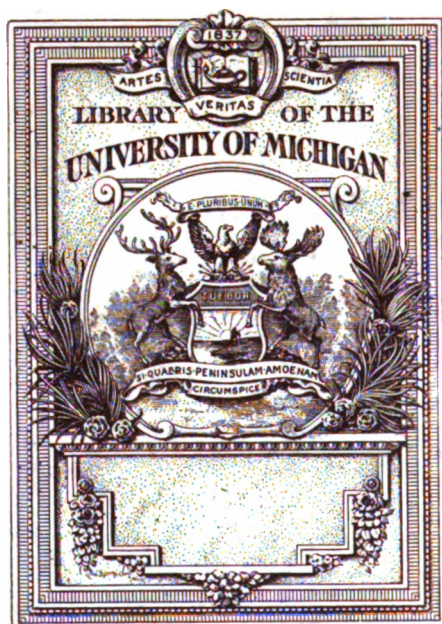
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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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WHOLE No. 109.

I.—THE UNREAL CONDITIONAL SENTENCE IN CICERO.

FIRST PAPER.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

In this age of the "so-called" in Latin syntax, even so universal a category as the unreal conditional sentence has been questioned from time to time, and lately by Methner,¹ who tries to show that there is no such thing as the present unreal. The weakness of this thesis has already been pointed out by Blase,² whose argument might have been rendered even more cogent by carrying the question back to Plautus, taking such an example as the following:

St. 592-93:

EP. Edepol te vocem lubenter, si superfiat locus.

GE. Quin tum stans obstrusero aliquid strenue.

In this passage the reply shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that the conditional sentence was understood not as a future ("if there should prove to be a place to spare"), but as a present unreal ("if there *were* a place to spare"). The former interpretation would hold out hope of a dinner, the other cuts it off definitely and calls forth Gelasimus' eager suggestion. Such a passage shows conclusively that the present unreal was an established category in the Roman mind at least as early as Plautus. For the fact that the present subjunctive is here used to express the thought precludes the convenient subterfuge "potential of

¹ Der sogenannte Irrealis der Gegenwart im Lateinischen, *Neue Jahrb. f. das Klass. Alt.* 1905, II. p. 75 ff.

² Studien und Kritiken zur lat. Syntax, II Theil, Mainz, 1905, p. 52 ff.

the past"—it is plain, straightforward present unreal, and nothing else.

Though the thought category was clear enough in Plautus' day, he seems to be in a transition stage with regard to the form of verbal expression. It would appear that, at some earlier period, the present subjunctive was the regular vehicle for the expression of the present unreal. In Plautus this tense is still the prevailing form, but the imperfect subjunctive appears in about one-fourth of the cases.¹ The intrusion of this latter tense into the field once held by the present subjunctive affords one of the most interesting problems of historical syntax.

Such a striking change in function on the part of the imperfect subjunctive has naturally caused much discussion, yet most of the theories advanced throw little real light on the subject. The view which seems to have made the most impression is that the imperfect came to be the expression of the present unreal through its use in the *futurum in praeterito* construction.² Though this may at first sight seem a satisfactory explanation, still there are several difficulties in the way of accepting the theory. In the first place, the shift by which a past tense is moved up to become the expression of the present unreal is a widespread Indo-European phenomenon. The fact that several branches of this family of languages in the course of their independent development have evolved an expression for the present unreal in a manner so similar would seem to indicate that the explanation should be sought in some general principle applicable to all the cases. But the *futurum in praeterito* theory would help us but little with reference to Greek, where the imperfect indicative displaced the present optative. And, in the second place, this theory, as applied to Latin itself, becomes very doubtful when we inquire more carefully into the history of the *futurum in praeterito* construction. That there was such a use of the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive in independent sentences is shown clearly by such examples as the following:

Cic. p. Flacc. 17. 39:

Poena est, ut opinor, Dorylai gravior quam apud alios falsarum litterarum. *Si veras protulissent* (sc. Dorylenses),

¹ See Amer. Jour. Phil. Vol. xxii. p. 297 ff., esp. p. 316.

² A full statement of this view is given by Greenough, Harvard Studies, Vol. vii. p. 13 ff.

criminis nihil erat, *si falsas*, erat poena. Bellissimum putarunt dicere amissas.

Cic. p. Mil. 12. 32 :

cuius illi conatus, ut ipse ratiocinabatur, nec cuperent reprimere *si possent*, et, *si vellent*, fortasse vix possent frangere hominis sceleratissimi . . . audaciam.

In the first of these passages the imperfect indicatives *erat* . . . *erat* indicate that the problem is being set forth as it lay in the minds of the Dorylenses before their arrival—there was nothing in the letters to incriminate Flaccus if they should deliver them intact, and, on the other hand, there was punishment in store if they ventured to tamper with them. So they decided to say that the letters were lost. In the other case the parenthetical phrase *ut ipse ratiocinabatur* shows that the situation is being viewed from Clodius' standpoint, *si possent* and *si vellent*, thus, too, expressing futurity from a point in the past.¹ The following example is one of special interest :

Cic. ad Att. viii. 13. 1 :

Omnis exspectatio nostra erat in nuntiis Brundisinis. *Si nactus* hic (sc. Caesar) *esset* Gnaeum nostrum, spes dubia pacis, sin ille ante *tramisisset*, exitiosi belli metus.

According to the chronology of the letters as given by Tyrrell, this was written while Caesar was a week or more away from Brundisium. *Erat* is epistolary ; hence *si nactus esset* and *sin tramisisset* seem to be future conditions mechanically thrown back into the past. In any case they could not both be unreal, because they are mutually exclusive.²

Unfortunately for the theory under discussion, one looks in vain for any such clearly defined cases of *futurum in praeterito* in independent sentences in Plautus.³ In his writings the most easily demonstrable traces of this force are found in clauses in indirect discourse or otherwise dependent ; e. g.,

¹ This passage illustrates the use in question whether we accept the traditional order of words or adopt Madvig's suggestion.

² In addition to the cases already cited, see p. Quinct. 26. 82, in Verr. ii. 5. 65. 168, post red. in sen. 14. 34, ad Att. xii. 31. 2, and cf. in Verr. ii. 5. 30. 78-79, p. Tull. 12. 30, p. Cael. 26. 62, de Div. ii. 56. 116 (*utrum* *fuisset*).

³ Consequently Greenough (l. c.) in setting forth his theory, relies mainly upon Hor. Sermon. i. 3. 4 ff. for the demonstration of *futurum in praeterito* force in independent sentences, finding some further confirmation in Cic. in Verr. ii. 5. 65. 168, Caes. B. C. iii. 44 and Livy xxii. 24. 6.

Ps. 899-900:

nam eum circum ire in hunc diem,
ut me, si *posset*, muliere intervorteret.

Ps. 1241-42:

at ego iam intus promam viginti minas
quas promisi, si *effecisset*.

Tri. 119-20:

Ei rei operam dare te fuerat aliquanto aequius,
siqui probiorem (sc. eum) facere *posses*.

The lack of clear test cases does not, of course, prove that the *futurum* in *praeterito* in independent sentences was a construction altogether unknown to Plautus; yet the abundant evidence from Cicero leaves no room for doubt that with the latter the use was much better established and far more extensive. As a matter of fact it rather looks as though the construction was at the point of inception in Plautus,¹ and that it acquired its ability to stand alone—that is, in independent sentences—through the influence of such dependent clauses as are cited above from that author. At any rate the much wider independent use in Cicero is the concomitant of a greatly extended dependent usage. For instance, in the writings of the latter I note six passages in which alternative *si*-clauses (cf. the independent examples above given) depend upon phrases introduced by *ut*, *qui*, and the like,² and eleven where such alternative *si*-clauses appear in indirect discourse;³

p. Quinct. 9, 32:

Conturbatus sane discedit Quinctius; neque mirum, cui haec optio tam misera . . . daretur, ut aut ipse se capitis damnaret, si satis *dedisset*, aut causam capitis, si sponsonem *fecisset*, priore loco diceret.

de Dom. 36. 96:

. . . me vidisse, si *vicissem*, tenuis rei publicae reliquias, si *victus essem*, nullas futuras.

¹ Even in dependent clauses (as above) the text does not always rest on a thoroughly satisfactory manuscript basis.

² P. Quinct. 9. 32 (*ut*), in Verr. ii. 4. 51. 113 (*ut*), p. Planc. 36. 89 (*cum*), ad Fam. iv. 14. 2 (indirect quest.), vi. 21. 1 (*qui*), vii. 3. 4 (*ut*); cf. ad Fam. x. 8. 2 (*ut*).

³ In Verr. ii. 2. 30. 74, post red. in sen. 13. 33 and 14. 34, de Dom. 36. 96, in Pis. 31. 78, p. Planc. 42. 101, p. Rab. Post. 6. 14, Acad. Post. i. 2. 4, de Div. i. 18. 36, i. 44. 100, ii. 32. 69; cf. p. Sest. 22. 49.

e. g.,

How close the independent use stands to the dependent is shown by the following example, in which Cicero makes the first alternative independent, and then glides over into indirect discourse with the second:

post red. in sen. 14. 34:

Mecum leges, mecum quaestiones . . . afuerunt. Quae si semper *abessent*, magis vestras fortunas lugerem quam desiderarem meas; sin aliquando *revocarentur*, intellegebam mihi cum illis una esse redeundum.¹

Whatever the truth regarding the relation which these two uses sustain to one another, the fact still remains that the independent futurum in praeterito is at least infrequent and poorly attested in Plautus, whereas in Cicero's time it was clearly defined and freely used. Historically considered, therefore, it seems improbable that the use of the imperfect subjunctive for the expression of the present unreal came about through the futurum in praeterito construction: especially as the imperfect subjunctive was already established in Plautus' time as a recognized expression for the present unreal, appearing as it does in about one-fourth of the cases. This theory accordingly can hardly be said to offer a satisfactory solution of the problem in hand.²

About five years ago I suggested another line of development along which the imperfect subjunctive or other past tense form might come to be the expression of the present unreal.³ Lately Blase, working independently, has made a very similar suggestion.⁴ The theory in brief is as follows. The past unreal has variations which correspond in a way to the various kinds of past fact; accordingly the aoristic expression "I saw him yesterday" has a corresponding "If I had seen him yesterday", whereas the perfect definite expression "I have gained sufficient strength" is matched by "If I had gained sufficient strength". Now these

¹ P. Caec. 2. 4 perhaps affords a similar instance, though the writer's thought is not so manifest there. Another evidence of the faintness of the line which divides independent from dependent is brought to light by a comparison of p. Mil. 12. 32 (cited above) and the very similar in Verr. ii. 1. 54. 141. In the former we find the independent use accompanied by the parenthetical *ut ipse ratiocinabatur*; in the latter the conditional sentence falls into indirect discourse after *coepit cogitare*. In ad Att. viii. 13. 1 also (cited above) there is a suggestion of the oblique relation in *spes* and *metus*.

² A more detailed examination of the difficulties of this theory is made in the *Class. Rev.* Vol. xv. p. 51 ff.

³ *Amer. Jour. Phil.* Vol. xxii. p. 297 ff. ⁴ *Studien und Kritiken* II. p. 56.

two past unreal sentences differ from one another precisely as do the corresponding statements of fact, and herein, I think, lies the key to the whole situation. Just as "I have gained sufficient strength" refers not alone to the past, but asserts the *present* possession of the strength, just so "If I had gained sufficient strength" refers to the *present* lack of strength as well as to the failure to gain it. Therefore, in just the same way as the perfect definite *novi* ("I have come to know") may lose its reference to past acquisition of knowledge and retain the idea of present possession ("I know"), so a past tense frequently used to express a past unreal of the perfect definite type might lose its reference to the past and become the expression of the present unreal; the same well-established process of semantic change would account with equal readiness for the shift of meaning in either case.

The change in meaning on the part of the imperfect subjunctive in Latin was so far an accomplished fact in the time of Plautus that we can hardly make, in his writings, any adequate test of the applicability of this theory. But in Homeric Greek the imperfect indicative is just beginning to take on its new function, and the dissensions of the editors here only confirm the view I advocate; for the trouble is all due to the fact that the imperfects in question express unreality of the perfect definite type.¹ One editor insists that we must not look beyond the reference to the past, another would recognize the included present unreality also, and a third sees the latter only. The Homeric hearer, just as we, must have felt the inclusion of the present, and in the measure that this peculiarity attached itself more and more to the imperfect tense form, the door lay open for the same shift of meaning that we have observed in the case of *novi*.

While, as above noted, we may not actually test the theory in Latin, it still may claim an antecedent probability on the following grounds; a) it affords an explanation that might fit the facts of any Indo-European language in which a similar shift of a past tense has taken place; b) it appears to fit the facts of Homeric Greek; c) it is based on a well-recognized principle of semantic change.

If we may make a further guess as to what happened in Latin, it would seem likely that for a time both imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive were used somewhat indiscriminately to express past

¹ These passages are considered in detail, Amer. Jour. Phil. xxii. p. 302 ff.

unreality of any kind. That, in the final adjustment, it was the imperfect that suffered the shift of meaning was perhaps due to the fact that the pluperfect is fundamentally a tense of antecedence; it was therefore far better adapted than the imperfect to remain the expression of the past unreal.

II. INDIRECT USES OF THE UNREAL CONDITIONAL.

It is a sufficient description of a large mass of unreal conditional sentences to say that they inform the hearer that one unreality entails or depends upon another. But there are numerous other cases in which the thought of speaker and hearer is concerned chiefly, not with the unrealities mentioned, but with the corresponding realities which they presuppose and imply and the relation between these realities. Since in such cases it is what is implied and not what is stated that is the important thing, I venture to refer to these uses of the unreal conditional sentence as "indirect". Two such uses need to be described at this point, since they figure, one of them largely, in the following discussion.

1. *The Indirect Inferential Use.*

When a speaker desires to call attention to an obvious or admitted fact which (by inference) goes to prove a point he wishes to establish, he may, with formal exactness, state the fact and draw the inference from it; e. g.,

"It is not wet; therefore it has not been in the water".

But in practice he is very apt to suggest his argument indirectly by the use of an unreal conditional sentence; as

"It would still be *wet*, if it had been in the water".

This device is exceedingly common in Latin; e. g.,

Cic. Cato M. 3. 7:

Qui mihi non id videbantur accusare, quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus maioribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querela.

Cicero is here speaking of the complaint of old men that life for the aged is not worth the living. He adds that he thinks they have mistaken the cause of their dissatisfaction, and he might perfectly well have continued "For I and many other old men have no such experience; *therefore* such discomfort is not due to old age merely". This manifestly is the sense of the passage, but Cicero

has chosen to suggest his thought indirectly by means of an unreal conditional sentence "For, if it were the fault of old age, I and other old men would have this same experience, etc.," the latter clause calling attention to a manifest fact, and the former suggesting the inference to be drawn from that fact. That the implication of such a conditional sentence is the most important part of its function is perfectly clear from the analysis of the sense of the passage; yet it is not without interest to note in addition that Cicero occasionally registers formally his appreciation of the inferential nature of the underlying thought; e. g.,

de Nat. D. iii. 12. 30:

omne igitur corpus mutabile est. At si esset corpus aliquod immortale, non esset omne mutabile; *ita efficitur, ut omne corpus mortale sit.*

ad Att. x. 12a. 3:

Massiliensium factum cum ipsum per se luculentum est tum *mihi argumento est* recte esse in Hispaniis. Minus enim audent, si aliter esset.¹

Quite as interesting are the passages in which Cicero is not content to have merely implied his course of thought by means of the indirect inferential, but follows up the conditional sentence with a full statement of what has been implied. This gives us a formally exact but rather redundant form; e. g.,

de Invent. i. 47. 87:

Si, cum aliquis dicat se profectum esse ad exercitum, contra eum quis velit hac uti argumentatione: "Si venisses ad exercitum, a tribunis militaribus visus esses; *non es autem ab his visus; non es igitur ad exercitum profectus.*"

de Div. ii. 59. 123:

At si curatio daretur valetudinis, haec quoque, quae dixi, darentur; *quae quoniam non dantur, medicina non datur.*

The following examples are similar, though the material is somewhat differently arranged:

¹ De Invent. i. 48. 89-90 gives a sample case of this *genus argumentationis*. Though not recommended in this passage as the least fallacious kind of argument, still the sample case is almost identical with one which Cicero himself uses in Milo's defense (p. Mil. 23. 61). Cf. Brut. 80. 277-78 (*pro argumento*), p. Quinct. 12. 40-41 (*satis est argumenti*, and *supra*), in Verr. ii. 2. 24. 58 (*argumentum est*), de Fin. iii. 5. 16 (*sic probant* and *ff.*), Tusc. Disp. iii. 15. 31 (*iudico*).

de Fin. i. 11. 39:

"Numquidnam manus tua sic affecta . . . desiderat?"—*Nihil sane*.—"At, si voluptas esset bonum, desideraret."—Ita credo.—*"Non est igitur voluptas bonum."*

Tusc. Disp. iii. 10. 21:

non cadit autem invidere in sapientem; *ergo ne misereri quidem*. Quodsi aegre ferre sapiens soleret, misereri etiam soleret. *Abest ergo a sapiente aegritudo*.

2. The Indirect Explanatory Use.

When a speaker wishes to remind or inform his hearer to what cause a given effect is due, he may express his thought directly; e. g.,

"It is wet, *because* it fell into the water."

Yet he very often chooses to suggest the cause indirectly by the use of an unreal conditional sentence, as:

"It would *not* be wet, if it had not fallen into the water."

This device also is one frequently used in Latin; e. g.,

Cic. de Orat. ii. 56. 227-28:

Illud quidem admiror, te nobis in eo genere tribuisse tantum et non huius rei quoque palmam Crasso detulisse. Tum Antonius: Ego vero ita fecissem, inquit, nisi interdum in hoc Crasso paulum inviderem.

In this passage the reply of Antonius is manifestly intended to suggest the reason why he has not awarded the palm to Crassus. He might just as well have said, "I did not do so, *because* I am a little jealous of Crassus at times."¹

¹ The indirect explanatory use is thus fundamentally different from the indirect inferential use. In the latter the speaker calls attention to a fact in order that it may serve as the *ground from which, by inference, a second fact may be established*; here a fact is suggested that it may *explain* (i. e. assign a reason for) a second fact. The thought process in these two cases differs just as that in the following sentences;

1) "The sun shines here, since (inferential) the grass is green".

2) "The grass is green, because (causal) the sun shines here".

It was to point this distinction that the terms "inferential" and "explanatory" were chosen. The choice of the former was not intended to imply (as Dittmar seems to think, Berl. Phil. Woch. No. 4, 1905, p. 124) a belief that the thought underlying other uses of the unreal conditional sentence may not be reduced to the form of a syllogism.

Rather infrequently Cicero follows up the indirect explanatory sentence with a full statement of what has been implied by it ; e. g.,

p. Sex. Rosc. 51. 149:

qui si iam satis aetatis ac roboris haberet, ipse pro Sex. Roscio diceret; *quoniam ad dicendum impedimento est aetas et pudor, causam mihi tradidit.*¹

Much more commonly he has recourse to a sort of compromise ; a subjunctive apodosis suggests the fact to be explained, and a following clause introduced by *sed* states the cause ; e. g.,

p. Sest. 15. 35:

his tantis malis tanto bonorum studio, iudices, restitissimus; *sed me alii metus moverunt.*

ad Fam. xiv. 19:

video ita esse faciendum et iam ante fecissem; *sed me multa impederunt.*²

The following case is one of special interest; Cicero has occasion to express practically the same thought twice in the course of the passage; the first time he uses the compromise form, but the second time the regular indirect explanatory formula is employed;

p. Mil. 17. 46-18. 47:

Dixit . . . P. Clodium illo die in Albano mansurum fuisse, *sed subito ei esse nuntiatum Cyrum architectum esse mortuum* Iacent suis testibus, qui Clodium negant eo die Romam, *nisi de Cyro audisset*, fuisse rediturum.

The fact that, at the end, the negative of the indirect discourse is bound up in *negant* precludes a repetition of the compromise form.³

The remarks thus far made may serve as an introduction to the consideration of some problems presented by the unreal conditional sentence in Cicero.

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¹ Cf. p. Caec. 18. 53, de Dom. 50. 129 and possibly de Fin. i. 13. 42.

² For other cases see de Har. Resp. 28. 61, ad Fam. x. 7. 1, ad Q. Fr. ii. 8. 2 fin., iii. 5 and 6. 4, ad Att. viii. 1. 1.

³ Ad Att. vii. 13a. 3 has the full indirect explanatory form, and appends a *sed*-clause in addition.

II.—THE PROSODY OF ILLE. A STUDY OF THE ANOMALIES OF ROMAN QUANTITY.

SECOND PAPER.

III.—CONCESSIONS TO ACCENT. LIMITATIONS BY WHICH THESE CONCESSIONS WERE SAFEGUARDED. RESULTING 'ANOMALIES'.

In the preceding section I have digressed somewhat from the main subject of this study, but my purpose has been to emphasize the fact that in the O. Lat. period quantity was already attacked by the expiratory accent at every point, and not merely at those points which appear in the literary record. Under these conditions, not only was correct pronunciation secured, as we learn from Quintilian,¹ by diligent observation of the usage of the poets and of careful speakers, but a perpetual object-lesson was afforded by vulgar errors and false quantities. We can scarcely doubt that at this point the Romans were well taught in the school of experience, and that they learned from concrete examples to avoid certain common faults in pronunciation, very much as educated Americans may be said to avoid the improper use of 'done', 'come', 'seen' and the like, which serve as regular past tenses to millions of the uncultured and innovating classes, and which, though excluded from genuine literature, find their way into the dialect stories and the popular verse of the day (e. g. 'Dewey done it'). Hence, while the undoubted effect of literary study was greatly to refine the quantitative sense of educated Romans and to develop most freely their aesthetic appreciation of quantitative prose and poetry, no important change was wrought in vulgar pronunciation during the classical period,² and the two contending forces, accent and quantity, remained, as before, in irreconcilable conflict. So insistent was

¹ x, 1, 10: Ut . . . eorum (sc. verborum) non significationem modo sed formas etiam mensurasque norimus, . . . nisi multa lectione atque auditione assequi nullo modo possumus; cf. also i, 8, 13 grammaticus . . . reddi sibi . . . desideret pedum proprietates.

² In agreement with this view, and that developed above (A. J. P. XXVII 429), see Schuchardt's discussion, *Vocalismus des Vulgärlateins* I 49 ff.

the pressure exerted by the accent that, whenever a respectable pretext occurred through the existence of some plausible analogy, both the O. Lat. and the Augustan poets made very considerable concessions at certain points to the accent. But these concessions were never entirely unrestricted; for, analogy or no analogy, the Romans of the best period showed no disposition to make concessions at those points which involve very largely the whole quantitative system. Hence the concessions which were actually made were very carefully safeguarded, and we may truly say that, in the case of every concession, there is a corresponding limitation or restriction. As a consequence, when we compare the conceded and the rejected pronunciations, there are a certain number of anomalies, a certain number of manifest incongruities.

We may best illustrate this whole topic by the gradual shortening of final *o*, under the influence of the accent, in nominal and verbal forms (Corssen II² 479 ff.; Müller,² 413 ff.; Lindsay, L. L. 207 ff.). This shortening first occurred in iambic word-forms like *ego*, *homō*, *volō*, *citō*, and was later extended by analogy, as is generally admitted, to all verbal forms e. g. *cantō*, *dormiō*, *properabō*, *respondetō*, including the abl. sing. of the gerund (e. g. *vincendō*, *lugendō*), which was felt as a true participle and no longer closely associated in thought with the inflected forms *vincendī*, *vincendō*, *vincendum*, but excluding monosyllabic verbs like *stō*, *dō*, *flō*, (Charisius, Keil, I, 16, 23; Müller², 417). It was further extended to the nom. sing. of all nouns of the third decl. e. g. *mentīō*, *virgō*, *proditō*, to numerals like *ambō*, *octō*, and finally to the abl. sing. of substantives used adverbially, and, in general, to all adverbs in *o*, e. g. *quomodō*, *ilicō*, *subitō*, *ideō*, *serō*, *verō*, *postremō*, *profectō*, *ergō*, *porrō*, *ultrō*, *quandō*, *aliquandō*, etc.¹; the monosyllabic preposition *prō* alone remained long. In a word, final *o* remained unshortened only in monosyllables and in the dat.-abl. sing. of inflected words used as substantives. It may be instructive to note briefly the great number of resulting anomalies, e. g. *modō* (subst.), but *modō*, *quomodō* (advbs.); *citō*, *subitō*, *serō*, *verō*, *postremō* (adjs.), but *citō*, *subitō*, *serō*, etc. (advbs.); *vincendō*, *lugendō* (abl. of gerundive), but *vincendō*, *lugendō* (gerund); *dō*, *stō*, *flō* (monosyllables), but *reddō*, *proddō*, *restō*, *prostō*, *reflō*, *inflō* (disyllables); *monstrō*, *ostentō* (abl. cases of nouns), but *monstrō*, *ostentō* (verbs, cf. Mar. Victorinus

¹ For the shortening of *immō*, *endō*, *sollō* already in O. Lat., cf. A. J. P. XXVII 434.

VI, 28, 23 K.) But why, we may justly ask, did the greatest of anomalies remain, viz. final *o* shortened in all other cases, but pronounced long in the dat.-abl. sing. of substantives? Certainly, in the first century A. D., when final *o* had been shortened in other cases, an effort was made instinctively to shorten it in *bellō*, *purō*. Why was every such effort unavailing? The only possible answer to this question lies in the ulterior consequences of such a pronunciation as *bellō* or *purō*. While an educated Roman of the first century undoubtedly felt a strong disposition to pronounce *purō*, just as he pronounced *cantō*, *virgō*, *verō*, yet, as soon as he allowed himself the use of this pronunciation, he was conscious of an irresistible desire to pronounce also *purđ* (abl. sing.), *purī*, and even of some slight disposition to say *purds*, *purds*, *puris*, *purāt*; in other words, he was unable to isolate the quantity of the case-ending in *purō* from the quantity of numerous other case-endings. Therefore he definitely rejected *purō* as a pronunciation destructive of all quantity in final syllables, but he justified *cantō*, *virgō*, *verō* by the analogy of the long accepted *cand*, *homō*, and hence was not conscious of departing, in the case of these words, from the usages of Latin quantity. I may formulate then, by the way of anticipation, the principle that every innovation, involving a change of quantity in literary Latin and a fuller recognition of accent, must be tested by its further consequences. If these consequences involve the destruction of the quantitative system or one of the chief parts of that system, the literary pronunciation will reject it at all hazards; if it can be clearly justified, however, by the analogy of some existing usage, and can also be confined within fixed limits, the language will often accept an easier accentual pronunciation with alacrity.

IV. SHORTENING OF LONG MONOSYLLABLES NOT PERMITTED. NECESSARY CONSEQUENCES OF A SHORTENED ILL(Ē).

That person has studied Latin verse to little purpose, who has not come to recognize that the available prosodical material is divided not only into long, half-long and short syllables, but also into monosyllabic, dissyllabic, trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic words. For example, the close of the perfected pentameter admits only dissyllabic words, and thus allows *opus* and *colet* but rejects *operi*, *coleret*, *percoleret*; similarly the close of the hexameter admits only dissyllabic or trisyllabic words, while all verse-closes reject the monosyllabic word; cf. also Quint. ix, 4, 97 f.

Although some small fragment of the 'bruised' or elided vowel was usually retained in utterance, an elided dissyllable regularly counts as a monosyllable in Latin prosody. Thus, as is well known, an elided dissyllable acts altogether as a monosyllable in the phenomena of Brevis Brevians, e. g. Phor. 439 *tib(i) in-pingam*; 793 *eg(o) ostēderem*. Hence *nemp(e)*, *ill(e)*, *nequ(a)* and all their numerous associates are absolute monosyllables in Latin prosody, and must be discussed as such, and as essentially different from dissyllabic *nempe*, *ille*, *nequa*.¹

The long atonic² monosyllables form an integral part of the Latin quantitative system and their scansion remains unchanged until the third century A. D., when Commodian often shortens monosyllabic particles and pronouns like *nōn*, *dē*, *sē* (Hanssen, l. l., 48 f.); similarly we find *a* shortened in otherwise correct hexameters of 246 A. D. (CLE. 253, 7): Gargilianus *ā militiis de suplice voto*.³ No doubt it was somewhat difficult even in O. Lat. to maintain the full length of a monosyllable from which the tone was withdrawn, hence we find the Plautine language accepting eagerly the shortening of atonic monosyllables in composition with an 'enclitic' e. g. *siquidem*, *tūquidem*, *dūmquidem*, *nēquis*, and also most freely shortening them in dissyllabic combinations, when a coalescing monosyllable precedes, e. g. *tib(i)-aūt*,

¹ Similarly Klotz (Grundz. 81 ff.) and Ahlberg (Annotationes in accentum Pl. 32; Corrupt. iamb. 16, 72) appear to be right in maintaining after Hermann and Ritschl that trisyllabic words like *dedisti*, *bibendum*, *licetne*, *habere*, become dissyllables when elided and may receive reaccentuation as such; therefore, there is no violation of the word-accent in the shortenings *bi²bēnd(um)*, St. 715; *ha²bēr(e)*, Au. 185; *a²īr(e)*, Tri. 983; *a²mīc(a)*, St. 696. Similarly dissyllables such as *ire* or *num*, when reduced to monosyllables by elision become subject to shortening, e. g. Cap. 90 vel īr(e) extra; cf. Cas. 496 quibus bātūātur tīb(i) ōs. (In the last cited case there is no distortion of the word-accent in *tīb(i) ōs*, as Lindsay (Cap. 36) seems to think, but a reasonable compromise between metrical accent and logical emphasis is left to the reciter.) Reaccentuation in cases of elision is not permissible, however, in words of great length, e. g. *chlamīditem* never shifts its secondary accent, cf. TAPA. XXXIV 64 ff., A. J. P. XXV 265. Cf. also Sonnenschein, Classical Review XX (1906), 157, and, in defense of the current view, see Lindsay, Cap. 364.

² 'Atonic' is here used in the sense of 'usually atonic'. Thus some of the phenomena discussed below may be explained by supposing that such monosyllables as *hoc*, *me*, *si* are sometimes tonic.

³ Hence Servius (on Aen. iii, 91) declares in accordance with the usage of his time that monosyllables have no fixed quantity but are used indifferently. On the other hand, many of the Christian poets, in recognition of the tendency of the classical language, scan *fāc*, *ān*, *nēc* (Müller,³ 423 f.)

quis-hæc, in-hæc, etc. (Klotz, Grundz. 69 f.). But, in their simpler forms, the Latin monosyllables, both tonic and atonic, hold their places firmly in the quantitative system, so that L. Müller (Pro-sodiae Lat. Summarium, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 34) gives the brief but correct rule: "*Monosyllaba longa corripere non licet.*" Müller also observes more fully, R. M.² 409, that although the final syllables of iambic, spondaic and anapaestic words are sometimes weakened, it is a 'sacrosanct law' (*lex velut sacro-sancta*) that monosyllables shall retain their original length; cf. also Stolz,³ 56. Similarly Birt says correctly (l. l., 244, 255): "Die Sprache sträubt sich einsilbige Wörter zu beschädigen"¹, but neglects to develop this topic as fully and as clearly as its importance requires.² The rule of L. Müller, which is given in some form in the prosody of nearly every Latin grammar (e. g., see the excellent statement in Gildersleeve-Lodge, § 710 ff.), requires but little modification. Thus, as is noted by Sommer, Lat. Lautl., p. 140, long vowels were shortened in monosyllabic words before final *m*, as in *qudm* (Osc. *paam*), *rem*, *sim*, and subsequent to the time of Plautus, before final *t*, as in *sit*, *fit*, *scit*, *det*, *stat*, *dat*.³ It will be noted that both these cases of shortening, exceptional as they undoubtedly are, conform to the conditions already laid down (p. 13), i. e. both may be justified by a reasonable analogy and both fall within

¹ The phrase is a good one; thus, as Havet has shown, when *quis*, *is*, *bis*, become long by position, O. Lat. does not 'injure' these monosyllables by the apocope of final *s*. It should be remembered also that, in changing from long to short, a monosyllable changed its very nature in O. Lat.; for a long monosyllable may retain its independence, but a short atonic monosyllable coalesces absolutely with the following word, e. g. *dt-ego*, *qudd-agis*.

² Birt has removed much of the hesitation and uncertainty of his earlier treatment (A. J. P. XXVII 419) in an excellent note which I have seen since the present paper was completed and which is appended to his long article in Rhein. Mus. Bd. LII *Ergänzungsheft*, p. 171 f.: "Mein Satz bleibt also bestehen: trochäische durch Elision einsilbig gewordene Wörter wie *nempt(e)* werden im Vers als Einsilbner behandelt, d. h. sie wahren regelmässig ihre Länge und erfahren Kürzung derselben nie durch Tonentsichung, sondern nur unter Einfluss des Iambenkürzungsgesetzes". A full discussion and elucidation of this principle is, however, still lacking in Birt's latest note; for a brief resumé of the original article, see A. J. P. XVIII 111.

³ On Plautine *dat*, cf. Lindsay, ALL. XI 127. According to Schuchardt, Vok. III 182, Fr. *soit* (O. Fr. *seit*) goes back to a form *sit*, the original length of *sit* having been perhaps always retained in the vulgar language, '*Dank der Einsilbigkeit*'.

clearly defined limits; hence neither one of these shortenings is in direct contravention of the Roman quantitative sense. Under unfavorable phonetic conditions, the Plautine language still preserves the original length of the atonic monosyllables *es* (**ess*) and *ter* (**terr*), and of tonic *cor* (**corr*); these were later definitely shortened,¹ but atonic *hōc* (*hocc*) was almost invariably retained. If we shall add to this list *mel* and *fel*, which were presumably long in O. Lat., and also possibly *os* (*ossis*), we will have named all the long monosyllables which were ever shortened in literary Latin.² On the other hand, the great body of the Latin monosyllables, both tonic and atonic, retain their original quantity, and do not shorten a long vowel even before *l* or *r*, e. g. *hōc*, *hūc*, *cūr*, *prō*, *sī*, *tū*, *nīl*, *sin*, *pār* (*pāris*), *lār* (*lāris*), *mās* (*māris*), *sāl* (*sālīs*), *pēs* (*pēdis*), *bōs* (*bōvis*), *grūs*, *sūs*, *sōl*, *fār*, *fūr*, *vēr*, *ās*, *rēm*, *iūs*, *rūs*, *plūs*, etc. The reason for this retention of quantity seems to be that the long atonic monosyllables, although in fact somewhat weakened, were not uttered in that immediate conjunction with the initial short of the following word, which alone could have produced the illusion of shortening

¹ We even find *ēs* retained in Prop. ii, 32, 61, according to Lindsay, Cap. 15; on the other hand, the Nom. M. *hic* is probably original, and classical *hic* or *hicc* seems to have been introduced later through the analogy of *hōc* or *hocc* (for **hōcē*); cf. Lindsay, L. L. 433.

² Further the trochaic dissyllable *lacte*, when reduced by syncope to a monosyllable, remains always long; hence the Latin poets (with the exception of Venantius) use before a vowel only the forms *lact* and *lact(e)*; see the passages cited by Müller³, 426, 476. Consequently *lac* is said by Servius (Keil, IV, 454) to have its vowel long. For the same reason apparently, the literary language uses *ac*, the syncopated form of *atque*, only before consonants, where it is already long by position, and thus avoids the shortening of the monosyllabic form; very different is the treatment of *neque*, the syncopated form of pyrrhic *neque*, which is used freely both before consonants and vowels (cf. also L. Müller's remarks, 426). According to Lease, CLASS. REV. XVI 212, isolated **ac*, theoretical **ac* is probably short, and this view appears to be correct, since the Romans would have otherwise had no good reason for avoiding the use of *ac* before vowels. Somewhat similarly, the poets use the syncopated forms *ceu*, *neu*, *seu* only before consonants and thus preserve their original length; cf. the use of the forms *haud* and *hau*. Skutsch's attempt (Forsch. 51 ff.) to explain the limited use of *ac* and *seu* as due to the original limitations which affected the process of syncope, seems to me wholly inadequate. Further, since O. Lat. synizesis depends upon the iambic sequence (TAPA. XXXVI, 173), after the monosyllabic forms *dēm*, *prōm*, had once come into general use, it became inadmissible to use *dēm* and *prōm* before vowels; cf. also Birt's acute discussion of these words, l. l., 267.

(cf. A. J. P. XXVII 422, n. 2, and above p. 15, n. 1).¹ Numerous 'anomalies' arise in consequence of this fact also; thus, in masculine nouns with stems originally in *-s-* (changed later to *-r-*), *-s* is retained in the nominative chiefly in monosyllabic words (Lindsay, L. L. 376), e. g. *mös, rös, flös* remain unchanged, while *clamös, furös* become *clamör, furör*; compare also *lär* with *torculär, exemplär*. Similarly we find later that, when the compounds of *pēs* and *pār* were shortened in the Christian poets (Prudent., Auson.), e. g. *impār, dispār, tripēs*, the simple monosyllables remained unchanged (Müller², 421). Finally we may especially compare monosyllabic *mī, nī, st, stn* (from *st-ne*), *vīn, dā* with dissyllabic *mihī, nihīl, quasi, nīst, sine* (from *sei-ne*), *abīn, vidēn, cedō* (from **ce-dō*), *pulā*.

I have shown in the preceding discussion that it is one thing to shorten dissyllabic *ille*, quite another to shorten monosyllabic *ill(e)*, and that the latter process is one to which the Latin language is much averse. It seems desirable, however, to point out still more fully the utter impossibility, under the existing conditions, of the shortening of *ill(e)* in the quantitative language, in those cases where no Brevis Brevians precedes. We may omit, however, entirely from the present discussion those cases in which monosyllabic *nemp(e)* or *ill(e)* occurs before a long syllable, as in *nemp(e) abs tē* (Mo. 653); for it has been shown in a previous section (A. J. P. XXVII 424) that *nemp(e)* can never become short before another long, except at the close of some long and complex development. Hence the only examples which I shall need to consider in this place are those in which *nemp(e)* is placed before a short syllable, as *nemp(e) āmabat*. When we speak of *nemp(e)*, it is of course understood that this particle does not stand alone; it is accompanied by numerous words which belong to the same grammatical class, and whatever treatment is dealt out to *nemp(e)*, must be extended to all its associates. These associates are numbered by scores; they include not only the frequent *ille, illa* (nom. sing.), *illud, illa* (n. pl.), *inde, unde, quippe, illic, iste, istuc*, but also, according

¹ It should be remembered that in this whole question there are only two really important factors, viz. quantitative weakening through the withdrawal of the accent, and the character of the association existing between the weakened long and a following short. If I have referred sometimes in this paper to the operation of other causes, these latter must all be reduced in the end to one or the other of the two factors just named.

to Skutsch's own enumeration (Forsch. 53, 148 ff.) *atque, forte, tute, dumque, perque, quodque, quomque, quodne, idne*. Still other pronouns and particles of dimoric value must be added to Skutsch's list,¹ viz. *immo* (Müller, Pl. Pros. 439),² *nosne, estne, necne, sive, quive, esse* (Müller, ib. 300),³ *quisque* (Tru. 225), *quidque* (As. 326), *quisquis, quidquid, siquid*, perhaps *siqua* (Tru. 344), *nequis, nequid, ecquis, ecquid, numquis, numquid*,⁴ *hicin(e), haecin(e), hocin(e), sicin(e)* (Müller, ib. 441 ff.), and in verse-beginnings also *hercle, ipse, ipsus, inter, sicut*,⁵ *omnis, omni(a), omnes*.⁶ Birt (l. 1., 246) and Exon (Hermathena XI 208, XIII 569) wish to add to the dimoric forms also *ēius, hūius, quidiūs*. This view admits neither of proof nor of disproof, but does not seem especially likely, since the synzesis monosyllables *ēius, hūius, quoiūs*, which remained in use even during the classical period, are in this case the forms of hurried utterance. Nearly all of the above named dissyllables may be reduced to monosyllables by elision; for even if there are some (e. g. *quisquis, siquis*, etc.) which cannot be so reduced in the Nom. Sing., yet this reduction often takes place in other cases, e. g. *quemqu(em), siqu(em)*, etc. When they are so reduced, however, we find no indication of shortening in any of the resulting mono-

¹ For citations in full, see Müller, Pl. Pros. 424-445; Seyffert, Bursian's Jahresb. 1894, 258; Ahlberg, Procel. 79 ff.; Leo, de Vidularia, 5; Birt, l. 1. 245, 253; Klotz, Grundz. 46; Lindsay, Cap. 26; Skutsch, Forsch. 9.

² Cf. also Hauler, Einl. z. Phorm. 50, n. 1, and critical appendix on v. 936.

³ Skutsch (Forsch. 150, n. 1) is disposed, however, to reject dimoric *esse*.

⁴ Cf. also Müller, Pl. Pros. 426, 445.

⁵ The examples are cited in Ahlberg, Corrept. 50, 66 ff. Ahlberg is ready to accept *ipse mēdavit* (Ep. 47), but he wishes in five cases (with Skutsch, Forsch. 98, n. 1; Γέρας, 140, n. 1) to scan *iprps illic* (Mi. 1388), *intfr illud* (St. 679), *sicst istic* (Per. 137), cf. *aufsr istaec* (Cur. 245), although he recognizes (ib. 50, n. 1) that this species of shortening is entirely without precedent. We may have of course an arsis divided between two words in the case of two short syllables, as in *vendit eas* (Poe. prol. 73), but in view of the obscure nature of Roman finals, we can probably never have *aufsr istaec*, that is, we can never have an obscure final syllable in arsi acting as a Brevis Brevians, since such a syllable is somewhat ambiguous in its quantity and, in Roman verse of every period, is sometimes allowed the value of a long. Hence we should rather scan in all such cases *iprus illic, inter illud, sicut istic, aufsr istaec* (see below, p. 26 f.), *quidquid est* (so ed. min., Tru. 254), *quidquid hūius* (Eu. 980), *siquid hūius* (Hau. 551, cf. Leo, de Vidul. 5), etc. We can scarcely do otherwise in Hec. 867 omnia omnes, and we may also compare with profit *sicut* in Paulinus, Eucharist. 81: quae doctrina duplex *sicut* est potioribus apta (L. Müller², 426).

⁶ On *omnis*, see also below, p. 27 f.

syllables; hence Skutsch argues that the shortening of the original dissyllables is disproved. But this conclusion follows only in case that no other explanation can be found for the peculiar behavior of the monosyllabic forms. We are justified therefore in asking what would have been the consequences to the Roman quantitative system, if these forty or fifty monosyllables had once broken loose from their moorings and become freely shortened. I need not dwell upon the fact that, in all the forms of declension, the shortening would have presented a most remarkable anomaly, since monosyllabic *ill*, *nēqu*, *siqu*, *ecqu*, *quemqu* represent many spondaic forms like *illam*, *illō*, *illi*, *nēquēm*, *nēquō*, *nēquoi*, and only a few pyrrhic forms like *illē*, *illā*, *siquis*, *siquā*. It seems extremely improbable that the stem-syllables *ill*, *ist*, *siqu*, *numqu*, etc., even if they were only half-longs, could have been definitely shortened in all the inflectional forms through the influence simply of three or four pyrrhic forms, and that *illam*, *illi*, *illō* could thus be made to yield *ill* in cases of elision; in fact, it is more reasonable to suppose that, when a dissyllable is reduced in its value by elision, the remaining single syllable becomes stronger in pronunciation (cf. English *man*, *manly*), but I will assume for the moment the possibility even of monosyllabic *ill*. I may ask then what would have been the consequences if the language had shortened a large number of its most common monosyllabic forms, e. g. *ill*, *nēqu*, *nēmp(e)*, *imm(o)*, etc. It will be noticed that the proposal to shorten these forms is in reality a suggestion of an entirely novel character; *for it is a proposal to shorten atonic monosyllables as such*, and must consequently apply, so far as I can judge, to all the atonic monosyllables of the language. Nor can it be doubted in practice, that any one who will freely shorten some of the most familiar monosyllabic words, which yet have only their atonic character in common, will be irresistibly impelled to extend this pronunciation to the whole body of atonics. In fact, it is quite possible that when *nēmpē*, *illē*, *indē*, *immō*, *quisqu* became frequently shortened in pronunciation, careless and hasty speakers began also to pronounce *nēmp(e)*, *imm(o)*, *ind(e)*, etc., and necessarily also to say *hāc*, *hōc*, *hūc*, *hūnc*, *hānc*, *hāc*, *hūc*, etc. In this case the serious and far-reaching consequences of the innovation were at once clearly revealed, with the result that the shortened pronunciations were absolutely rejected by all who valued the purity and correctness of Roman speech. But I have

not yet stated the whole case; another most serious difficulty also stood in the way of this innovation. As we have already seen in the first section of this paper (A. J. P. XXVII 421 ff.), if the ultima be elided, the ear necessarily assigns precisely the same length to the penultimate syllables of atonic trochees and atonic spondees. In other words, since the Latin language is constituted as it is, trochaic and spondaic atonics when reduced to monosyllables are heard in the continuous sentence precisely alike. Indeed there can be little doubt that if final *o* had been shortened by good usage in the O. Lat. period in *ergō*, *porrō*, *quandō*, *verō*, *ultrō*, *ambō*, as it was actually shortened later, Plautus would have treated these particles precisely as he often treats shortened *immō*, viz. as pyrrhics. In Plautus's own period, however, monosyllabic *erg(ō)*, *porr(o)*, *quand(o)*, *vēr(o)*, *ultr(o)*, *aut(em)*, *umqu(am)*, *numqu(am)*, *intr(o)*, *ecc(um)*, *postqu(am)*, *quamqu(am)*, *quisqu(am)*, etc., occupied no greater time in pronunciation than monosyllabic *nēmp(e)*, *ill(e)*, *imm(o)*, *nēqu(a)*, etc., and if the latter are admitted as shorts, it is clear that the former must be admitted also. Further, if the language consents to shorten monosyllabic *vēr(o)* (*amabat*), *ērg(o)*, *quānd(o)*, *aut(em)*, etc., it must probably admit changes also in the dissyllabic forms, and so present such varied anomalies as *vērō*, *vērō*, *vērō*, *autēm*, *autēm*, *autēm*, etc.

To sum up briefly: The shortening (before a short vowel) of the numerous series ranging from *nēmp(e)*, *ill(e)* to *idn(e)*, *quodn(e)* would have had as a necessary consequence the frequent shortening of all the atonic monosyllables in the language, and also the shortening of all the atonic spondees reduced by elision to monosyllables, and finally the shortening of all the atonic spondees in their original form. Further the anomalies that would have resulted from this development are far greater and more serious than we now find in *nēmpē-nēmp(e)*. Because of these ulterior consequences the literary language rejected the shortening altogether; in so doing it has avoided much ambiguity in its versification and much confusion in its quantities, and has refrained from weakening at any point the psychological bases upon which its quantitative system chiefly reposes. The latter is not made up of detached and disconnected parts in the manner that the school-boy who learns the separate rules of Latin prosody for the first time is likely to suppose, but it is a living and sentient organism in which the various parts are closely

related and mutually dependent. Thus the preservation of the organism requires the preservation of all the vital parts, and conversely the destruction of a few important parts means the death of the whole system. It is undoubtedly true that Latin quantity presents numerous anomalies and irregularities, in spite of the extraordinary artistic cultivation that it has received from the very beginning of the literary period. If we shall collect these anomalies as we might collect a varied assortment of verbal quibbles, and shall consider each one singly and disconnectedly according to the method of some Latin prosodies, our task is likely to be an unprofitable and fruitless one; it is only when these petty inconsistencies are studied together and interpreted in the light of some definite principle that we find them taking on a serious meaning and contributing to the right understanding of the Roman literary period of apparent linguistic repose, but of inner storm and conflict.

V. LIMITS OF SHORTENING.

It is evident from the enumeration already made (p. 17 f.) that the trochaic words which admit shortening are strictly limited to weakly accented pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions (*inter*), and perhaps the substantive verb *esse*. It should be added that the shortening is almost entirely a phenomenon of sentence-beginnings and clause-beginnings, which of course very often coincide with verse-beginnings. The reason for this is evidently the fact that the voice hastens rapidly over the trite phrases that introduce the clause, and comes to rest on the principal word. Hence the following are quite normal scansions:

Poe. 419: Përquë m(e)ós amóres pérque Adélphasiúm meám.

Mi. 614: Quid tibi, Pleúsicle's? || Quödnë vóbis pláceat, dís-
pliceát mihí?¹

The pronouns and particles in question enter into innumerable fixed word-orders and almost indissoluble combinations, e. g. *nosne tibi* (fúres) (Poe. 1238), *inde mihi* princípium (Poe. 2) *ille me* vótuít (Mi. 830), *illic hinc* ábiit (Au. 265), *quidquid est* futúrum (Tru. 254), *quodne* promísti (Cur. 705) *ille qui* mandávit (Tri. 137), *nempe quas* spopóndi (Tri. 427; cf. also *quippe quas*), *immo vero* ábi (Hec. 726). On the stable character of such word-orders, cf. Kämpf, Pronom. Personal. 30 ff.; Penningsdorf,

¹ Skutsch assumes here the pronunciations *perc* and *quom(n)* respectively.

De quisque et quisquis pronominum usu, 24. In the case of such frequently recurring phrases we may both expect weakening to take place more completely, and the literary language to accept the results more fully; for it is well known that the O. Lat. poets have preserved the chief pronominal word-orders unchanged and that they offer no examples of the artistic anastrophe by which the sentence-introducing particles are postponed, as in the *ipsa sed* of Vergil (Aen. i. 353), or the *habet immo* of Martial (vi, 94, 4). The literary language of Plautus and Terence has doubtless not accepted all the cases of popular shortening which were current; thus we find *hercle* (which is, however, regularly postpositive) shortened only once (Poe. 910, acc. to A), and we have no case of shortened *ecce*.

The syncope theory is nowhere more unfortunate than in destroying the unity which marks the O. Lat. treatment of the atonic pronouns, and introducing in its place an artificial dichotomy. Thus Skutsch (Forsch. 9, n. 2) separates *quisquis*, *quisque*, *ecquis*, *siquis*, *nequis*, *numquis* sharply from syncopated *il*, *ilc*, *ist*, *iste*, and places them in a class apart as *shortened* forms; he uses, it is true, by way of explanation, the technical terms 'Quantitätsentziehung' and 'Tonanschluss', but these well-worn phrases cannot alter the fact that the pronouns are shortened primarily because they are subordinate and atonic words in the sentence. Furthermore, it is not possible to separate these pronouns thus violently from their associates; for both groups of pronouns show identically the same treatment. The dissyllabic forms *ecquis* and *illū* are both capable of reduction from three morae to two, but the monosyllabic forms *ecqu(a)*, *ecqu(em)*, etc., are no more capable of reduction from their dimoric value than are the monosyllabic forms *ill(a)*, *ill(um)*. Thus we perceive clearly that the shortening seen in *nequis* is due to the weak meaning and the weak utterance of a trochaic word-form, and not due to the formal addition of the 'enclitic' *quis* to the particle *ec*, since the addition of the 'enclitics' *quem*, *quo*, etc., never produces shortening in the spondaic forms *ecquem*, *ecquō*,¹ or in the monosyllabic forms *ecqu(em)*, *ecqu(o)*. Similarly

¹ Of course one or two corrupt passages in which *siquid*, *numquid*, appear as *siquid*, *nūmquid* may be found in Müller's 'kleine Blumenlese', e. g. Men. 548 *nūmquid me vis?* Haec (where ed. min. brackets *me*), but similar uncritical evidence may be found for any scansion whatever, e. g. *censēm*, *illōs*, *ecquōr*.—Since writing the above, I have noticed that Skutsch (Tépas, 124)

I may add that the shortening seen in *nescidquis* is not due to *quis* as a formal 'enclitic', but is due to the weakened meaning and utterance of *nescio*, when it is degraded in this phrase from a strongly accented verb to a weakly uttered indefinite pronoun.¹ Still another clear example of the quantitative weakening that often accompanies degradation of form and meaning is afforded, I hold, by Lat. *hodie*. Therefore I cannot agree with Stolz, who has recently—in his *Neue Beiträge z. lat. Lautlehre* (IF. XVIII 451)—sought to revive the explanation that we have in *ho-diē* the pure stem *ho-*, and who argues further that **hōddiē* could only yield **hōdiē*. This latter view would be true, in my judgment, only if *hodiē* had usually retained its full original meaning, as *pridiē* or *hanc-diem* (A. J. P. XXV 409) have retained their full meanings in large part. But *hodie*, although often retaining its meaning as a temporal adverb (*hōc-diē*), is yet in probably the larger part of its occurrences in O. Lat. and in colloquial Latin generally either a simple asseverative particle like *hercle*, *vero*, *pol*, *ecastor*, *edepol*, *enim*, *nempe*, or else a particle in which the asseverative and temporal meanings are almost equally blended and interfused. For the strongly emotional use of *hodie*, cf., for example, Men. 216 f. ego *hercle vero* te servabo . . . Neque *hodie*, ut te perdam, meream deorum divitias mihi (v. Brix's note); Mo. 657 nullum *edepol hodie* genus est hominum tætrius; And. 866 ego *pol hodie*, si vivo, tibi | Ostendam. (v. Spengel's note); Per. 218 *numquam ecastor hodie* scibis; Verg. Ecl. iii, 49 *numquam hodie* effugies (v. Conington's note); *id.* Aen. ii, 670 *numquam* omnes *hodie* moriemur inulti; cf. also especially Donatus on Ter. Ad. II, 2, 7 (215) 'hodie' non tempus significat, sed

actually accepts with Seyffert *ēquid* in Per. 225: *ēquid habēs?* *ēquid tū?* But even if the text of P be retained here, there is no special difficulty in scanning *ēquid hābēs?* *ēquid tū?* On the same page Skutsch makes the assertion that we never find pyrrhic *illos*, *illac* in Pl. The uncritical use of corrupt texts, however, is an expedient which is open to all, and I need only quote here the texts which Leo (Forsch. 297 f.) has collected and rejected, viz. Men. 308 *habitās?* *di illōs hōmines* (ed. min.: *habes?* *dī illos hōmines*); Ps. 880 *quin tu illōs inimīcos* (ed. min.: *quin tu[ill]os*); cf. Tri. 920 and Tru. 658 (*istōs*); Cas. 778 (*amōs*), etc. It will be seen that I attach only a limited significance to the occurrence of *equis* and similar spellings for *equis* in some MSS of Cicero, etc. (Ribbeck, Beitr. zur Lehre der lat. Part. 42).

¹ I hold also that the interrogative *nescio-quis* is sometimes (rarely) a mere phrase in O. Lat. (cf. inseparable *scin-quis?*) and similarly degraded, cf. TAPA. XXXVI 174, n. 1.

iracundiam, eloquentiam ac stomachum. See further Hand, Tursell. III 99 f.: Elmer and Morris on Cap. 348, Ashmore on Ad. 551, and Heindorf on Hor. Sat. ii, 7, 21.

It would be a mistake, however, to lay too great stress upon the use of *hodie* as a mere expletive or as a trite asseverative particle of the class of *hercle*, *pol*, *nempe*, *enim*. For this use is not so much the cause of the weakening of *hodie* as it is a symptom of its generally weakened condition. In few languages can this temporal adverb have suffered such degradation of meaning as has overtaken it in Latin, yet it is important to remember that the trite words 'to-day' and 'yesterday' are greatly weakened in all languages. For this reason Roman writers often use *hodierno die*, *hesterno die*, when they wish to be impressive and forceful, just as we say in English under similar circumstances 'this day', 'the present day', e. g. 'Give us *this day* our daily bread', or 'Thou art my Son, *this day* have I begotten thee'.¹ Thus *heri*, 'yesterday', belongs with *ego*, *mihi*, *bene*, *ita*, *quia*, etc., among the ten or twelve weakest iambs of the Latin language, and Quintilian expressly tells us that in his time iambic *heri* had entirely disappeared, so that pyrrhic *here* (perhaps originally a separate form) alone remained in use.² Quintilian's statement is confirmed by the usage of the Augustan poets, who have *here* or *her(i)*, never *heri* (L. Müller, R. M.³ 409, and Prosod. Summarium, 35; cf. also C. F. W. Müller, Pl. Pros. 189; Lindsay, L. L. 25, 396, and Cap. 150). It is implied in this loss of iambic scansion that *heri* was extremely weak in meaning and accent (TAPA. XXXVI 193; Lindsay, Cap. 30 ff.; Skutsch, Sat. Viadr. 128 f.). Quite similarly when **hōddi*

¹ The colloquial Greek of the N. T. has here *σήμερον* simply (Matt. vi, 11; Acts xiii, 33; Heb. i, 5), but a literary idiom would very possibly have used *ῥῆδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, cf. Acts xx, 26 *ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ*. The King James version appears consistently to treat 'to-day' as the less weighty and impressive form, but the adverb of course often gains greatly in dignity and force through its position in the sentence, e. g. 'To day shalt thou be with me in paradise' (Luke xxiii, 43). But even if we refrain from drawing any distinction (except that of rhythmical phrasing) between the use in earlier English of the articular phrase 'this day' and that of the prepositional phrase 'to day', it is instructive to note that in 'to-day', as in so many other trite prepositional phrases, the long *o* of A.-S. *to* (*dæg*) has been weakened in modern English to an obscure and indeterminate vowel sound.

² Quint. i, 7, 22 *here nunc e littera terminamus*.—In Pl. *here* or *heri* is the regular form, but *heri* also occurs (Amph. 303, 799; Cur. 17, 18).

assumed the weak meaning 'to-day', it ceased to be felt as a noun (with pronominal prefix), and became a weakly accented pronominal form.¹ In consequence of this degradation of meaning, it at once became subject to the shortening which in O. Lat. overtakes weakly accented pronominal forms and conjunctions of dactylic or cretic value like *mēquidem*,² *siquidem*, *hācine*, *hōcine*, and which sometimes overtakes *omnia* and *alterum* (see below, p. 27 f., and cf. Birt. l. l. 245). Since *hodie* is much weaker, however, in meaning than *omnia* or *alterum*, and is rather to be compared with *nempe* and *enim*, it has suffered, like the latter, complete reduction of quantity. With *hodie* we may further compare the development of *nūdius tertius*, since, but for reduction of quantity, we should expect the first element of *nūdius*, viz. I.-Eur. **nū*, 'now' (Stolz, IF. XVIII 449; Skutsch, Forsch. 16) to appear in Latin, like I. Eur. **iñ* of the second Personal Pronoun, as a long monosyllable. The ultimate derivation of the shortened adverb from *hōc-diñ* is also made probable by the existence of the O. Lat. form *hocedie* (Mar. Victorinus 9, 19 K.), and a somewhat similar shortening is probably to be

¹ The derivation from **hōddie* is generally accepted at the present day, cf. Solmsen, Stud. Lautg. 100; Walde, Etymol. Wörterb. 288. Solmsen's view, however, that the shortening is actually due to the incidence of the accent, the influence of the 'sharply cut' tone ('Tonanschluss', 'eine Art stark geschnittenen Accents') must be rejected as quite erroneous. Thus the shortening of the syllable in **hōddie* or **hōdie* is a different phenomenon from the species of vowel-shortening seen in *Iuppiter* for *Iūptler*, *cuppa* for *cūpa*, where the quantity taken from the vowel is transferred to the following consonant (Brugmann, Comp. Gramm. I 463, § 612, Engl. transl.).—I am pleased to find that the explanation of shortening which is given above and in A. J. P. XXVII 434 f., was long ago put forward by Benlōw (De l'accentuation dans les langues Indo-Européennes, Paris, 1847, p. 181): "Dans *quāsi* = *quamsi*, *nisi* = *nisi*, *hōdie* = *hōc die* les longues se sont abrégées par suite de l'affaiblissement de l'idée, qui, à partir du latin, atteint généralement toutes les particules."

² Cf. A. J. P. XXVII 435. It will perhaps be objected that *nequidem* is sometimes a strongly accented word and is marked as such by the logical emphasis, e. g. 'not *ī*, but *hē*'. The argument is an unfortunate one; for although the Latin sentence had probably advanced at this point considerably beyond the rudimentary stages which Benlōw alone admits (De l'accentuation, 216-235), there can be little doubt that the Latin logical or oratorical accent was, like that of modern French (Sweet, Handbook of Phonetics, 126), extremely irregular in its character and general use. A language which invariably accents *non tu*, *séd ego* (A. J. P. XXV 270) clearly does not possess the logical accent in anything like the exceptional and highly developed form which it has assumed in modern English and modern German.

recognized in *idem* from **id-dem*, *quidem* from **quid-dem* (Osthoff, IF. V 289 f.; Stolz³, 138, n. 3; Walde, Etymol. Wörterb., s. v.). In conclusion, although linguistic science ordinarily admits only slight variations, yet even in languages and linguistic periods of extreme regularity, there are certain processes such as degradation of meaning and change of function which justify us in adopting a more liberal scale of measurement than would usually be admissible; cf. the remarks on *frustrā*, *immo* in the second section of this paper, also the reduction of *nihilum* to *nihil*, of *noenum* to *non*—the latter derivation now often repudiated, as by Brugmann and Maurenbrecher, cf. Stolz, Hist. Gramm. I 130 f.

I return from this digression upon *hodie* to the O. Lat. treatment of *quisquis*, *quisque*, *ecquis*, etc. This is identical with the treatment of the other pronouns; for although the shortened forms have been collected by many Plautine scholars (Müller, Seyffert, Leo, Ahlberg, see p. 18, n. 1), their several lists show no example (such as *ēcqua adest*) of the shortening of the simple monosyllabic forms *quisqu(e)*, *quemqu(e)*, *ecqu(a)*, *ecqu(em)*, *siqu(a)*, *siqu(em)*. Where shortening of the monosyllables occur, it is always in conjunction with a Brevis Brevians, e. g. Mi. 794 sed [ha]ēcqu(a) ancillast; Poe. 1044 sed ēcqu(em) ādulescentem.

The following examples will serve to illustrate the quantity of the monosyllabic forms: Cap. 798 quēmqu(e) offēderō; Mi. 156 quēmqu(e) in tēgulſ; *ib.* 160, 460; *ib.* 1391 quāēqu(e) aspēxerſt; Ba. 708 ūnum quīdque agāmus; As. 153; *ib.* 763 sīqu(a) inūtīlſ; Ps. 1292 sīqu(a) in hōc; Men. 135 ēcqu(a) in ſtac; Ba. 538 nūmqu(ae) advēnienti; *ib.* 235 vīsam | ēcqu(ae) advēnerſt (hiatus text); cf. Poe. 1392 sīqu(i) ēas āssererēt; Hau. 212 nēqu(o) hinc ābeas; Vid. 68 sīqu(em) amīcum.¹

The shortening which is legitimate and genuine in weakly accented pronouns has been improperly extended in six cases only to more strongly accented words of the first foot; cf. Birt, l. l., 253. With one exception, these examples are all imperatives or equivalents of the imperative, e. g. Cur. 245 aūſer ſtaec; Hau. 237 pērgin ſtuc; St. 768 rēdde cāntiōnem; Ps. 239 mītte mē (second hem.); Poe. 1237 ſte ſi ſtis; Tri. 598 ſbit ſtac.

¹ This collection does not profess to be complete except for *signa*, *nequa*, *ecqua*, *numqua* (on the basis of Seyffert, Bursian's Jahresb. 1890, p. 17, n. 5). It seems almost unnecessary to mention an example like Au. 262 quīn faci-dmus nūmqūde causa ēst, where Brix's transposition has been generally accepted, i. e. nūmqūae causa est quīn, etc.; cf. Müller, Pl. Pros. 439.

This rare license is of small importance¹; for its fuller explanation one may think of the rapid utterance of the imperative and of the influence of analogy (cf. *cēdō* and *redde, sine* and *mitte*), and, in one or two cases, of the preservation of the word-order in phrases; thus for the phrase *mitte me*, cf. Spengel on Andr. 780; for *quin is si itura's* (frgm. Cist. ap. Festum, p. 372) and similar turns (Poe. 511; Mi. 1186, 1299), cf. Luchs, Hermes VIII 119. As already stated (p. 18, n. 5), a Roman final does not remain clearly short *in arsi*; hence *pergīn ero* (Phor. 372) is legitimate, but *pergīn istuc* improbable. On the other hand, those who like Skutsch (Forsch. 140, n. 2) and Ahlberg (Corrept. 51, 66) accept *pergīn istuc* have no right to reject *reddē cāntionem*, and the like.²

In the preceding discussion reference has been made exclusively to trochaic words. The same weakening must, however, be recognized for words of dactylic and cretic value belonging to the same class,—thus, often for *siquidem, mequidem, dumquidem, haecine, hocinest, hicinest*, occasionally for *omnia, omnium* (Klotz, Grundz. 46, 310; Birt, l. 1., 245), *allera, alteris* (for examples, cf. Müller, Nachtr. 69). The shortening of these pronouns and pronominal adjectives seems to me highly probable in many cases and definitely established in the following: And. 236 *hōcinēst* *humānum factu aut inceptu?* *hōcinest* *officiūm patris* (so accented by all the editors except Fleck., who amends); perhaps also Ad. 709 *hic nōn amāndus?* *hīcine nōn* (iamb. sept.; acc. to Müller, Pros. 441, the last foot of the hemistich must be pure, but cf. TAPA. XXXV 45, n. 1); Hec. 867 *omnia omnes* (cf. Klotz, Grundz. 310; in spite of Skutsch, *Répas*, 140, n. 1 (quoted also in Hauler, Einl. z. Phor. 53, n. 1), it seems no more legitimate to accent the final *omni(a) omnes* than to accent *illē nāvem* (Am. 988); *illē dēmum* (Cap. 105), etc.); Per. 226 *u'bi illa älterāst*; perhaps also Ba. 971 *nu'nc älteris* (troch. oct., where it seems unnecessary to produce the rare iamb. oct. hypermeter by scanning

¹ Those who are in danger of attaching undue importance to single examples from the Plautine text, i. e. such examples as the above or as Mo. 362 *sēd ego sāmne ille infelix*, should study the examples in Müller's 'kleine Blumenlese' (Pl. Pros. 443–448), e. g. As. 530 *ēcūstōr nōbīs*; Am. 377 *ēloquere quid*.

² Similarly, if Skutsch's statement of the iambic law (Vollmöllers Jahresb. f. roman. Phil. I 33 f.; Sat. Viadr. 122) were fully correct, we should be fully justified in scanning *illē mē*, etc., and should have no problem of *ille* to discuss at all.

nunc *älteris*, cf. Mi. 280 *vérum illud ésse*). For numerous probable cases of *hæcine*, *hicinest*, cf. Müller, Pros. 441 ff.; shortening of *omnia*, *omnibus* is strongly suggested by the great frequency with which these apparent dactylic word-forms disregard Lachmann's law in the first foot (TAPA XXXV 47; Klotz, Grundz. 310, 46) and also at times within the verse, e. g. Tru. 447 *ómnia quí*; Am. 55 *ómnibus ísdem*; cf. also St. 526 *ð'mnium me éxilem*; Tri. 933 *ð'mnium prímum* (probable reading).¹ Lindsay (Cap., p. 20, note on v. 8, and L. L. 449) points out that the syncopated forms *altrum*, *altris* are improbable in the extreme, but when he substitutes *altérüm*, *alléris*, he fails to explain why just these pronominal forms should so often receive this harsh scansion in Pl.²; we should rather scan Cap. prol. 8 *älterüm quadrímum*; 306 *nu'nc älteríus ímperio óbsequor* (probable scansion); Naev. com. fr. 23 f. *älterís inánem . . . älterís nucés*; cf. Per. 565 *a'ltér erít opuléntiór* (irregular trochaic dactyl, cf. Ahlberg, Procel. II 12); cf. also Poe. 1348 *nëminëm veníre*, and Hec. 281 *ne'mini plúra* (A¹). The shortening of unaccented pronouns and pronominal adjectives seems then the principal reason why so many licenses are admitted in connection with these words in the (apparent) formation of the trochaic dactyl, e. g. Hec. 766 *quá'lis sim amícus*; Ru. 1121 *qu'rdquid íbíst*; Cap. 536 *res ómnis in íncertó*. In a previous paper (TAPA. XXXV 36 ff.) in which these licenses were carefully collected, I attempted to explain their occurrence through the simple proclisis of the pronouns. This proclisis actually exists and should not be overlooked, but it now appears to me more reasonable to regard it as a secondary than as a primary cause in the production of these phenomena. On the other hand, I regard the proclisis and resulting oxytonesis of the pronouns *illüm*, *istüm*, *ipsüm* (Skutsch, Forsch. 130 ff.) and of *siquëm*, *nūmqüëm*, *omnëm*, *quāntüm* (TAPA. XXXV 38 ff.) as a sufficient explanation of the frequent admission of these accentuations in the critical feet.³

¹ There are only five other possible cases of a scansion like *dí'citō* in Pl., cf. Ahlberg, Corrept. 40.

² Such scansions are, in general, less probable, cf. A. J. P. XXVII 431. The Romans scanned of course (Klotz, Grundz. 275) *allítra* (Poe. 85), *omnífa* (Ba. 782), but it does not seem probable that they actually read *énic'ús*, *álléris*.

³ This still seems to me the more probable explanation, although Hingst, De spondeis in antepaenultimo pede vers. Lat., Leipzig, 1904, p. 76 ff., argues forcibly in support of the earlier view that the oxytonesis of these pronouns is admitted because of the 'half-long' character of their first syllable. On

VI. IMPROBABILITY OF THE 'SYNCOPE' THEORY.

In the preceding discussion I have sought to show that we are not compelled to accept the theory of syncope which Skutsch offers in explanation of the peculiar prosody of *ille* and its associates, but that another and a simpler explanation of the phenomena is perfectly possible. Skutsch's book contains, as I gladly admit, an extremely rich and valuable collection of material upon Plautine prosody, it abounds in valuable observations upon the Plautine language, and it has contributed in many ways towards stimulating the study of both language and prosody, yet upon the main topic under discussion, viz. the prosody of *ille*, it brings forward only a difficult and improbable hypothesis. For the syncope of Latin final syllables has occurred in only a few of the many cases in which it is theoretically possible, and this development is, in general, far more characteristic of the Oscan and Umbrian dialects than of the Latin.¹ Since then the anomaly *illē-ill(e)*, which Skutsch has made the main support of his hypothesis, admits of a different explanation, the theory of syncope is shown by the following considerations to be improbable in the extreme:

(1) The supposed syncope completely lacks all ancient attestation, both palaeographical and epigraphical (cf. also Birt, l. l. 241).

the supposed case of an absolute *illām* in the diacresis of the iamb. sept. (Mi. 1231), see TAPA. XXXV 47. In general I do not deny the possibility of a second stage of development in which the effects of a frequent *illē* might be extended and conceivably produce an occasional *illām*, but the proof for the actual existence of this stage in the Plautine text appears to me inadequate.

¹ To take a familiar example, Latin is accustomed to drop the *ū* (*ŭ*) of its Nominative only in the presence of *r* (*gener* from **gener-o-s*, *vir* from **vir-o-s*), while we have Osc. *hurs* = **hort-o-s*, Lat. *hortus*; Umbr. *pihas*, *piatus*, *emps*, *emptus*, etc. In the Nominatives Sg. of Latin *i*-stems, however, forms like *sors* and *stirps* beside *sortis* and *stirpis* are due to the analogy of *dens*, *virtus*, etc. (Victor Henry, Comp. Gramm.², Engl. transl., § 200, n. 4; Vendryes, Intens. init. 175; Lindsay, L. L. 182). In short, unattested Latin *ill'* is not much more probable than unattested *hort'*. Hence Lindsay (Short Hist. Gramm. 27) states tersely that "syncope of the final syllable was a great feature of the Oscan and other Italic languages, but not of Latin"; cf. Buck, Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian, p. 59, § 90. Compare also Hirt, Indogerm. Akzent, 41: "Im Umbrisch-Oskischen lässt das (d. h. die stark expiratorische Betonung) die Syncope der End- und Mittelsilben sicher ausschliessen, während im Lateinischen vorzugsweise die zweite Silbe des Wortes synkopiert oder geschwächt wurde." See also von Planta, Gramm. I 228.

It is therefore, in an *especia* sense, 'unattested' syncope, and for that reason seems much less likely than Ritschl's restoration of final *d* for the purpose of avoiding hiatus, which at least had the apparent support of contemporaneous official inscriptions. When we reflect how completely the Plautus MSS have preserved syncopated forms in connection with the enclitic *-ne*, such as *vidistin*, *certon* (Schrader, *De prosodia -ne*, 13 f.), and further how faithfully they have retained the forms *hisce*, *hosce*, *hasce* before vowels, *hi*, *his*, *hos*, *has* before consonants,¹ we cannot believe that a fully syncopated form *nemp* existed in the republican period without a single trace of this form being preserved in MSS and Inscr. Still less can we believe that many such forms have been in frequent use and yet have gained no recognition whatever in Roman orthography.

(2) The phenomenon under discussion is limited to a particular class of words, viz. weakly accented pronouns, conjunctions and particles (cf. also Birt, l. l., 244, 249). On the other hand, 'attested' syncope is not so limited, but occurs both in strongly accented words like *dñc(e)*, *dñc(e)*, *vidistin(e)*, *censñ(e)*, *tribunñ(e)*, *exemplñr(e)*, and in weakly accented words like *hunc(e)*, *illic(e)*, *alque*, *neque*, *sive*, *postè*, *quin(e)*. Therefore the syncope theory is unable to explain the reason for this peculiar limitation, and the failure of other well-worn forms, like *cñler(e)*, *trist(e)*, *sap(e)*, *impñ(e)*, *cñrr(e)*, *mitt(e)*, *fñrr(e)* to establish themselves in frequent use. Further, as Birt points out (l. l., 242, 271), 'attested' apocope occurs in Latin only after a few of the consonant sounds, viz. freely after *c* (*q*) and *n*, *r* and *l*, occasionally after *t* and *v*;² there is, therefore, no place for a Latin *nemp*, *quipp*, *ind*, etc.

¹ According to F. Schmidt, *Pronom. demonstr. form. Pl.*, and *Hermes*, VIII 478 ff., there are only seven or eight forms with the false retention of *-ce* in the Pl. MSS, and no such forms at all in the Terence MSS.

² In the well-known story told by Cicero, *Div. II* 84, in which *Cassius* and *cave n[e] cas* are represented as similar in sound, it is not certain whether we have merely a case of assonance due to the very similar sound of *au* and *ave*, just as Cicero (*Or.* 45, 154) and Quintilian (*I* 5, 66) explain *capis* roughly by *cape si vis*, or whether we have possibly a case of absolute identity due to the absorption of the *e* by the sonant *u* (semivowel *u*), which then becomes vocalized very much as in *seu*, *neu*, *ceu*. Such absorption is a different process from ordinary syncope, as is pointed out clearly enough by Vendryes, *Intens. init.* 177, 211; cf. Lindsay, *L. L.* 171. I have collected all the possible ex-

(3) The syncope theory does not make for a unified conception of the O. Lat. phenomenon; it does not promote the unity which is the true end of scientific study, but, on the contrary, produces much division and disruption. Thus it separates the weakening of simple *ille*, *inde*, *iste*, (*ecquis*) entirely from the weakening of these words which is found with such exceptional frequency after a Brevis Brevis, and from the weakening which is well attested for the compounds *périnde*, *subinde*, *éxinde* (A. J. P. XXVII 426). Further, in its original form, it leaves dimoric *immo* (p. 18) wholly unexplained, and, as I have already observed (p. 22), it entirely disjoins the treatment of *quisquis*, *quisque*, *ecquis*, *siquis*, *nequis*, *numquis*, *haecin* from the treatment of the other pronouns.¹ Finally, since those philologists who have accepted the other syncopated forms required by this theory, have in almost every case found themselves compelled to reject syncope in the inflectional forms *illa* and *illud*,² the theory in practise violently separates Masc. Sing. *ille* from Fem. Sing. *illa*, Neut. Sing. *illud*, and Nom. Pl. Neut. *illa*.

The last mentioned consideration is conclusive. A theory, which proves to be destructive of genuine unity, is at variance with the first requirement of scientific truth, and may be confidently rejected in all its parts. Furthermore, the hypothesis of syncope, far from satisfying critical requirements, often contravenes well-known facts in the development of the Romance languages from Latin. Thus we have no right to assume the suppression of the final syllable of *illa* or *immo* either in vulgar

amples of assonance between *am* and *ave* in Pl., and discussed them briefly in the Proceedings of the Am. Philol. Assoc. XXXVII (1906); absolute identity is improbable.

¹ For an acute criticism of this disruptive treatment, see Professor Fay's observations in A. J. P. XXIV 269.

² Cf. the following reviews, etc., of Skutsch's *Plaut. Forsch.*: Leo, *Deutsche Literaturz.* XIII (1892), 1432, and *Plaut. Forsch.* (1895), 292; Lindsay, *Class. Rev.* VI 403, and *Cap.* 26; Stürzinger, *ALL.* VIII 461; Bersu, *Berl. phil. Woch.* XIII 176; "E. R.", *Lit. Centralbl.* 1892, 1409; Hauler, *Einkl. z. Phor.* 49, n. 3. Many of the reviewers expressed serious doubt also respecting the syncope of the Masc. Sings. *ille*, *illie*, *iste*, *istic*. Skutsch attempts to reply to these criticisms at considerable length in *Ἰλέας* (Göttingen, 1903, p. 120 ff.), and he rightly maintains that the syncope of the inflectional ending in *ille*, *illa*, which his critics have rejected, rests upon precisely the same evidence as the syncope of stereotyped forms like *nempe*, *inde*, *dumque*, which they have accepted.

Latin or in early Romance.¹ For it is well known that, in all positions, the Romance languages have preserved the vowels *a* and *o*, in consequence of their greater resonance, more completely than any other vowel-sounds. Hence Old French *ele* (*illa*) does not lose its final *e* and assume monosyllabic form (*el*) until the eleventh century,² and modern French *elle* is still to the present day dissyllabic in singing and in the pronunciation of the stage. Finally, it should be clearly understood that those who reject the suppression or apocope of final *e* in *ille* in no way call into question the existence of Latin stress-groups such as *ille-servus*, or deny that a final vowel becomes to a certain extent medial in these groups. Thus, in a restricted and limited sense, the *e* of *ille* may be correctly called medial in the sound-group *ille-servus*, and phonetic laws leave no room for doubt that this *e* was somewhat weakened and obscured in such cases through the following accent. Yet even if we consider the *e* of *ille* as slightly weakened through the operation of phonetic laws, it does not follow that it was ever suppressed or even very seriously diminished in common speech. Thus hundreds of Latin words, e. g. *sap(i)ens*, *pect(o)re*, *dic(i)te*, *felic(i)ter*, possess medial syllables which were undoubtedly slightly weakened in current pronunciation, but which are never suppressed in the colloquial language of the drama and are never counted as less than full syllables in dramatic metres.

Addenda:

A. J. P. XXVII 419.—Did the Greek *rhythmici* discuss merely the general elasticity of long and short syllables in certain collocations, or did they mean also to examine the primary assumption of ancient metric, viz. the rigid and artificial division of all syllables into the two classes, long and short, as I have assumed above after Christ (Rhein. Mus. XXIII 575 ff.) and others. Professor Goodell, Chapters on Greek Metric, 99 ff., argues forcibly that the *rhythmici* were directly concerned only with the former of these questions, and points out that even in Greek recitative verse a real, though limited, flexibility of syllabic quantities exists in spite of the inflexibility of the system. Yet for my argument it makes little difference whether the doctrine of the *rhythmici* is applicable to early Latin in the literal or only in the symbolical sense; it may well be that the Greek theorists never dreamed of syllables so divergent as those of the O. Lat. language.

¹ As has already been stated, *imm(o)* is not mentioned by Skutsch in his *Forschungen*, but is assumed as possible by some who accept his theory, e. g. by Fairclough in his edition of the *Andria*, Boston, 1901, p. lx.

² Cf. H. Nicol in *Encyclopaed. Britann.*, Article 'French Language'; Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française* II § 530 f.

P. 428.—On the weakness of the first syllable of *ille* and *omnis*, see also the conclusions of Professor Harkness, TAPA. XXXVI 86, 91 f.; on the forms *ste*, *sta*, *stud* in later vulgar speech, cf. Neue II³ 402 f. and L. Müller², 366; on *Ilos*, *Ihis* with aphaeresis in MSS, cf. Birt, Rhein. Mus. LII Ergänzungsh. 173.

P. 434.—Walde, Etymol. Wörterb., s. v. (Heidelberg, 1906), still explains *frustrā* as acc. pl. n. with original *ā*, lengthened later through the influence of *extrā*, etc., but this view seems unnecessary. On the other hand the quantity of Latin *heīd* (n. 3) should be connected with that of Greek *ela*.

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III.—NOTES ON THE SCHMALZ-KREBS ANTIBARBARUS.

The editor is to be congratulated on arriving at the completion of the first volume of this important work of reference and on making substantial progress on the second. The title page of the new edition bears the announcement of a "genau durchgesehene und vielfach umgearbeitete Auflage." Of the correctness of the second part of this title there can be no question, Vol. I (to *L*) showing an increase of 69 pages, 57 new articles, Vol. II (to *Non Nihil*), of 15 pages, 16 new articles.¹ The correctness of the first part, however, can only be accepted with certain limitations. The careful revision of all the old articles, the addition of important new ones, has won our lasting gratitude. On the whole the book contains much of superlative value, little regarding which there can be any question, a great deal in minor details that is open to criticism. For example, the usefulness of the book would be increased, if it met the not unimportant demand of accuracy in citation. This, it need hardly be said, is a *sine qua non* for the study of a particular usage *in situ*, as well as for subsequent quotation. In a work of such a compass some inaccuracies of this kind are to be expected, but the number of these is too large (see p. 53 f.). Two other matters of detail, consistency in capitalization and uniformity in orthography have not received the amount of attention to which they were entitled.²

¹ Since writing the above the seventh part has appeared, extending to p. 288 *Persuaders*, and showing an increase of 11 pages, 6 new articles.

² Such details were considered of sufficient importance to engage the editor's attention in his revision of the Sixth Edition, as shown by the changes he has made, and may, therefore, call for passing remark here. The following may serve by way of illustration: one might conclude from the fact that on p. 165 the reviser had changed Cic. Cat. M. to Cic. sen., and on pp. 571 and 650 also Cic. Sen. to Cic. sen., that he considered the latter the better form of reference. Elsewhere, however, with a very few exceptions this treatise is always referred to as Cic. Cato. One would be in doubt also regarding the editor's view of the correct form in citing Seneca's works, as on p. 64 Sen. N. Q. was not changed at all, but on p. 494 we find it changed to nat. qu., on pp. 685, 713, to nat. q. (cf. p. 797 q. nat.), but on pp. 499, 503, 526, 591 to n. q. and on p. 608 etc., II, p. 66 to nat. So also with Suet. Octav., which, pp. 67, 801, was changed to Suet. Aug. (pp. 636, 708 have both forms), but in general Octav.,

There are many points that deserve a fuller and more special notice than the space available will permit.

The following have been selected :

DETAILS.¹

p. 321 *Conditor urbis*: for Liv. 34. 39. 5, where the expression does not occur, cite 3. 39. 4, or 5. 49. 7, or 7. 1. 10. Cf. also Nepos Timol. 3. 2, Val. Max. 3. 2 pr., and *sectae conditor*, Sen. Ep. 83, 9.

p. 325 *Confidere*, das Objekt eine Sache; Liv. 21. 57. 12 (= *duci fidere*) does not belong here. Refer to 23. 26. 10 (= *colli . . . fidere*) or, better still, 4. 24. 4 (*precibus tribunorum . . . confidere*). See the Thesaurus, s. v., which, however, refers to Liv. 11. 24. 1!

p. 327 *Conformare*, ohne Ablat.: cf. however, Cic. Fam. 1. 8. 2 ipse me conformo ad eius voluntatem.

p. 335 *Consciscere: sibi* cannot, however, be omitted "gleich gut", if Cicero's and Caesar's usage is to be the criterion; cf. Lexica of Merguet and of Meusel. Cf. also Friedersdorff, Liv. 28, p. 122.

p. 344 *Consternare*, hardly "viele Stellen aus Livius", as Wölfflin, l. c. cites only 3 passages, M. Müller, l. c. only 9.

or Oct. was used; Justin, p. 751, etc., Iustin, p. 561, etc., but Just. 726, etc., and Iust. 703, etc. (p. 800, both Just. and Iust.); Wölfflin Comp. p. 733, etc., but Wölfflin Komp. 699, etc.; Riemann études, thus always in Vol. I, but Études in Vol. II, pp. 54, 116, 117. Note also the metamorphoses through which Nägelsbach-Müller Stilistik (9th ed., cited from p. 394) passes, on some pages being reduced to Näg. (6 different forms being used from p. 320-640).

¹For the writer's detailed criticism of the first two parts of this Edition, cf. Class. Rev., XX (1905) pp. 218-222, and add: p. 138 *Alioqui*: reference should be made to Neue II⁸, p. 639. (Here, it may be noted, Neue says: "Valerius Maximus ed. Halm nur *alioquin*". In Kempf's ed. *alioqui* is read in 2. 3. 1: 4. 1. ext. 5: 7. 5. 1: 8. 1 damn. 1: 8. 9 ext. 1; 9. 6. Ext. 2 and *alioquin* in 1. 5. 5: 2. 9: 6. 12; 3. 8 ext. 1: 6. 5. 7; 9. 12 pr., i. e. each six times. A similar statement is made regarding Plin. Min. C. F. W. Müller, as Keil, reads only *alioqui*, except *alioquin* in Pan. 53. 1). P. 219, l. 4, Neue-Wagener⁸ III, S. 510: *ausim*, Plin. Ep. 4. 4. 3 and 9. 13. 25 (Fleckeisen), is omitted; p. 295 *Cognominare*, not in "Partic. Perf.": especially frequent in Plin. Mai.: cf. 3. 10: 11: 12: 23: 24: 49: 51, etc. p. 373 *Crede mihi*, stets bei Sen. rhet.: see, however, *mihi crede*, Contr. 2. 4. 4 (p. 196 K.), 2. 5. 9 (p. 208 K.). On *Aptare* and *Assuefacere*, add, cf. also Bennett, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. 36 (1905) pp. 66 and 75 f.

p. 345 *Consuescere*, N. Kl. mit der Abl.: Plautus, however, uses both the simple abl. and the abl. with *cum* (cf. Lodge, Lex. Plaut. s. v.). The simple abl. was used by Ter. Ad. 666.¹

p. 346, l. 22, Sen. epp. 99. 1: incorrectly cited for *solito more*. *Boni consulo*, schon bei Plaut., Truc. 429: also 13 other passages (cf. Lodge). For *boni consulet* cf. also Sen. Ep. 75. 6.

p. 348 *Consultare*: Liv. 25. 38. 4 (= 38, 3) has, however, *consulere*. For this reason it does not belong here. Liv. 9. 9. 12 does not contain an indirect question and therefore belongs to the preceding list.

p. 349 *Consurgere*: "Berger Lat. Stil. 8 Aufl." (uncorrected from the 6th Ed.) should be changed to 9 Aufl., p. 157.

Contagium, zuerst bei Livius: the plural, however, is found in Lucr. 3, 471; 6. 1236, and in poets of the Augustan and Silver Ages. Why refer to Hildebrand's Progr. and Kühnast S. 394, as in the latter there is merely a reference to Hildebrand? The form *contagio* appeared as early as Plautus (Amph. 31) and Cato (R. R. 132, 2).

p. 350 *Contempte*: the form *contemptim* was used by Plautus (Per. 547, Poen. 537), *contemptius* by Suet. Dom. 11 (a passage omitted by the Archiv l. c.

p. 352 *Contentus* mit einem Infinitiv: for "Seneca", say, Sen. rhet. u. phil.

p. 353 *Conterminus*: found earlier, however, in Ovid (Met. 1. 774; 4. 90; 8. 553; 15. 315) *conticesco*, trans., found, however in Val. Fl. 3. 302.

p. 354 *Continere*: Caes. civ. 3. 30. 5 has, however, simply *castris*. Liv. 31. 26. 6 (= *urbe*) does not belong here.

p. 359 *Contrahere*, nicht in *aliquo loco*: see, however, Plin. N. H., 12, 122 in *manu*. *Contrario*, Neue-Wagener²: add the page, II³, p. 878 and IV, p. 87.³ Val. Max. uses neither *ex* nor *e contrario*, but *e contraria parte*, 7. 2. 5; 8. 9 ext. 1.

p. 360 *Convalescere*, für die Präp. *a*, kein Beispiel: cf. *a solis ardoribus*, Plin. N. H. 23. 54.

¹ On the correctness of the Abl. in this citation cf. Bennett, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. 36 (1905), p. 76.

² For *e contrario* in the lists given add: Auct. Her. 1. 10. 17; Sen. Benef. 3. 13. 1; 21. 2; Clem. 1. 13. 4; Ep. 92. 19; 119. 12; 122. 2; 5. 124. 2; Plin. Mai. 2. 64: 143; 31. 33; 36. 120 and many others; Quint. 10. 1. 19, and for *ex contrario* Sen. Ira 1. 13. 4; 3. 22. 1; 41. 3; Benef. 1. 11. 6; Ep. 109. 4; 120. 8; Plin. Mai. 6. 212; Quint. 7. 4. 9; Gell. 9. 16, 7; Macr. Sat. 1. 17. 22 and cite 6. 3. 34 for 6. 3. 64.

p. 362, l. 6: Quint. 7. 1. 30 has, however, *Quid convenit?*

p. 363 *Conventio*: after "Livius" insert Sen. Phil.

p. 366 *Coquere*, Kochen, Kommt erst *Sp. L.*: used, however, by Plautus (Lodge). Cf. also Ter. Ad. 847. The Archiv X, p. 289 should have been referred to on the figurative use of this word.

Cor: for a more complete account of Plautus' use of this word refer to Lodge, Lex. Plaut., s. v. instead to Lorenz Mil. 779, especially as the latter should be 786, not 779.

p. 367 *Cordatus*, it should have been noted, is read by Ritschl-Schoell in Plaut. Most. 186. *Cordate*, wiederholt bei Plaut. is a slip, as Plautus uses this word only twice, as Lorenz to Mil. 1088 (not 1079) himself says.

p. 369 *Corpulentus*, bei Plautus, Z. B. Epid. 10: the statement is inexact, as this is the only example in Plautus (Lodge).

p. 371 *Corrugare frontem*, Hor. Ep. 1. 5. 23: Here, however, Hor. says *corruget naris*, in S. 2. 2. 125 *contrahere frontem*, an expression used by Sen. Ira 2. 2. 5.

p. 375 *Crimen* l. 1: cf., however, Cic. De Or. 1. 182.

p. 376 *Criminari* (depon.): both Georges and Neue-Wagener, l. c. omit Plaut. Bacch. 783.

p. 381 *Cum*: on Liv. 21. 43. 7 Wölfflin ad loc. and Archiv X, p. 31, should be cited.

p. 382 *Cumulatim*: for additions to the Archiv VII, p. 498 cf. Lease, Synt. and Style Prud., p. 52.

p. 383 *Cunctari*: to the occurrences cited by Kühnast and Draeger add Livy 31. 7. 5.

Cunctus is used twice by Plautus in the singular (Most. 279 and 1168).

Cupere: a more complete statement regarding Plautus' usage is *bene velle*, found 14 times, *melius v.* twice, and *optime v.*, once (Lodge).

384 *Cupidus*: Cicero, however, uses *c.* with *in* and the abl. of the gerundive, Off. 1. 154. *Cura* = Buch, schrift, nur poetisch: found, however, in Tac. Dial. 3 and 6, etc. (cf. Gudeman, p. xlvi).

p. 386, *Curare*, l. 3: for completeness of statement, cf. Lodge, Lex. Plaut. s. v. instead of Brix-Niemeyer. Landgraf, N. 601 d. is a better reference than Reisigs Vorles, S. 787.

p. 388 *Damnare*: Suet. Calig. 27 = *condemnare*, and is correctly cited on p. 319.¹

¹ With the Tac. passage cf. Lact. 7. 5. 26 *damnare ad aeternam poenam*.

p. 390 *Dare*: *prandium dare*, found as early as Plaut. Amph. 665. The reference, Liv. 28. 5. 9, is incorrect; see recent editions. For the use of *dare* with an infin. in Eccl. Lat., cf. Lease, Synt. and Style Prud., p. 36. To Dräger II², p. 367 f. add Quint. 6. 3. 100; 11. 3. 125: 127.

p. 394 *Dearmare*: Apul. Met. 5. 30, incorrectly cited; cf. Koziol, Stil Apul, p. 291.

Debere is used by Plautus, however, with the infin.; cf. Amph. 39, Most. 321, Pers. 160.

p. 397 *Decertare*, kommt bei Caesar öfter vor als *certare*: very true, inasmuch as Caesar does not use *certare* at all.

Decessor, Cic. Scaur. 33 (welche Stelle man früher nicht kannte): it is cited, however, by Harpers' Lat. Dict. (1879).

p. 400 *Dedecorus*, nur bei Tac.: add, und nur zweimal (Gr. and Greef).

p. 401 *Dedere*: Cic. ad Quint. Fr. 3. 5. 4 is a better reference than Off. 1. 71.

Dedignari mit dem Infin.: found also in Tac. Ann. 2. 34: 45: and. 12. 37.

p. 403 *Deerrare*, wiederholt der rhet. Her.: Marx, Index, however, cites only two.

Defetisci: the word should follow *defectio*. Lucc. bei Cic. fam. 12. 14. 7: Lucc. for Lent. (as Synt², p. 286) and *manere* for *permanere*.

p. 405 *Deficere vita* is found in Plaut. Asin. 609.

p. 406, l. 8: Liv. 28. 28. 11 does not belong here.

Defigere, Cic. de or. 1. 31: a reference uncorrected from the 6th ed. It should be 3. 31. Note also *oculis in terra defixis*, Val. Max. 8. 7 ext. 7, but *defixo in terram vultu*, 6. 1. 7.

p. 407 *Defunctus* = *mortuus*: found also in Vergil, Ovid, Val. Max. 3. 2. 7 and freq. in Justin. cf. also Ladewig, to Verg., Aen. 9. 98.

Dein, bei Liv. nie vor Vokalen: Liv. 38. 9. 9 must, however, be regarded as an exception to the above statement. Here there is a gap in the MSS, filled by a conjecture by M. Müller and adopted by Zingerle, dein *Aetolis*, a reading in all probability correct. In general the growth and use of *dein* is to be compared with other words which owed their origin to similar forces as *atque*—*ac*, *neque*—*nec*. The Latin of the Silver Age is marked by the extensive use of the shortened form of each one of these words. Tacitus used *atque* 312 times, but *ac* 893 times, Plin.

Min, *atque* 74 times, but *ac* 172 times.¹ A similar preference for *nec* over *neque* appears also in the writers of this age.² So *dein*, which was used only once by Caesar,³ (*deinde* = 9), in Cicero, at the most only 24⁴ times (= 4%, *deinde* = 570), was used by Livy 124 times (= 14%, *deinde* = 771), but by Plin. Mai. I-VI, 87 times (= 68%, *deinde* = 39) and by Tacitus 121 times (= 66%, *deinde* = 63).⁵ So also before vowels: *nec* never thus used by Caesar, but rarely by Cicero, was freely used before a vowel by the writers of the Silver Age. In somewhat the same way *dein* was never used before vowels in early Latin (Archiv VIII, p. 443) nor by such writers as Rhet. Her., Cicero (exc. in Att. 5. 20. 1, before a proper name), Caesar, Sallust, or Tacitus. The correctness of the reading in Livy 38. 9. 9 is corroborated not only by the extension of the use of *dein*, but also by the use

¹ Cf. further Lease, Studies in honor of B. L. Gildersleeve, p. 414 f.

² Cf. further Lease, Class. Rev., XVI (1902) p. 212 f.

³ It is read by Kübler in B. C. 1. 64. 1 and 74. 2, but Du Pontet (Oxford Text) reads *deinde* in the latter, and it should probably be read in the former also.

⁴ For the speeches and phil. works Merguet's Lexica were used. Later texts, however, than those used by him reduce the number of occurrences of *dein* (e. g. Cael. 62, Cato 53) and increase those of *deinde*.

⁵ Nepos and Sallust, on the other hand, use *deinde* and *dein* about the same number of times respectively; Val. Maximus follows Caesar, using *deinde* 75 times, *dein* not at all, and Plin. Min. follows Cicero, *deinde* 79 times, *dein* 6 times.

In regard to the position of *deinde* in the clause, it may be noted that, whereas Nepos always uses it in the first place, Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, generally, Plin. Min. used *deinde* 79 times in the first place, but 8 times post-positive, and, in contrast to these, Val. Max. used it 26 times in the first, but almost twice as often in the second (49), and more striking still, Justin used it only 11 times in the first place, but 104 times in the second. *Dein* was used by Nepos and Plin. Min. only in the first place, on the other hand Justin used it 19 times in the first, and once (2. 11. 3) in the second.

In regard to the use of *deinde* before a vowel or a consonant it may be remarked that whereas Sallust used *deinde* 27 times before a vowel and 20 times before a consonant, this usage is reversed by Val. Maximus, who used it 29 times before a vowel, but 46 times before a consonant, by Plin. Min., who uses it 18 times before a vowel, but 61 times before a consonant, and by Justin, who uses it 41 times before a vowel, but 81 times before a consonant. The contrast in the use of *deinde* before a consonant between Sallust (= 43%) and Plin. Min. (= 77%) is striking.

Livy, it may be noted, uses *dein* in every decade, 30-54-27-14.

Neue-Wagener II³, p. 672 omits for *dein*: Caes. B. C., 1. 64. 1; 74. 2; Sall. Jug. 76. 3: 107. 2 (25. 2 is cited for 25. 5), Nepos Milt. 7. 2, Alc. 4. 7: Timoth. 2. 1: Plin. Ep. 7. 27, 8 (in 6. 20. 12 C. F. W. Müller reads *deinde*).

of *dein* before a vowel in Nepos Timoth. 2. 1; (where it is read by Fleckeisen), Plin. Mai. 6. 174; 21. 176; 36. 137 (where it is read by Mayhoff), Plin. Min. 9. 36. 3 and Ad Trai. 79. 2 (where it is read by C. F. W. Müller), and in Justin, 2. 11. 3; 15. 6: 3. 3. 11: 7. 5; 18. 5. 9 (where it is read by Ruehl). (Variant readings: Nepos Timoth. 2. 1, Plin. Ep. 9. 36. 3, *deinde*, and various in the Plin. Mai. passages).

Note also the use of *dein brevi* by Livy 21. 4. 2, but *brevi deinde* by Tac. agr. 8.

Deitas: for further occurrences of this word cf. Lease, Synt. and Style Prud., p. 44.

p. 412 *Delicia*, Vgl. Georges Wortformen, s. v.: to his list add Plaut., Poen. 365 and 389.

p. 413 *Demerere*; instead of Lorenz zu Plaut. Pseud. 1169 cite Lodge Lex. Plaut.

p. 415 *Demorari*: for Plaut. Merc. 874 (= commorare) cite Epid. 376 or Rud. 447. In the sense of "sich aufhalten" it is not "N. Kl." but A. L. also; cf. Plaut. Rud. 447.

Demordere, nur N. Kl. beim ältern Plinius: cf., however, Pers. 1. 106.

Demori, used, however, by Cic. Verr. 2. 2. 124.

p. 416 *Demulcere*: cf. also Gell. 16. 19. 6.

Demum: cf. also Lodge Lex. Plaut. The statement, usually with *tunc* in Class. Lat., needs modification. Cf. Lease to Livy, XXII, l. 1931.

p. 423 *Derivare*, häufig bei Quint.: Bonnell (Index) however, cites only 4 (3 being in VIII, 3. 31-36).

p. 427 *Desinere*: for its use with the Infin., cf. also Hist. Gr. d. lat. Spr. III p. 309 f. and Lease to Livy XXII, l. 638. (Schmalz, Synt⁸. § 221 omits Pliny (cf. N. H. 2. 146), Curtius (cf. 8. 11. 21) and Quintilian (cf. 8. 5. 29 and 11. 3. 6).

p. 428, l. 1: Liv. 7. 5. 7 (not 6): cf. Stacey, Archiv X, p. 62.

Desperare, l. 9, so weit Kraner: also Harpers' Lat. Dict.

p. 429, l. 6 Sen. epp. 29. 4, has, however, the accus. of a person. Cf. also Flor. 4. 11. 10 desperavit a principe.

p. 430 *Destinare* mit Infin. häufiger seit Livius; cf. Ovid Met. 8. 157.

Destruere: add, Vgl. Drak, zu Liv. 2. 10. 10.

p. 431 *Deterere*, found also in Gell. 15. 30. 1.

p. 432 *Detrahere*, with acc. and *ab* is found in Cic. De Off. 3. 30, with acc. and dat., in Sen. ad Marc. 26. 2; vit. beat. 4. 3.

p. 433 *Deversari*, Liv. 23. 8. 9 for 23. 8. 1 (correct also Harpers' Lat. Dict.).

p. 439, l. 7: Cite also Archiv X, p. 82; l. 18: the plur., however, is also found in Quint. 9. 4. 28, *ut diximus*.

p. 441 *Dicio* vom Plural nichts vorkommt; see Prud. Psych. 221, Sym. II. 420, and add to Neue-W¹.

p. 442 *Dictare*, add: Vgl. Norden Kunstprosa, II. 954 f.

p. 443, l. 8, Ter. Andr. 381: here *ac* is bracketed by Dziatzko as also in Heaut. 760.

Dies, l. 7: add Vgl. Wagener, Beitr. z. lat. Gr. (1905) p. 65 f. *Dies est*: cf. Quint. 5. 8. 7. Caes. civ. 3. 11. 1 is cited twice, once for *noctes ac dies*, once for *nocte ac die*. Here Kübler reads *noctem ac diem*, in 3. 36. 8 *diem ac noctem*.¹

p. 445 *Differt*, impers.: found also in Ad Her. 2. 33; Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 166; Plin. Ep. 8. 17. 6.

Difficile, Dräger H. S. I, 106: for I², 125; *difficulter*: Neue-W., l. c. omits Phaedr. 3 Poeta 29, Quint. 1. 3. 3; Prud. Cath. 7. 174.

p. 448 *Dignus*, mit dem Genitiv: Wölfflin, l. c. and in Archiv 13, p. 410, Schmalz, Synt³. § 86 Anm., also, cite Plaut. Trin. 1153. The text here, however, is uncertain.² Plautus uses *dignus ut* only once (Mil. 1140), but *dignus qui* 7 times and *dignus* with infin. 6 times (Lodge). With *ut*, "zweimal bei Livius" (= Dräger, H. S. II³, p. 258, H. J. Müller to Liv. 24. 16. 19): Fügner, however, to Liv. 6. 42. 12, says "eine Konstruktion bei Livius häufig." It is to be regretted that no further passages were cited by Fügner. At any rate, this construction is found at least "dreimal bei Livius". Cf. also Luterbacher to 7. 35. 4.³

¹ Neue I³, p. 1016, cites Liv. 7. 8. 6 for *postera die*; here M. Müller reads *postero die*. To Neue's list for *postera die* add: Sall. Ing. 68. 2; Vell. 2. 27. 2; Sen. Contr. 1. 5. 1; Curtius 4. 3. 13; 10. 8. 5; Justin 1. 8. 4; 10. 8; 11. 13. 1; 15. 3; 14. 2. 1; 15. 4. 5; 31. 2. 6. In his first decade Livy always says *in posterum diem*, except once, 6. 22. 8. Justin, 11. 12. 16 says *in posteram diem*. Cf. also *crastino die* Livy, 3. 20. 4; 46. 8, and Lease, to Livy XXI, l. 100. For Livy's usage add *ex ea die* 27. 38. 4; *ex qua die* 22. 10. 3; *ad eam diem* 29. 1. 23; 16. 4; *ante eam diem* 24. 22. 6; for Justin, *in eam diem* 13. 1. 5; *post eam diem* 8. 5. 13.

² Here Goetz and Schoell, and Leo, read *salute*, Ritschl-Schoell, Brix⁴, and Lindsay read *salutis*.

³ Schmalz, Synt³. § 329 says "nur bei Plaut., Liv., Quint.". Dräger, l. l. cites also Ovid, Martial, and late writers, but omits Macr. 5. 17. 7.

For *dignus* with the Infin. the Antib. as well as Dräger, H. S. II³, p. 332, omit Sen. Contr. 9. 24. 6; Exc. 9. 1; Ep. 77. 6; Gell. 15. 18. 1.

p. 452 *Directus*: the article needs revision: all recent editions read *derecta* in Liv. 21. 19. 1, *derectos* in b. Afric. 26. 4, and *disceptatio* (see p. 455) in Liv. 10. 18. 7.

p. 457 *Disperire*, unklassisch: found, however, in Lucr. and Catull.

p. 460 *Dissepire* is, however, also found in Varro, L. L. 5. 162.

p. 462 *Distantia*, also found in Vulg., Deut. 1. 17.

p. 466 *Diversus*: Hor. Ep. 1. 18. 5 has *est huic diversum* (= contrarium).¹ For the superl. Neue-Wagener, II³, S. 227 omit Suet. Cal. 51, 54, Vit. 1, and Tib. 66. For *ditior*, II³, p. 185 Prud. Per. 216, 312 is omitted. *Lingua ditior* may be first in Macr., but *divite lingua* is found as early as Hor. Ep. 2. 2. 121.

p. 470 *Documento esse*, Klass. nur Caes. Gall. 7. 4. 10: see, however, Caes., civ. 3. 10. 6.

p. 473 *Domī*: Vgl. Archiv XIII, S. 307 f., 311 f., is to be added.

p. 474 *Donare* and its uses deserve a note.

p. 478 *Ducere*, l. 16: here Livy = Klass.! Classical illustrations are Caes. B. G. 1. 3. 2; 4. 30. 2 etc. (in l. 23 Weyman-Landgraf = incorrect order of names). For *ducere vitam* cf. also Hor. Ep. 17. 63, Verg. Aen. 2. 641.

p. 480 *Dum*: for its use Wölfflin Archiv X p. 368 f. and "J. L.", in Rev. de Phil. 25 (1901), No. 1. should be cited. *Dum* = dummodo, as well as *dum ne*, is worthy of a note.

p. 481, l. 10, M. Müller, l. c., is a better reference, as he corrects Kühnast's list. Cf. also Riemann Étud³. p. 18.

p. 482 *Durabilis* is already found, however, in Ovid Her. 4. 89. *Durare*, 'to harden': cf. also Sen. Contr. 1. pr. 16, and Ep. 95. 18.

p. 486 *Ecce* with acc.: cf. Sen. Ep. 15. 9 and add this passage to the Archiv V p. 24.

p. 491 *Efficaciter*, Seneca: should be, Sen. rhet. und besonders Sen. phil.; cf. also Val. Max. 6. 9. 2 and 21. 1 ext. 1; Plin. N. H. 20. 217; Quint. 5. 13. 25 (examples not cited by Neue II³, p. 688).

p. 492 *Efficere ne*, Cic. Att. 6. 1. 16: Draeger, II³, 291 omits this passage as also Cic. Rep. 1. 67; Fin. 4. 10; Val. Max. 3. 4. 2;

¹ Neue-Wagener II³, p. 880 omits for *ex diverso* Sen. Contr. 7 pr. 7; Plin. N. H. 4. 84; 16. 241 (*e diverso* very common), Ep. 7. 65; Curt. 4. 4. 7 and cites Sen. brev. vit. 8, 1 for 7. 10. 1.

Sen. Tranq. 8. 4; 16. 4: ad Helv. 18. 9: Vell. 2. 34. 3; Tac. Agr. 6.

p. 494 *Egere*: add. Vgl. Archiv XII, S. 144, Riemann Étud³. S. 269, und Lease, Am. Jour. Phil. XXI (1901) p. 449 f.

p. 495 *Egredi urbe*: cf. Lease to Liv. I. l. 1058; with *finibus*, M. Müller, Liv. 35. 4. 4 (crit. note, p. X). For the accus. cf. also Val. Max. 2. 6. 10; 3. 3 ext. 2. Three references were uncorrected from the 6th ed.: *Egredi urbem* (for abl.) Liv. 22. 55. 8, and Quint. 4. 1. 61 *E. portum* (for abl.) and 11. 2. 13 *E. limen* (for *ultra l.*).

p. 497 *Elabi vita*: cf., however, Sen. Ep. 77. 10.

p. 500, l. 2 Greenough: add, Harv. Stud. I, p. 97; l. 3, change *l, n, m*, to *l, m, n*, and add: Vgl. Wilkins Cic. De Or. I. 163 (p. 153) und Archiv XI pp. 443, 583, XII p. 138.

Elevare oculos: Sen., Benef. 1. 3. 1 and Tranq. an. 1. 9, however, uses *adversus*.

p. 505 *En* oder *Em*: cf. also Am. Journ. Phil. XXVII (1906), p. 90 f. Livy 22. 6. 3 was incorrectly repeated from the 6th ed.; cf. Archiv VI, p. 36 and recent editions.

p. 506 *Enervis*: found in Sen. phil. also (Thyest. 176).

Enixe, with *petere*; erst seit Sen. phil. (as in 6th Ed); cf. Plaut. Trin. 652, where G. and Sch. and Leo read *enixe expeto*.

p. 507 *Ens* Quint. 8. 3. 33, Sergius: cf., however, the editions of Halm and Meister *ad loc.* as also Quint. 2. 14. 2.

Eo, Kühnast S. 84: here but one example is given and Draeger, Synt. Tac. S. 26 is cited for Tac³. S. 30. Liv. 28. 27. 12, omitted by Kühnast and cited by Schmalz, has *quo*, not *eo*, in M. Müller's ed.

p. 510, l. 5, Neue-Wagener II³ p. 962 f. should be cited.

p. 512 *Eripere carcere*, Sen. Polyb. 14. 4: here, however, Hermes reads *carceri* (cf. crit. note).

p. 516 *Escendere*, Liv. 26. 48. 5: *ascendisset*, however, is used.

p. 517 *Esse*: for *Est* with infin. cf. Lease, Synt. and Style Prud. p. 37 where five occurrences found in Prud. are not cited by the Archiv referred to. Cf. also *erat videre* Macr. 7. 7. 14.

p. 519 *Essentia*: Aug. C. D., XII. 2: *novo nomine iam nostris temporibus usitatio* is worth recording.

p. 522, l. 4 *-que . . . -que*: cf. Lease, Livy, § 49. e. The combination is also used by Sen. Clem. 1. 16. 5: 2. 1. 3 Plin. Min. 8. 6. 14 and Macr. 5. 22. 10: Som. Scip. 1. 14. 6: 16. 19.

p. 528 *Evadere*: uncorrected from the 6th ed. are: Liv. 31. 33. 5 for 21. 33. 5; 33. 28. 4 for 33. 28. 3; 27. 33. 6 for 27. 23. 6. With the Accus.: found also in Plin. Ep. 1. 12. 11.

p. 529 *Evalescere*, Archiv I, p. 473: add to the passages there cited Stat. Silv. 5. 2. 79, Claud., Rapt. Pros. 3. 92.

p. 530 *Evellere*; Cic. De Or. 1. 230 has, however, *ex intimis mentibus*, and belongs here no more than it did in the 6th Ed.

p. 531 *Exacerbare*: the Antib. here, as also the Archiv X p. 78, cites Liv. 28. 6. 17 for 29. 6. 17.

p. 531 *Exactus*, Kl. nicht: i. e. except in poetry. Plin. Mai. (17. 251) also uses it.

p. 534 *Exarmare*, Seneca: for Sen. rhet. u. Sen. phil.

Exaudire, Liv. 31. 5. 7: here M. Müller reads *precationi annuisse* (cf. Drak. *ad loc.*).

Excedere loco, Liv. 36. 10. 15: for 36. 10. 14, belonging, however, under *finibus*. So also, p. 535, l. 2 the citations for the accus. have crept in from *egredi*, but in the passages cited here (1. 29. 6; 3. 57. 10; 22. 55. 8) *urbe* is used in the latest texts.¹ Sen. Ep. 77. 10 does not belong here either, as it does not have *vita excedere*, but *vita elabi*. For *exc. provincia* cf. Liv. 10. 18. 1; Italia, 10. 2. 3; 37. 49. 7; 39. 54. 13; 42. 36. 7; 48. 4; Macedonia, 45. 32. 6; curia 42. 26. 51; *urbe* 31. 17. 3. Cf. also *templo*, 29. 19. 3; 39. 5. 6 but *ex templo*, 26. 30. 11; 37. 52. 9. *Excedere modum*: cf. also Sen. Contr. I, pr. 22; Val. Max. 1. 6. 3; 8. 13 ext. 1; Plin. Trai. 116. 2.

p. 546 *Eximere obsidione*: Liv. 27. 22. 3 should be 37. 52. 3; cf. also 37. 26. 13; 9. 21. 3; 24. 41. 6; 36. 13. 1. *Eximere servitute*: cf. also Liv. 34. 52. 12. *Exim. aliquem alicui rei*: cf. Sen. Ira 3. 25. 3.

p. 550. *Expedire ab occupatione* is found, however, in Cic. Att. 3. 20. 2 (Purser).

p. 553 *Experire ut ne*, Cic. de or. 2. 16: here, however, Wilkins (Oxford Text) reads *experire illud ut ne*.

p. 554 *Explere*, Liv. 7. 30. 15; here, however, M. Müller reads *ira expleri*.

p. 555. *Exponere in* mit acc., Caes. civ. 1. 31. 3; here, however, Kübler has *in terra*, as also in civ. 3. 23. 2 (for which Antib. cites Liv. 3. 23. 2). *Praemium ponere*: for Liv. 3. 24. 2 (wrong

¹ It may be noted, e. g. that M. Müller, Liv. Anh. II. p. 154 (1878) had cited for *urbem* 23. 1. 3, but in the Teubner Text (1899) he reads *urbe*.

reference) cite 29. 6. 15; cf. also Verg. Aen. 5. 292 and 486. On p. 556 *Exponere in aliquid*: Sen. de cons. ad Pol. 93: for 9. 7? Here, however, Hermes reads *ad* (See crit. note *ad loc.*).

p. 570, l. 2: Cf. also Archiv III, p. 177 f. Regnier, Lat. Aug. p. 27 and, for additional examples, Lease, Synt. and Style Prud. §101, d.

p. 577 *Fama*; Plaut. Trin. 186 has *maledicas famas ferre*: this is the reading of Brix and Leo, but not of G. and Schoell and of Lindsay.

p. 582. *Fastigium*, bildlich: also used by Sen. Ep. 76, 31.

Fatum: cf. also Liv. 3. 7. 10 *fato sunt functi* and Val. Max.

2. 10. 3.

p. 583. *Favorabilis*, used by Plin. mai also.

p. 587 *Ferro et igne*: cf. also Sen. Ep. 7. 4. Sen. de const. 2. 2 has, however, *igne ac ferro*.

p. 591 *Figere: in terram* is the reading, however, of Zingerle and M. Mueller (1902) for the passages cited in Livy. (Cf. M. M. Crit. note to II, 65. 3). M. Müller's text has, however, *clavos fixos in templo*, 7. 3. 7 and *spolia in aede fixa*, 10. 2. 14. Note also that Justin, 21. 4. 7, says *in crucem figitur*.

p. 595 *Fine*, präp., Liv.: it would be well to cite a passage, as Livy is not mentioned by either Wölfflin or Schmalz, l. c.

p. 597 *Flagrare*: Liv. 24. 26. 3 and 40. 15. 9 (not 5) have, however, *conflagrare*, and belong five lines below.

p. 599 *Fluctuare*: Hense in Sen. Epp. 52. 1, however, reads *fluctuamur*, in Epp. 111. 14 *fluctuatur*. Add: Vgl. Neue-Wagener IV, p. 147.

p. 600 *Flumen*: Cf. also Lease, Livy §61, a and to I, l. 86; also Archiv XIV, p. 427.

p. 603 *Forsan*, im b. Afr. 45. 2 liest Wölfflin *forsitan*: not, however, in the Kübler-Wölfflin Ed. (1896) and in the Archiv X (1898), p. 59.¹

Forsitan, bei Cic. auch den Konj. Imperf. u. Plusq., z. B. de or. 2. 189 u. off. 1. 112: the exception to the primary sequence in these two passages, it may be remarked, is more apparent than real. As a matter of fact the plupf. subj. used in both of these

¹ *Forsan*: Neue-Wagener II², p. 604, and IV, p. 149 omit Phaedr. 2. 4. 7; Lucan 2. 175; 5. 93; 8. 856; 9. 63; 474; 865, Sil. 10. 307; 400; 12. 261; 15. 341; 16. 433, Val. Flacc. 1. 170; 712; 2. 151; 7. 129; 8. 423, Mart. 4. 14. 13; 5. 28. 8; 60. 8; 7. 68. 2; 10. 75. 7; 12. 5. 4, Juv. 6. 14; 12. 125 Macr. 1. 13. 1, Juvenius, Praef. 22; I, 33; III, 616; IV, 140, Tert. De Spect. 1

passages is that of an unreal condition, from which it follows that *forsitan* need have no influence on either the mood or the tense. The two other passages cited by Merguet's *Lexica* (Qu. Rosc. 47, Verr. II. 159) contain *videretur*, i. e. a potential of the past. So, also, the impf. in Ovid Met. 11. 760, Livy 32. 21. 1, and the pluperf. in Livy 33. 25. 6 are to be accounted for, i. e. as unreal conditions. For the pluperf. cite Livy 3. 25. 9, and for the impf. Ovid Met. 7. 753 and Quint. 3. 7. 24. Why was Blase, Hist. Gr. III, p. 159, not referred to?

Forsitan with *fut. indic.*; cf. also Ovid A. A. 1. 483; 2. 286; Sen. Ep. 47. 2; Lucan 9. 869; 10. 364; Quint. 10. 2. 10; with the *pres. indic.*; cf. also Lucan 9. 877; Sen. Suas. 7. 2; with the *perf. indic.* Val. Max. 4. 1 ext. 3. Cf. also Blase, Hist. Gr. III, p. 143.

p. 604 *Fortasse an* is found, however, twice in Apul. (cf. Hildebrand to Met. 9. 5).

Fortassis: is especially common in Plin. Mai. and St. Augustine.¹

p. 610 *Frugalis*: Sen. exc. Contr. 6. 2 has both *frugalior* and *frugalissimus*; Sen. Ep. 97. 9 *frugalior*. *Fruitus sum*: Sen. Ep. 93. 9 is omitted by Neue-Wagener, p. 542.

p. 612 *Frugi*: a genitive or a dative? many attempts have been made to solve this problem. Schmalz, here, and Wölfflin (Archiv IX, p. 105) regard the question as still unanswered.²

¹ *Fortassis*: Neue-W. II², p. 605 omits: Sen. Contr. 10. 4. 25; 5. 7; exc. 10. 5; Stat. Achil. 1. 1. 666; Plin. Mai. 2. 82; 118; 127; 25. 22; 28. 123; 30. 97; 32. 152; 33. 124; 36. 4; 132; 37. 145; Aug., C. D., (Domb.) I, pp. 45. 7; 109. 6; 111. 20; 278. 4; 280. 31; 326. 15; 543. 11; II, pp. 141. 14; 156. 24; 474. 5; also Ep. 261. 5. Apul. Met. 9. 5. Purser reads *fortassis* in the Oxford text, but says in crit. note: "forma dubia".

² A decision is difficult, it need hardly be said, because certain passages point unquestionably to a genitive function, others to a dative. For an important discussion of the subject Roby, Lat. Gram. II, p. xlviii should be consulted. In addition to the writers referred to by the Antibarbarus, it may be stated that Delbrück (Vergl. Gram. III p. 409) and Lindsay (Lat. Lang. p. 407) regard it, as did Roby l. c. and Draeger (I² p. 438), as a dative, but Riemann (Rev. de Phil., 1890, p. 66), Riemann et Goelzer (Gram. Comp. p. 129) and Brix-Niemeyer (to Plaut. Capt.⁸ p. 956) maintain that it is a genitive. As indicative of a genitive function I have noted the following passages: Plaut. Trin. 321 *nec probus est, nec frugi bonae*; Ter. Heaut. 580 *hominis frugi et temperantis*, Cic. Att. 4. 8. 3 *permodestus ac bonae frugi* Gell. 6. 11. 2 *hominem nihili rei neque frugis bonae*, id. 2. 23. 18 *servus bonae frugi*, and these passages should be compared with those cited by Roby as pointing to a dative function for this word.

Fugere, der Imperf (*sic*!) *fuge* mit einem Infin., Cic. de orat. 3. 153, Att. 10. 8. 5, off. 3. 26: it should be noted, however, that not one of these citations is appropriate.

p. 613 *Fulmen*, "de caelo tangi, s. Drakenberch zu Liv. 26. 23. 5": D's. list, however, is far from complete; cf. Lease to Livy I, l. 95.

p. 617 *Fungi diem*: the expression is also found in Just. 19. 1. 1, *morte fungi* in Ovid, Met. 11. 583.

p. 619 *Gaudere*, Quint. 5. 12. 22; reference inappropriate; cite instead 2. 1. 5.

p. 625 *Gestire* mit Infin.; Merguet, Lexica, cites two in Cic. Phil., but none in the speeches. Cf., however, Cic. Phil. 4. 14; Marc. 10. See also Att. 4. 11. 1.

p. 628 *Gnarus*, nur bei Tacitus *passiv*: found, however, in Curtius, 10. 2. 10 *rex satis gnarus*.

p. 632 *Gratia*, last line, "Vgl. Archiv I, 169": for Quintilian's usage Wölfflin refers to Bonnell's Lexicon. The list of occurrences given there is, however, far from complete.¹

p. 638 *Habentia*: cf. Non. Marc., p. 172 (Lindsay).

p. 643 *Habitare*, trans.; cf. M. Müller Liv. II. Anh., p. 159.

p. 644 *Hac* (parte), nicht klass.; cf., however, Cic. Leg. 1. 14; Caes. B. C. 1. 45. 6; 2. 2. 3.

p. 645 *Haerere*; cf. also M. Müller, Liv. II. Anh., p. 145, and for the dative add: Sen. De Cons. 1. 1; De Tranq. An. 1. 11; Benef. 1. 12. 2; Epp. 41. 5; 82. 5; 100. 12; Plin. ad Trai. 95; Pan. 24. 3.

p. 649 *Hic* . . . *illic*: also found in Vell. 2. 49. 2.

p. 652 *Hinc* . . . *illinc*: both the Archiv, l. c., and the Antibarbarus omit for Livy's use, 2. 11. 9; 29. 9; 6. 33. 9; 10. 31. 6; as also Val. Max. 4. 7. 7; 6. 9. ext. 7; 7. 4. 4; 8. 15. 8; Liv. 3. 55. 6; *hinc* . . . *hinc* Val. Max. 3. 8. 3; *hinc atque illinc*, Liv. 30. 8. 4. and Sen. brev. vit. 12. 3; cf. also *hinc* . . . *illinc* Vell. 2. 84. 2; Sen. De Ira III, 28. 1.

p. 654 *Hoc* = *huc*: read by Wölfflin Liv.⁵ 21. 43. 13 (cf. also Archiv VII, p. 332).

¹ C. Subst. add also: 2. 11. 3; 3. 5. 11; 6. 93; 8. 35; 53; 4. 2. 17; 19; 67; 128; 5. 12. 5; 6. 5. 6; 8. 3. 54; 72 (*bis*); 9. 2. 66; 10. 1. 23; 129; 2. 27; 12. 2. 25; 5. 1; 11. 8 (= 21).

C. Verbis, add also: 1. 5. 42; 3. 1. 3 2. 2; 4. 1. 2; 5 pr. 1; 13. 40; 6. 34. 4; 8. 3. 7; 73; 9. 1. 4; 21; 3. 70; 4. 31; 4. 127 10. 1. 7; 2. 23; 11. 3. 143 (= 17).

Val. Maximus' usage, which is omitted is also striking: *gratia* 25, but *causa* 12.

Hodieque = noch heutzutage, nicht vor Vellejus: this statement is also found in Draeger, II³, p. 46. There are two possible examples in Sen. Contr. 1. 1. 15 (p. 75, K.), and 7. 1. 18 (p. 307, K.). To Draeger and the Antibarbarus add: Vell. 2. 61. 3; Val. Max. 2. 2. 6; 4. 4. 2; 5. 6. 2; 7. 2 ext. 2.

p. 657 *Honor* oder *honos*: it is noteworthy that whereas Livy always used *honos* (exc. 4. 8. 7), Quintilian and his pupil Pliny always used *honor* (exc. Quint. 3. 7. 22). Plin. Mai., on the other hand, preferred *honos*.

p. 659 *ad horam*, Sp. L.: but see Sen. N. Q. 3. 16. 2.

p. 661 *Hortatus*, im Sing. nur im Ablat.: but see Macr. Sat. 7. 5. 5 *hortatui*.

p. 662 *Hosticus*: cf. also Drak. to Livy, 36. 43. 6.

p. 663 *Huc atque illuc* is also found in Vell. 2. 21. 1.¹ *Huc* mit Gen.: cf. also Val. Max. 3. 7. 1 d; 8. 1. Absol. 6.

p. 664 *Humane*, Kompar.: found also in Cic. Tusc. 3. 64 (omitted by Merguet).

p. 675 *Idoneus*: with *in* and accus., also found in Sen. Contr. 1. 2. 14; 10. 4. 16, and Quint. 6. 3. 15.

*Igitur*²: for a complete statement of Livy's usage cf. Lease, Livy Intr. § 48 c. The frequency of the use of *igitur* as the introductory word of a sentence is a characteristic feature of the style of Justin, being used thus 75 times,³ and is common also in Curtius (50 times).

p. 676 *Ignarus* mit Genitiv, nur Sall. und Ovid.: see, however, Verg. Aen. 10. 705.

p. 677 *Ignorabilis*, bei Plautus Pseud. 571 L.: not, however, in the text of Lorenz³, Leo, or Lindsay.

¹To the Archiv XII, p. 248, add: *huc et illuc*, Sen. Dial. 10. 7. 10; 12. 6 Ep. 74. 3; *huc atque illuc* Sen. Dial. 12. 11. 7; Tac. Hist. Ann. 10. 24; Hist. 1. 85. 17; and for Livy 7. 34. 23 cite 7. 34. 13. "Oft bei Tac." is only 10 times! (cf. Gr. and Greef.).

²For omissions in Quintilian's usage noted by Neue-Wagener and Bonnell's Index cf. Lease, Class. Rev. XIII (1899), p. 130, and Am. Journ. Phil. XXI (1904), p. 452. To Neue II³, p. 975, add also Nepos, Att. 3. 3; Val. Max. 1. 8. 10; 2. 7. 6; 4. 1 ext. 8; 6 ext. 3; 7 ext. 1; 5. 3. 2 b; 4. 6; 6. 2 ext. 1; 7. 4 ext. 3; 5. 2; 8. 1 abs. 3; 9. 3. 8; 8 ext. 1; 6. 3; 12. 7; 14 pr. Sen. Ep. 8. 2. 18; Plin. Ep. (author not cited) 1. 19. 2; 2. 6. 7; 3. 1. 12; 15. 2; 4. 6. 3; 5. 1. 9; 7. 11. 6; 27. 1; 28. 3; 8. 2. 4; 10. 2; 14. 18; 15. 2; 9. 1. 4; 24; Pan. 3. 1; 5. 6; 30. 5; 37. 6 (= 19 for Pliny). Varro (R. R. and L. L.) used *igitur* in this way 22 times.

³No examples of this usage of Justin or Curtius are cited by Neue-Wagener.

p. 680 *Illectamentum*, nur Apul. apol. 98: but see apol. 102.

Illicitus: also found in Lucan, Val. Flacc. and Statius.

p. 681 *Illucet*: Cicero, however, uses *lucet* of a star in Rep. 4. 16. Add: Vgl. M. Müller zu Liv. 1. 28. 2.

p. 683 *Imbecillus*, Neue-Wagener¹ II S 164: the Seneca references here need revision: de Ira 3. 11. 1 is cited for 3. 10. 4; tranq. an. 17. 3 is omitted; not found in Hermes' ed. at the passages cited are: de Ira 2. 10. 2; tranq. an. 15. 9 and 17; Cons. Helv. 7. 3 and 11. 2; in Clem. 2. 6. 4 Hermes reads *imbecillos* not *imbecilles*.

p. 689 *Impavidus*: Liv. 39. 50. 8 (=an adv.) is cited twice; change one to 21. 30. 2, (an adj.). To "Sen. de v. beat." add the passage, 8. 2.

p. 691 *Imperare* mit dem Infin. Act.: in Tac. only in ann. 2. 25 and 15. 28 (Gr. and Greef).

p. 693 *Impetus*, der Abl. plural kommt nirgends vor: see however, Lucr. 1. 293 (Munro).

p. 694 *Implere*: Liv. 27. 22. 12 is incorrectly cited, as here *com- plere* is used. A much more complete list than that here given is found in M. Müller, Liv. I³, Anh., p. 182, and should have been cited. According to M. Müller's lists the Abl. is used but 3 times with persons, leaving 22 for its use with abstract words. Cf. further Lease to Livy, I, l. 61. Draeger, H. S. I³, p. 558 is also to be corrected. On p. 695 the statement is made that "alle übrigen Komposita von *plere* werden mit Abl. Konstruiert." Cf., however, *explere* with a Gen. in Verg. Aen. II, 586.

p. 696 *Implicitus morbo*: found also in Liv. 23. 40. 1. On *implicare* with a dative cf. Bennett, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. 36 (1905), p. 69.¹

Imponere in aliquid or *in aliqua re*: Neue-Wagener II³, p. 935 f. should be referred to. With *imponere in naves*, Curt. 9. 8. 3 compare *imp. navibus*, Just. 18. 5. 5; 39. 1. 4.

p. 697 *Impos*, Stellen bei Haustein, S. 37: to his list add Plaut. Truc. 832, Prud. Cath. 9. 53, Psych. 585, Lact. De Ira Dei 21. 3, and cite Plaut. Cas. 629 for 514, Truc. 828 for 789.

p. 700 *Impurare*, zuerst bei Isidor: see, however, Prud., Per. 10. 191.

¹ Neue III³, p. 524, omits under *implicatus*, Nepos Dion 1. 1, under *implicitus* Iustinus 40. 1. 2 and Curtius 7. 7. 7.

p. 701 *Imputare*, Ovid. *nur heroid.* 6. 102 u. *Met.* 2. 400: also found, however, in *Met.* 15. 470. This verb is also found in Val. Max., Plin. Mai., Mart., and Juv., later in Prud. Cath. 7. 133.

p. 707 *Incedere*: the order of the passages in Livy from 2. 7. 1 to 3. 59. 1 do not correspond to the order of the words mentioned. For *cupido* cf. 24. 13. 5, for *indignatio* 3. 60. 8, and for *maestitia* 29. 3. 9.

p. 708 *Incertus* mit dem Genitiv, Haustein, S. 30: add to his list Liv. 9. 43. 4 Curt. and Tac. (cf. Luterbacher to Liv. 4. 23. 3).

p. 711 *Incepi*: also found in Plaut. *Amph.* 7, Cas. 164, Men. 435, Truc. 465, 467.

Incilamentum, bei Liv. 21. 44. 9: but not in recent editions.

p. 713 *Incogitans*, *nur Ter. Phorm.* 155: found also in *ib.* 499, and Auson. *Per.* 15.

p. 714 *Incompositus*, erst bei Livius: Cf., however, Verg. *G.* 1. 350.

p. 716 *Inconveniens*, zuerst Quint.: but found in *Phaedr.* 3. 13. 6, Sen. *Vit. beat.* 12. 3.

p. 718. *Incumbere*: with Liv. 44. 36. 5 *scutis* contrast 35. 5. 7 *in scuta*; with rhet. *Her.* 1. 18, Val. Max. 3. 2. ext. 1, Sen. *tranq. an.* 16. 1, Tac. *Ann.* 2. 17, *gladio* contrast Vell. 2. 70. 3, Val. Max. 3. 2. 14, *in gladium*; and compare *ferro*, *Phaedr.* 3. 10. 33 with *pilo* Sen. *Ep.* 36. 9: *in unum locum* Liv. 27. 40. 6 with *in alteram partem*, Sen. *ad Marc.* 5. 4.

p. 723 *Indigere*: the abl. is also used by Sen. *Benef.* 3. 35. 3; 6. 27. 1; *Epp.* 9. 1; 14. 17; 52. 3; the gen. with *indigens* in *Benef.* 1. 15. 3, and *Ep.* 85. 20.

p. 724. *Indignari* Vgl. Dräger, H. *Synt.* II. S. 393: to his list add Quint. 10. 1. 101. With the *Infin.*: also used by Quint. and Juv., with *si*: also by Mart. 9. 7. 34.

p. 729 *Ex industria*, seit Livius: see, however, Plaut. *Poen.* 219.¹ *Ob industriam*, "Ofsters bei Plaut.": used by him, however, only twice (Cas. 276, 805).

¹ Plautus uses *de industria*, however, three times (*Asin.* 212, *Aul.* 420, Cas. 278).

Livy, in the 3d decade used *de industria* 11 times, but *ex ind.* only twice (add 25. 15. 9 to M. Müller 2. Liv. 1. 19. 6). For this expression Quintilian's model was Livy rather than Cicero, using *ex ind.* 8 times, but *de ind.* only once (9. 4. 144). Val. Max. (K.), however, used only *de industria* (1. 8 ext. 2; 7. 3. 2; 4 ext. 2; 6. 9 ext. 5; 8. 2. 1; 3) or *industrie* (7. 5. 4; 8. 15 pr). Sen. rhet. used *de ind.* in *Contr.* 2. 7. 5; 7. 4. 6; 9. 2. 27, *ex ind.* in 9 pr. 3; 10 pr. 16. Sen. Phil. also used both forms, *de ind.* *Ep.* 114. 15; *ad Polyb.* 5. 4; *ad*

p. 730 *Inermis*: Neue II³, p. 151, cites for Livy only 29. 4. 7; add also 6. 10. 5; 10. 35. 10; 32. 24. 6, and Val. Max. 7. 3. 3; Iustinus 12. 11. 8; on p. 152, for *semiermis*, 22. 50. 4; 25. 19. 14; 27. 1. 15; 30. 6. 7; 31. 41. 10; 36. 19. 19. *Semermes* is used in 31. 41. 10.

p. 737 *Infinito*, Quint. 11. 3. 4 (reference as in 6th ed.), but *infinite* is read by Halm and Meister.

Infittas: cf. *neque infittas eo*, Quint. 3. 7. 3; 4. 2. 67; 7 pr. 4 and *nec infittas eo* Macr. 3. 16. 5.

p. 742 *Ingredi*, von Livius nur im eigentlichen Sinne; cf., however, 38, 54. 2, and Drak. *ad loc.*

p. 743 *Inhonorabilis* is read, however, in Cic. fam. 5. 21 by Purser (Oxford text).

p. 747. *Iniurium est*, Vgl. Brix zu Plaut. Mil. 436: to his list add Cist. 103 and 374.

p. 751 *Inquies*, "erst Sp. L., Vgl. Archiv IV S. 403", where, it may be added, its use in Plin. N. H. 14. 142 is cited, but omitted here.

p. 752 *Inscientiam*, Liv. 22. 25. 12: this reference (= inscitia) was uncorrected from the 6th Ed.

p. 760 *Insuper* as a preposition with accus. is also found 6 times in Vitruv., and with *quibus* in 5. 1. 9, *quo* in 10. 15. 4 (Nohl).

p. 759 *Insuetus*, nicht bei Cic.: found, however, in Cic. Att. 2. 21. 4.

p. 761 *De Integro*: already in Ter. (Ad. 153, Heaut. 674).¹

p. 764 *Intentus*: a note regarding its usage might well have been given; (cf. Jacobs to Sall. Cat. 6. 5, M. Müller, Liv. II, p. 151, Friedersdorff to Liv. 26. 39. 21, Dräger to Tac. Ann. 1. 31. 7; 2. 5. 5 Steele, Am. Journ. Phil. XXVII (1906), p. 292).

p. 765, l. 10: Liv. 1. 8. 5, and 22. 16. 7 do not belong in the category here given. In l. 18, for Reisigs Vorles. S. 730, cited ed. of Schmalz and Landgraf, p. 718.

p. 768, l. 2, Vgl. Dräger, H. Synt. I, S. 516: to the list there given add Liv. 8. 14. 8.

Helv. 2. 5, *ex ind.* Ep. 100. 6; so also Suet. *ex ind.*, Tit. 9; Dom. 19, Claud. 38, but *de ind.*, Claud. 33, Galba 19; and Macr., *de ind.* 1. 10. 21; 5. 1. 18, but *ex ind.* 2. 1. 15; 6. 9. 13. Curtius used only *de industria* (11 times).

¹ For its use in Livy, cf. Lease to Livy I. l. 635 (Friedersdorff Liv. 28, Anh., p. 115, does not give a complete list). Livy also uses *ab integro* in 43. 16. 7. Quint. used *de integro* 4 times, *ex integro* only once, 2. 4. 13. The latter was also used by Plin. Ep. 3. 9. 35; 7. 9. 6; ad Trai. 56. 4, and by Col. 9. 13.

Interdiu: cf. also Plin. Ep. 7. 27. 6, and Sen. Brev. Vit., 14. 5 where *nocte . . . interdiu* is used. "Vgl. Lorenz zu Plaut. Most. 444": here Rud. Prol. 7, and Ter. Ad. 531 are omitted.

p. 770 *Interest*: on *refert* add: Vgl. Skutsch Archiv 15, p. 47. Caesar's exclusive use of *interest* is worth noting. With Cicero's and Livy's preference for *interest* over *refert* may be compared that of Plin. Min., and by way of contrast Quintilian's preference for *refert*.

p. 774 *Interpretatio*, Übersetzung, Cic. Balb. 14: in appropriate reference, as the word is used here in a different sense.

p. 775 *Interritus*, N. Kl.: also P. L., as Vergil and Ovid use it. *Interserere*: also found in Nepos and Ovid.

p. 785 *Invidere*, Vgl. Nipperdey zu Tac. Ann. 1. 22: his list for the dative is, however, not complete; add Hist. 4. 84. 11, Dial. 25. 31.¹

p. 789 *Iocus*: cf. also Plaut. Amph. 963 *id ioco dixisti*.

p. 795 *Irreligiosus*, zuerst seit Livius, aber nur 5. 40. 10; here, however, Fügner, M. Müller and Zingerle read *religiosum*. (See M. M. crit. note *ad loc.*).

p. 796 *Irrumpere*, ohne *in*, Caes. civ. 2. 13. 4: so also, in the 6th ed.; Kübler, however, reads quin *in oppidum* ir.).

p. 799 *Itaque*: for a much more complete list of its use postpositive than that given by Hand, Draeger, or Neue-Wagener, cf. Lease, Class. Rev. XIII (1899) p. 130 and Am. Journ. Phil. XXI (1904), p. 452.²

¹ Nipperdey l. c. cites under the dative Ann. 15. 63 (= *non inuidebo exemplo*). Gerber and Greef also cite this passage as a dative. *Exemplo* is, however, better regarded as an ablative, in view of the wide prevalence of this case with *invidere* in Silver Latin. It is regarded as an ablative by Draeger (Synt. Tac.³, Tac. I. § 39, H. Synt.² § 283). The Ablative in Livy 2. 40. 11 is variously explained: by Fügner, *ad loc.* as an "abl. limitationis", by M. Müller *ad loc.* and Draeger l. c. as an "abl. causae", and by Zumpt, Lat. Gr. § 413 Madvig § 261 a, Landgraf (Reisig Vorles. p. 604) as a "separativ". The use of *ob* with this verb in Sen. de Ira 1. 16. 6 and of *quod* in Asin. Pollio (Fam. 10. 31. 6) and Cicero (Fam. 7. 33. 1; Flacc. 70) point to the causal nature of the ablative in the Livian passage.

² Neue-Wagener, II³, p. 976 cites for Seneca only Ira 2. 31. 2, but here it is the first word in the sentence! In his prose Seneca used *itaque* first 246 times, postpositive 216 times. Postpositive *itaque* is also found in Val. Max. (not cited): 2. 6. 8. 12; 7. 11; 3. 2. 1; 6. 1. 7; 7. 2 ext. 1; 8. 10 ext. 1; 9. 11. 5. in Plin. ad Trai. 6. 2: 23. 1: 34. 2: 38. For Livy Neue cites only 7, instead of 38; cf. Novák, Stud. zu Liv. p. 238. For Iustinus Neue-W. cite but one example of *itaque* postpositive. It is so used by that author, however, 34 times.

p. 802 *Iubere*, l. 35: Liv. 32. 16. 9 and 30. 19. 2 are not pertinent (cf. M. Müller's und Zingerle's Text).

p. 804 *Indicatio*, vielleicht von Cicero gebildetes Wort: found earlier, however, in Auct. Her. 1. 26; cf. also Nägelsb.-Müller, Stil.⁹ p. 238.

p. 810 *Iuxta*, des Ranges, Liv. 9. 9. 4: cf. also 39. 9. 6, the only other example in Livy (Fügner, Lex. Liv.). Liv. 24. 5. 13 and 24. 20. 13, here cited for *iuxta ac*, are cited a few lines above for *iuxta* alone, and 23. 28. 4 = 23. 28. 3 above. From Fügner's Lexicon it appears that Livy uses *iuxta ac* twice as often *pariter ac*.

ERRORS IN CITATION.¹

p. 325 *Confidere*, Liv. 24. 4. 4 for 21. 4. 4: Cic. Att. 6. 16 A, 5 for 16. 16 A. 5: p. 330 *Congregare*, l. 6, Cic. Phil. 14. 5; for 14. 15; p. 338 *Conserere*, Lorenz Plaut. Mil. 692 for 699; p. 340, l. 4 from bottom, Liv. 30. 20 = ? 33. 6 for 33. 6. 8; p. 342 *Consortium*, Sen. ep. 90. 30 for 90. 36; p. 346, l. 4 Dräger H. Synt. II, 335 for II², 350; p. 347 *Consulere*, Sen. de benef. 1. 1. 8 for 1. 8. 1; p. 348 *Consultare*, Liv. 10. 25. 1 for 10. 25. 11; p. 350 *Contemptus*, Sen. brev. 11 (as in Archiv ref.) for 12. 1; p. 353 *Contexere*, Sen. contr. 7(3) for 7(5); p. 357 *Contra*, Cic. Brut. 1, b for 1. 1; p. 366 *Cor*, Lorenz Plaut. Mil. 779 for Mil². 786 and p. 367 Mil. 1079 for Mil². 1088; p. 375 *Crescere* Liv. 2. 27. 2 for 2. 27. 7: p. 379 *Culpa* Liv. 3. 66. 4 for 3. 67. 4; p. 390, near bottom, Sen. de tranq. 3. 15 for ? p. 391 Liv. 34. 81. 18 for 34. 31. 18.

p. 396 *Decedere de iure*, Cic. Att. 2. 1. 1 for 16. 2. 1; p. 398 *Decies*, Anm. 356 for 335; p. 402 *Deducere*, Caes. civ. 3. 26. 3 for 2. 26. 3; p. 406 *Defigere* Liv. 1. 45. 4 for 1. 58. 11; Cic. de or. 1. 31 = ? p. 407 *Degener*, Sen. epp. 107. 3 for 107. 12; de Clement. 1. 16. 3 for 1. 16. 5; p. 411, *Delectare*, Cic. Tusc. 3. 26 (as in Dräger, l. c.) for 3. 63; p. 419 *Deplorare* Liv. 3. 28. 2 for 3. 38. 2; p. 422 *Deputare*, Sen. de Clement. 1. 19. 5 for 1. 19. 8; p. 423 *Derelinquere*, Curt. 9. 14. 8 for 9. 4. 8; p. 424 *Derivare*, Liv. 5. 16. 9 = ? Plin. epp. 10. 69. 3 for 10. 61. 3 (Fl.); p. 428 *Desistere*,

¹ For *Errata* of this kind up to p. 316 cf. Class Rev. (1905), p. 222. The evidence there given together with those referred to above show that the citations of the Sixth Edition were not subjected to a careful revision. Variations of merely a section in citation, due chiefly to reference to older editions, are not mentioned above.

Liv. 38. 3. 5=? p. 433 *Deversari*, Liv. 23. 8. 9 for 23. 8. 1; p. 438 *Dicere*, l. 18, Quint. 1. 6. 24 for 6. 1. 24; p. 442 *Dictus*, Quint. 5. 1. 1 for 1. 5. 1; p. 444, l. 1, Liv. 22. 39. 11 for 22. 39. 14; p. 445 *Difficile*, Dräger H. Synt. I. 106 for 1², 125; p. 458 *Displacentia*, Sen. tranq. an. 2. 8 for 2. 10; p. 462 *Dissolvere*, Cic. Mur. 68 for 65; p. 466 *Diversus*, Caes. 3. 20. 2 for 3. 30. 2; *ex diverso* Vell. Pat. 2. 102. 1 for 2. 101. 2; *diverse*, Sall. Jug. 85. 2 for 85. 20; *Dives*, Liv. 10. 46. 6 for 10. 46. 10; p. 478. *Ducere*, Curt. 3. 28. 19 for 3. 11. 19; Liv. 24. 2. 3 for 34. 2. 3.

p. 495, *Egredi* Liv. 27. 16. 5 for 27. 16. 15; p. 500 *Elevare*, Sen. epp. 72. 34=? p. 507 *Ens*, Sen. epp. 58. 5 for 58. 7; p. 512 *Eripere*, Sen. epp. 92. 13 for 92. 15; p. 513, l. 9 Macr. sat. 2. 1. 18 for 2. 1. 8; p. 518, l. 10, Quint. 6. 1. 8 for 6 proem. 8; p. 528 *Evadere*, Liv. 31. 33. 5 for 21. 33. 5; p. 529 Liv. 27. 33. 6 for 27. 23. 6; p. 531 *Exacerbare*, Liv. 28. 6. 17 (as in Archiv) for 29. 6. 17; p. 536 *Excellere* Liv. 38. 43. 4 for 28. 43. 4; p. 543 Donat. zu Ter. Heaut. 177 for 167; p. 543 *Exercere*, Liv. 29. 11. 13 for 29. 17. 13; p. 546 *Eximere*, Liv. 27. 22. 3 for 37. 52. 3; p. 548 *Existimare*, Plaut. Capt. 678 for 682; p. 549 *Exortus*, rhet. Her. 3. 26 for 3. 36; p. 552 *Experire*, Liv. 31. 14. 4=? p. 555 *Exponere*, Liv. 2. 22. 3=? Liv. 3. 23. 2 for Caes. civ.; Liv. 3. 24. 2=? cite 29. 6. 15; p. 556 Liv. 9. 36. 6. for 9. 35. 6; Sen. cons. Polyb. 9. 3=? p. 562 *Extendere*, Quint. 11. 3. 19 for 11. 3. 119; p. 563, l. 7 Plin. ep. 5. 15. 7 for 5. 14. 7 (Fl.); p. 564 *Extollere*, Liv. 3. 45. 4 for 3. 35. 4; p. 572.

Facies, Gell. 2. 272 for 2. 27. 2; p. 580 *Familiaris*, Sen. epp. 47. 12 for 47. 14; p. 590 *Fides*, Capt. 334 for Capt⁵. 337; p. 594 *Finire*, Quint. 3. 33. 55 for 8. 3. 55; p. 597 *Flagrare*, Liv. 40. 15. 5 for 40. 15. 9.

p. 641 *Habere*, Liv. 37. 34. 5 (as in Harpers') for 37. 34. 7; p. 654 *Hodieque*, Dräger H. S. II p. 43 for II² p. 46; p. 658 *Honor*, Liv. 9. 40. 7 for 9. 40. 17; p. 663 *Huc*, Liv. 6. 34. 13 for 7. 34. 13.

p. 685 *Immergere*, Sen. Polyb. 37 for 18. 1; p. 689 *Impavidus*, Sen. de v. beat., no ref. (= 8. 2); p. 694 *Impinge*, Plaut. Capt. 730 for 734; p. 702, last line, Dräger H. S. II S. 628 for I² p. 58? p. 709, l. 1, Liv. 6. 39. 9 for 6. 29. 9; p. 712 M. Müller zu Liv. 1. 24. 7 for 1. 24. 1; p. 714 *Incommodare*, Caes. civ. 2. 63 for 3. 63. 5; p. 733 *Inferre*, Liv. 1. 52. 2 for 1. 51. 2; p. 737 *Infittias*, Liv. 31. 33. 9 (as in Archiv) for 31. 31. 9; p. 743 *Inhiare*, Sen. contr. 3 (7) 22. 11 for 7. 22. 11; Lorenz zu Plaut. Mil. 707

for 715 as p. 754 Mil. 558 for 560 and Brix zu Men. 1010 for 1008; p. 765, l. 10 Liv. 1. 8. 5 = ? and 22. 16. 7 = ? p. 777, *Intricare*, Lorenz Most. S. 48 (as in 6th ed.) for Pseud. S. 48.

MISPRINTS.

p. 325, l. 6 *fidamus*, followed by "?" instead of a period; p. 340, l. 10 *Iupiter*; p. 347, l. 5 *consule* for *consulas*; p. 439 l. 4 Dion, foll. by a period; p. 467 Liv. 10. 39. 4, *praedia* for *praeda*; p. 485 *ex more*, Virgil; pp. 495 and 543, l. 8 Cic. Quint. for Cic. Quinct.; p. 500, l. 3, *l, n, m* for *l, m, n*; p. 536 Greg. for Grég.; p. 570 Sen. ben. 1. 12. 4 *sui* for *sibi*; p. 599 Virg.; p. 621 *Genu*, last line, *a* for *ab*; p. 751, Sen. suas., *littora*; p. 810 *Iuxta*, Liv. 24. 5. 13 and 24. 20. 13 are each repeated, and 23. 28. 4 = 23. 28. 3, cited a few lines above.

In conclusion the writer would express the hope that the corrections and additions given here and elsewhere may prove of value to those who use the book and may be of service in a later revision. In the words of Pliny Ep. VII, 20. 1: "*Neque enim ulli patientius reprehenduntur quam qui maxime laudari merentur*".

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IV.—CICERO, DE OFFICIIS, I, §§ 7, 8.

For some time scholars have held that this passage, in the form in which it is presented to us by the MSS, cannot have come from Cicero's hand. They (a) assume a lacuna in 7 after *disputetur*, or (b) they bracket one or more sentences in 8, or (c) they assume the lacuna and also bracket a part or the whole of 8.

Thus Müller (Teubner text, 1898) assumes the lacuna, but does not bracket in 8; in his annotated edition (1882) he makes no mark of lacuna. Heine (6th edition, 1885) assumes the lacuna, but will go no further. Unger (Phil. Supp. III 14-18) bracketed *Atque . . . perfectum* and *Atque ea . . . definiant* in 8. Here too belong Orelli and Baiter. Von Gruber (1874) assumed the lacuna and bracketed all of 8.

Here, as elsewhere, English and American editors have walked in the footsteps of the Germans. Stickney (1885) does not mark a lacuna after *disputetur*; in his commentary he argues against the cancellation of 8 on the ground that, "if the section is cancelled, there is no definition of the subject-matter of the book, and we are tempted to assume that something has been lost, probably after *disputetur*; and this is one objection against cancelling it, for some definition is necessary". He concludes: "The passage is certainly vague and awkward; but there are many carelessly written passages in the book, and we are inclined to consider it genuine, with the exception, perhaps, of *Atque . . . offici* at the beginning of § 8". In a word Stickney belongs to class b (above).

Two American editors belong, apparently, to class c. Crowell (1882), though he did not mark a lacuna, wrote: "It can scarcely be doubted that here, either through Cicero's own oversight or the fault of a copyist, the announced definition of *officium* has been omitted". Rockwood (1901) marks a lacuna in 7; he refuses to believe that the promised definition comes in 8, and declares that something has been lost from the text. Both Crowell and Rockwood sympathize with those who would eject § 8 from the text. Holden (7th edition, 1891) marks a lacuna

in 7, but is silent on the point in his notes. On § 8 he remarks that "Heine¹ and other commentators pronounce the whole of this section to be spurious", and recounts the grounds on which this view is based, but expresses no personal opinion on the matter. One more point in the modern treatment of the passage may be noted; in 7 Heine reads *quae* for *quorum*.

For thirty years, then, so far as printed discussions show, no editor or scholar has given to this passage independent and searching thought.² Yet, in my opinion, such thought will show that the passage may well have come, exactly as it stands in the MSS, from Cicero's own hand, and that the assumption of a lacuna in 7 or the bracketing of 8, in whole or in part, is unnecessary.

Let us now examine the passage at first hand. It is unfortunate that in the paragraphing of the *De Officiis*, chapter III of Book I was not made to begin simultaneously with § 7. Let us make it so begin; further, let *Omnis de officio duplex*, be printed without break after *disputetur*. How much is thus gained at once for the interpretation of the whole passage can be appreciated, if one reads from *Placet igitur* straight through 8, and then rereads in editions which by the very mode of printing sharply differentiate *omnis de officio . . . quaestio*, etc., from what precedes. This physical separation, if I may so say, is exhibited in the editions of Stuerenburg (1834), Gruber, Crowell, Holden. But does any sanctity attach to the traditional paragraphing and section marking of the *De Officiis*? Nay, examination will show that in many places paragraph and section marking could be improved with

¹ Heine (6th edition, 1885) does not declare § 8 spurious, in whole or in part.

² The passage has long been a crux. Gernhard (1811) did not suspect a lacuna in 7, and had no difficulty at *Atque etiam . . . offici*; he wished, however, to bracket *Perfectum . . . vocant* as a "locus aliunde adscitus", holding that it was needless for Cicero to say that the *perfectum officium* was *rectum* when he was minded to remark immediately afterward that the Stoics defined *perfectum officium* as *rectum*. Facciolati, however, cited a passage from Ambrosius *De Officiis* iii. 2 which seemed to him a repetition of Cicero's words here, "nisi forte ex hoc ipso Ambrosii loco facta est additio Ciceroni"; he also substituted *eaque* for *aliquae* at the beginning of 8. Beier (1820), vol. i, pp. 314, 315, argues warmly that the promised definition comes in 8, i. e. he refuses to assume a lacuna. He declines also to reject any part of 8: "ego vero potius Ciceronis perspicaciam desiderarim quam haec verba (*Atque . . . offici*) in suspicionem vocarim".

great advantage to a right understanding of the work. I append the results of such an examination.¹

¹I follow three principles: (1) the limits assigned to individual sections should correspond to the limits of distinctly marked thoughts; (2) only sections dealing with kindred thoughts should be grouped in a paragraph; (3) sections dealing with kindred thoughts should be grouped in a paragraph. I follow the Teubner text. (Cf. my remarks in A. J. P. XXVII 112).

In Book I, § 4 should begin with chapter 2, seven lines further down; chapter 3 with § 7; § 16 with *Quae quattuor quamquam*, five lines above; § 21 with *Sed iustitiae*, three lines above; 23 with *Sed iniustitiae*, five lines below (a still better arrangement would be to allow § 23 to stand as it does now, and to mark a new section, 23 A, at *Sed iniustitiae*); 25 with *Maximam autem*, three lines above (further, *Expetuntur autem*, etc., is so closely connected in thought with what precedes that it should be printed continuously therewith and not be allowed to begin a new block or paragraph); 30 should begin with *Quando igitur*, five lines above; 34 with chapter 11; 35 where 34 now begins; 41 with *Meminerimus*, one line below; a new section, 41 A, should begin with *Cum autem*, five lines further down; 43 should begin with *Nam et qui*, five lines above; 44 might well be set off as a separate paragraph; 50 too 45; 51 should begin with *Eius autem vinculum*, seven lines above; 54 with *Artior vero*, three lines above; 55 with *Sed omnium*, two lines below; 56 with *Nihil*, three lines below; 60 with *Haec igitur*, five lines above; 76 with *Mihi quidem*, six lines below; 80 with *Itaque eorum consilio*, three lines above; 81 with *Fortis vero*, three lines above; 89 with *Et tamen ita probanda*, six lines above; 94 with *Huius vis ea est*, one line above; chapter 29 with § 100; 101 with *Sed maxima vis*, four lines above; 103 with *Neque enim ita*, four lines below; 120 with *Qui igitur*, five lines below; 121 one line below; 127 with *Principio corporis*, six lines above; 129 with *Nos autem*, four lines above; 133 with chapter 37, ten lines above; 136 should be printed continuously with what precedes, not as a separate paragraph.

In Book II, § 2 should begin with *De quibus*, two lines above; 10 with *In quo verbo*, five lines above. At 11 a new paragraph should begin (in 9 Cicero defines his theme as *utile*; in 10, as newly marked, he combats popular misuse of the term *utile*. In 11 a new theme is presented, the classification of *utilia*). No reason can be given for marking a new chapter at the point where chapter 4 now begins; a single thought obtains from *deos placatos*, 11, to § 16. Chapter 6 and § 19 should begin at *Magnam esse vim*, four lines below; 22 with *Sed*, one line below; with chapter 7, § 23 a new paragraph should begin; 27 should begin with chapter 8, five lines above; 29 with *Iure igitur plectimur*, 4 lines above (§§ 27, 28 then give *Roman* guilt, 29 the punishment); 30 with *Quod cum perspicuum*, 4 lines above (a new paragraph might well begin here); 31 with chapter 9, four lines below; chapter 12 and § 41 with *Cum igitur*, three lines above; 42 at *Eademque*, one line above; 43 with *Sed ut pecuniae*, three lines above; chapter 13 with *Sed ut facillime*, two lines below (so, too, Müller suggested); 45 with *Prima igitur*, six lines below; 46 with *Mihi autem*, two lines above; 47 with *Facillime autem*, five lines above; with chapter 14, § 48 a new paragraph should begin: 50 with chapter 16; 56 should begin with chap-

For us, then, chapter, 3 and § 7 begin at *Placet igitur*. To this point the movement of the book is most orderly. The introductory sections, 1-6, fall into three parts. In 1-3, as marked by me, Cicero explains why he writes to his son; in 4, 5 he explains his choice of subject; in 6 he makes clear his philosophical position in relation to *officia*.

In 7 the formal discussion of *officium* begins. Cicero declares that this discussion should start with a definition of *officium*. Yet direct, unmistakable definition of *officium* does not at once follow. Why? Because, just as Cicero was about to set forth that definition, a new thought pressed upon his mind; it occurred to him that before he could properly define *officium* he must indicate his point of view concerning duty, i. e. he must make it plain that he intended to view *officium* from the practical, not from the

ter 16, five lines above; a new section, 64 A, should begin with *Recte etiam a Theophrasto*, thirteen lines below 64; 67 should begin with *Cum autem omnes*, five lines below; a new section, 69 A, should begin at *Sed animadvertendum est*, nine lines below 69; 71 should begin with *Danda omnino*, one line below; 74 A should begin with *Atque etiam omnes*, nine lines below 74; a new paragraph should begin at 75, and chapter 22 should begin there; 83 should begin with *Sic par est*, one line below; chapter 24 with § 84, two lines above.

In Book III, a new section, 13 A, should begin with *Atque illud quidem honestum*, 7 lines below 13 (chapter 4, too, should begin here); 19 should begin with *Quid ergo est*, 3 lines above; 20 with *Itaque ut*, four lines above; 22 with *Nam sibi*, seven lines below; 24 with *Atque hoc multo*, four lines above; 27 should begin with chapter 6, four lines above, and should be printed continuously with what precedes (from this point to the end of 28 we have a summing up); chapter 9 and § 38 should begin with *Atque etiam*, six lines above; a new section, 47 A, should begin with *Illa praeclara*, five lines below 47 (a new subject is taken up here); chapter 12 should begin with § 50, three lines below (the intervening lines should be printed continuously with chapter 11: a new paragraph should begin with 50, as corrected); 54 should begin with chapter 13, four lines above; 55 with *Diogenes contra* (as Müller suggests), six lines below; 68 with chapter 17, two lines below; a new section, 71 A, should begin with *Nec vero*, six lines below 71; 74 should begin with *Quid ergo?* two lines above; 75 with *Mihi quidem*, four lines above: chapter 19 should also begin there; 82 should begin with chapter 21, seven lines below; 87 with *Si gloriae*, four lines below; 88 with *At aucta*, one line above; 92 with chapter 24, five lines below; chapter 26 should begin with 96, not with 97, ten lines above; 99 with *Sed omitamus*, three lines below (chapter 27 should also begin there: in that case the whole chapter will have to do with the *praise* of Regulus); chapter 28 should begin with 101, four lines above (*Pervertunt*, etc., should be printed continuously with what precedes, for everything from *At stulte*, 101, through chapter 28, is concerned with *criticism* of Regulus); 106 should begin with *Nam illud quidem*, three lines below.

theoretical, side. With this thought, eminently proper in itself, nay, a necessary preliminary to any satisfactory definition, he begins.

In *Omnis . . . quaestio*, then, he declares that investigations of *officium* may take one of two courses; we might paraphrase by *Duo omnino quaestionum genera sunt de officio. Unum genus . . . possit* appropriately follows, for Cicero declares that one of these courses is theoretical, dealing with the criterion of right and wrong, the other practical, dealing with the homiletics of the subject. In *Superioris generis*, etc., Cicero sets out to give examples of the *duo genera quaestionum de officio. Superioris . . . eiusdem* is expressed with absolute precision. Down to this point there are no flaws, except that the thought concerning the *duo genera quaestionum* seems to come in somewhat abruptly. Had Cicero taken the trouble to write, after *disputetur*, *Primum animadvertendum est duo genera quaestionum de officio esse, or, Priusquam autem definitionem ipsam officii exprimere conor, pauca de generibus quaestionum de officio dicenda sunt, or the like, the lacuna theory, I am sure, had never been broached.*¹

After so clear a passage as *Omnis . . . eiusdem* we expect a form of expression different from that actually delivered to us by the MSS. Logically, the sentence should run thus: *Posterior autem genus, in quo insunt (posita sunt) quae praecepta de officiis traduntur, quamquam pertinet ad finem bonorum, tamen minus id apparet, quia magis ad institutionem vitae communis spectare videtur; huius generis exempla nobis his libris explicanda.* For the form in the MSS the phrase *omniane officia perfecta sint* in the foregoing sentence is responsible, for the introduction of those words led Cicero to confuse with the line of thought to which he was trying to give expression, that of the *two ways of investigating duty*, another thought, present from the first in his mind, in itself wholly appropriate to the discussion as a whole, but not yet in order, the thought of the *two kinds of duty, officia perfecta* and *officia media*. As a result of this confusion Cicero has actually contrasted theoretical inquiries concerning duty (*unum . . . possit*) with that class of duties (practical duties) which in § 8 he characterizes as *officia media*. Apparently, however, he had contrasted two kinds of duties: we

Cf. the form in ii. 19: *Quibus autem rationibus . . . dicenda sunt.* I. chapter 37, is like our passage; there, too, at *contentio disceptationibus*, Cicero plunges in *medias res*; see the editors.

have a verbal antithesis between *officia perfecta* (in *omniane . . . sint*) and *quorum . . . officiorum praecepta traduntur*.¹

Clear thinking is now conspicuous by its absence; Cicero seems wholly unconscious of the fact that he had blended two lines of thought which he should for a moment or two longer have kept distinct; he goes on to the end of § 7 talking about his second thought, the two classes of duties. It follows at once that *Atque . . . offici* at the beginning of 8 cannot be rejected. The fact that Cicero has not already made a classification of duties is beside the point; from *Omniane* to *explicandum* he believed that he had classified duties. *Nam et medium . . . perfectum* then follows properly after *Atque . . . offici*. We understand now something that has puzzled the editors, the fact that in 8 Cicero defines the *officium perfectum* as well as the *officium medium*, though it is with the latter only that he is to be concerned in this work. Since he felt, rightly or wrongly, that in 7 he had distinguished two classes of duties, he naturally proceeds to talk further of both classes. We may feel that he had done more wisely if in 8 he had ignored the *officium perfectum*. But with improvements on the passage we are not concerned; we are seeking rather to determine whether it is genuine, and, if it is authentic, how it came to assume its present form.

To *Atque ea sic definiunt . . . definiant* objection has been taken on account of the clumsiness of the language, but this has been met by the citation from Cicero himself of similarly verbose formulas; see e. g. Holden's notes and Reid's comment in Holden's Supplementary Notes.

We may now rewrite the whole passage thus. *Placet igitur . . . disputetur. Duo quaestionum genera sunt de officio (or, Primum animadvertendum est duo quaestionum genera de officio esse). Unum genus est quod pertinet ad finem bonorum, alterum quod positum est in praeceptis quibus in omnis partis usus vitae conformari possit. Superioris generis huius modi sunt exempla, omniane officia perfecta sint, num quod officium aliud alio maius sit, et quae sunt generis eiusdem. Posterius autem genus, quod, ut supra dictum est, in praeceptis positum est quae de officiis traduntur, quamquam pertinet ad finem bonorum, tamen minus*

¹ This line of reasoning proves the correctness of *quorum*, and the need lessness of Heine's *quae* for *quorum*.

id apparet, quia magis ad institutionem vitae communis spectare videtur; huius generis exempla his libris explicabuntur. Officia autem ipsa in duo genera sic dividuntur. Nam et medium . . . reddi possit. Sed de mediis tantum officiis mihi his in libris disserendum est.

In this rewriting we have preserved nearly all of Cicero's own words. § 7 declares that duty may be considered either from the theoretical or the practical standpoint, and pledges the writer to the latter point of view. In § 8 a classification of duties and a definition of each of the two classes of duties properly follows.

With § 9 a new paragraph might well begin. *Igitur* is used here, as elsewhere in the *De Officiis* (i. 7, ii. 21, ii. 36, ii. 45, ii. 46, iii. 21), with more or less ellipsis; the sense is this: "Since I have made these (certain) points clear, I'll proceed to others", or "Since I have now fairly launched my subject, I'll discuss it in detail".

We see now, I hope, first, that the whole passage, as it stands in the MSS, may well have come from Cicero's hand, secondly, how Cicero came to write the somewhat confused and illogical form presented by the tradition. Our discussion might well stop here. Since the present form of the passage has been explained, it is really needless to consider the objections that have been urged against that form. For the sake of completeness, however, I add a discussion of these objections.

The assumption of the lacuna rests upon the declaration that the definition of *officium* which Cicero promises with such a flourish of trumpets is nowhere given. Von Gruber, Müller, Heine, Dettweiler, Crowell, Rockwood set forth this view, in almost identical terms. How groundless this position is, my analysis of the passage has, I hope, clearly and finally demonstrated.

The objections to § 8 are fourfold: (1) it is strange that in *De Officiis* iii. 14, 15, where Cicero gives exactly the same definition of duty, he does not refer to our passage; (2) § 9 follows closely on § 7, *de quibus . . . explicandum*; (3) the whole section is a clumsy combination of *De Officiis* iii. 14 and *De Finibus* iii. 58¹; (4) it is absurd to suppose that Cicero would have written so vaguely even when most careless.

¹ Est autem officium quod ita factum est ut eius facti probabilis ratio reddi possit; ex quo intellegitur officium medium quiddam esse quod neque in bonis ponatur neque in contrariis.

Let us consider these points in reverse order. I admitted above that there is a measure of carelessness and confusion in our passage, but this does not prove that the passage is not from Cicero's hand. Who shall say what is or is not too careless to be from a given author's pen? Cicero's philosophical writings are full of places which betray rapid or careless writing or even downright misunderstanding of the themes on which he essays to write. In the *De Officiis* we have a striking example in i. 153; see the editors. See also Holden on iii. 96. But this point is too well known to require further comment.

That our passage is not a combination of *De Finibus* iii. 58 and *De Officiis* iii. 14, 15 can be shown, I believe, easily and conclusively. In the *De Finibus* passage *medium officium* is defined as *quiddam quod neque in bonis ponatur neque in contrariis*. Here Cicero thinks of *medium* as = "mean"; the *medium officium* is a mean between extremes. Is there any trace of this idea in our passage? If one reads the three passages side by side, without preconceived notions, he will see that the two *De Officiis* passages are in point of thought in harmony, but that between these passages and that in the *De Finibus* there is no kinship beyond the fact that in all three both *officia media* and *officia perfecta* are mentioned and that in *De Off.* i. 8 and *De Fin.* iii. 58 the *medium officium* is defined as a thing *ita factum ut eius facti probabilis ratio reddi possit*.¹

The conception of the *media officia* as "middle duties", as means between extremes, meets us frequently in commentaries and manuals: cf. e. g. von Gruber's note on *De Off.* i. 8, Heine's *Einleitung*, § 20, p. 12, Holden on *De Off.* iii. 14, Zeller, *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics* (English Translation), p. 287, Mr. Hicks in Whibley's *A Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 196. But in *De Off.* iii. 14, 15 (the passage is too long to quote) Cicero seems to me to have a different idea in writing *media officia*. There is no thought now of actions or things that are means between extremes; he defines *media officia* as *communia et late patentia, quae et ingeni bonitate multi assecuntur et progressionem discendi*. He describes them again as *quasi secunda quaedam honesta, non sapientium modo propria, sed cum omni hominum genere communia*. Cicero is thinking now of *media* as = *in medio posita*.

¹ In *De Off.* i. 101 we read that one ought not to do anything *cuius non possit causam probabilem reddere*; *haec est enim fere descriptio officii*. There is no cross-reference (see below) there; some, however bracket this part of 101.

Cf. e. g. Terence, Ph. 16, 17 is sibi responsum hoc habeat, in medio omnibus Palmam esse positam qui artem tractant musicam; Seneca *Med.* 393 ff. non facile secum versat aut medium scelus: se vincet; irae novimus veteris notas. Magnum aliquid instat, efferum, immane, impium. A *medium scelus* is one within the reach of all. Cf. also Xenophon Anab. iii. 1. 21 ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἦδη κεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ κ. τ. λ., and the familiar phrase ἐς (εἰς) μέσον τιθέναι τισί τι. It is clear, then, that the ideas underlying the definitions in De Off. iii, 14, 15 and De Fin. iii. 58 are widely different, and that these different ideas are not at all combined in our passage.

It has been argued that § 9 follows § 7 better than it does § 8. This is a case of the wish being father to the thought. In reality there is no necessary connection of thought between 9 and 8, or 9 and 7. In 9, 10 Cicero is passing to a *new* thought, akin in general to the two thoughts expressed in 7, 8, but yet independent of either. That new thought has to do with the ways in which men, after they have determined from what point of view they will consider *officium*, and have classified *officia* and have defined them, may set about deciding in a particular instance just what is for them *officium*.

Finally, the objection that in iii. 14, 15, when he seeks to define *officium*, Cicero does not refer back to our passage, would be valid only if it could be shown that everywhere else in all his writings Cicero used with unwavering fidelity the system of cross-references. Now, in De Officiis I. Cicero repeatedly treats a subject more than once, from different points of view; yet it is the exception rather than the rule for him to refer back to his earlier discussion.¹ In a word, it is fatuous to insist on Cicero's failure in iii. 14 to refer back to our passage as proof that § 8 did not stand in Book I as the work left his hands. Again, this argument from silence is shown to be defective by the fact that it proves too

¹ I might leave this point without illustration. Cf. however, i. 31, with i. 20, i. 50, 51 with i. 12, i. 54 with i. 11, i. 56 with i. 46, i. 92 with i. 69, i. 101 with i. 8, i. 105 with i. 11 and i. 50, i. 70, 71, with i. 22, i. 152 with i. 10, ii. 18 with i. 16, 17, ii. 26 with i. 38, iii. 5 with i. 4, iii. 33-55 with iii. 11, iii. 76 with i. 20, iii. chapter 24 with i. chapter 13, iii. 94 with i. 32, iii. 113 with i. 40. Four times, in differing connections, Cicero makes an earnest plea for a life of active participation in the practical affairs of the world (i, 19, 28, 71, 154); there are no cross-references. So in i. 51 he recurs to the subject of property rights, without referring back to his handling of this theme in i. 20. Occasionally a cross-reference is given: see i. 31, i. 68 (to i. 64), iii. 37, iii. 96.

much. If Cicero's failure in iii. 14 to refer back to i. 8 proves that i. 8 as we have it did not stand in Cicero's own copy, then it follows that his failure in iii. 14 to refer back to his earlier discussion of *officium* in De Fin. iii. 56 (assuming that the two passages are akin in spirit and point of view) is proof that iii. 58 ff. did not stand in Cicero's copy of the De Finibus. Of such a conclusion one may say with Horace, *solventur risu tabulae*. Further it may be remarked that to a certain extent the books of the De Officiis are independent one of the other. Witness the fact that in the prefatory portions of the three books much the same ground is traversed, without reference back in the later cases to the earlier book. Lastly, the deletion of § 8 would leave us wholly without fulfilment of the proud promise of 7 that this discussion is to be scientific, in that it will begin with a definition. We have no right to force Cicero into a position so ridiculous unless the proofs are overwhelming.

To sum up, in two different ways we have established the genuineness of our passage. We have considered it *per se*, without prejudice or preconception, and have shown that in spite of some confusion of thought, it is after all an entity; we have shown also the point at which the confusion enters, and the mental processes by which the passage assumed its present form. We have shown also that the promised definition does come and we have met the objections raised to its form. Lastly, we have pointed out the subjective and flimsy character of the objections commonly urged against the passage as a whole.

CHARLES KNAPP.

V.—LUCRETII 5, 1006,

Improba navigii ratio tum caeca iacebat.

This verse of Lucretius was suspected by Pinzger prior to 1822 and has been generally rejected since Suerdsiö, 1832. Bockemüller, 1874, read *cum proba navigiis, navigiis* having been first proposed by Bothe and *navigium* by Osannus, both before 1828. Munro read *naucleri*, and *cum* for *tum*, the latter change having been made in the Brixiensis, Veronensis of 1486, and Venetian of 1495. Forbiger in his note on the verse (1828), and earlier in his dissertation (1824) defended the passage at length.

It is my purpose to examine in order the various objections of Suerdsiö as discussed by Lachmann.

1. The verse is said to be unnecessary, disturbing to the sense, and unconnected with the context. Lucretius is describing the development of human society. Death came *tum*, that is, in the early ages of the world, as it comes *nunc*, at present (988). Then, *tum* (990), wild beasts made prey of men, but the wild sea, the savage beast of the poet's time, and the demon war did not destroy men by the thousands (999-1001). The sea was baffled of its prey at the time he had in mind (*hic* 1002 = *tum*), nor did its alluring craft succeed in wooing men to their destruction with its cajoling waves (1005); then, *tum* (1006), the accursed art of navigation was unknown, the art that appealed to man's cupidity: mercator—reficit rates | quassas indocilis pauperiem pati (Hor. C. 1, 1, 17); dives et aureis | mercator exsiccet culullis, (id. 1, 31, 10); impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos, | per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes (id. Ep. 1, 1, 45). But *tum* (1007) there was honorable poverty, *nunc* (1008) riches drown their possessors. Then (1009) they poisoned themselves unwittingly, *nunc* (1010) they are poisoned by members of their own households. There is, then, in the paragraph 998-1010 a set of parallels between 'then' and 'now', and verse 1006 is in perfect harmony. In the entire epyllion from 783 to the close of the fifth book there are traces of this general comparison that is shown not only in the contrast of *tum* and *nunc*, but also in the opposition of the imperfect and present tenses of the verbs: cf. 790,

797, 802, 803; 811, 813; altogether within the limits of the epyllion *tum* occurs 25 times, *tunc* 4, and *nunc* 16.

But it may be said that, granting the content of the verse, it is not well joined to its context, and that, at any rate, *cum* should be read for *tum*. Now if *cum* were the MS reading no one would be likely to disturb it, for L. is fond of *cum* and *ubi*; in the paragraph 1028-1090 *cum* occurs 13 times and *ubi* 3. But even then some sharp critic would have pointed out the banality of an observation that *when* men were ignorant of navigation the sea could not have tempted them! One is reminded of the Epicurean denial of teleology in Book IV: eyes were not made to see with, but having eyes men saw. Why did primitive man make ships? Was it not because the sea did tempt him to his destruction? Was not the craftiness and tigerish quality of the sea the very thing that deluded him? With just as good ground *cum* could replace *tum* in 990 and in 1273, and in 1398, whereas *cum* in 1038, in 1066-1071, and in 1142 is properly circumstantial and has remained untouched. There is some sense in saying that whelps, when their teeth and claws were hardly grown, even then fought with claws and teeth (1037). The change of *tum* to *cum* then, distinctly weakens the sense.

But is any connective needed? Can this line stand alone according to Lucretian usage? In a question of this kind the personal equation of an editor enters largely as a factor; where one editor places a semicolon another puts a period; but I find in my own edition which, of course, was punctuated without any thought of this problem, that there are 68 one-verse sentences in the poem, distributed as follows: Book I 9 verses, II, 6, III, 11, IV, 16, V, 13, VI, 13. Six of these sentences are entirely unconnected with the context; the remainder I classify as follows as regards the connecting word: pronouns: rel. 9, dem. *is* 3, *hic* 4 = 16; conjunctions and adverbs: *que* 1, *et* 1, *nec* 3, *ve* 3, *igitur* 4, *ergo* 1, *proinde* 2; *itaque* 1, *quare* 1, *sic* 1, *nam* 1, *enim* 6, *nunc* 6, *tum* 1, *praeterea* 1, *etiam* 1, *porro* 2, *usque adeo* 2, *scilicet* 2, *partim* 1, *denique* 2, *vero* 1, total 44; nouns (*nemo*) 1; verb (*linquitur*) 1; total 2; no connective 6; grand total 68. There can be no question, then that a one-sentence verse is Lucretian.

Now as to the connective or lack of connective. If we regard *tum* as the connective we may compare 6, 397 *an tum brachia consuescunt firmantque lacertos, tum* there referring to the preceding line *cur etiam loca sola petunt frustra laborant, just*

as in our passage *tum* may refer to *nec poterat pellacia pellicere* in 1004-5. Or compare the verse with any one of the six which have no connective, viz. 3, 787, 955, 956; 4, 119, 122; 5, 131. The comparison will show a looseness of connection not inconsistent with Lucretius' style. But, granting all that, is not the verse superfluous? Here is reached one of the burning questions of Lucretian criticism in which no two people will agree. I have never had the patience to count the number of verses that have been rejected by the editors from the Brixianensis to the most recent. Suffice it to say that there is no agreement, for the reason that ejection is dependent on the fundamental principles adopted in the recension. Is the poem complete? Did Cicero edit it carefully? Is Lachmann's theory of interpolation correct? Is the poem to be printed as Lucretius left it or is the modern editor to be his literary executor? And how far shall error of the copyists be presumed? The general tendency of late years has been towards conservatism in the lower criticism. So far as our verse is concerned there is no variation in the MS tradition, and it is difficult to think of the line as a gloss. Why should a copyist have inserted it? It does not contain any parade of learning, nor does it make the sense any more intelligible. As we have seen, it is rather a line that would be put out, rather than put in, by an editor or scribe. Are there any other one-verse sentences that could be spared? 3, 787 *certum ac dispositumst ubi quicquid crescat et insit*, repeated in 5, 131, could be spared without affecting the argument; the entire paragraph is rejected by some in the third book and by others in the fifth. And 4, 122 *nonne vides quam sint subtilia quamque minuta* could also be spared. And 4, 885 *id quod providet illius rei constat imago* Giussani thinks superfluous. 6, 122 *ignis enim sunt haec non venti signa neque imbris* seems hardly necessary for ordinary intelligence—he is referring to the *signa* of lightning and things struck by it—but no one has yet questioned the verse and I should be the last to do so. And 6, 616 *praeterea magnam sol partem detrahit aestu* actually interrupts the narrative and is gratuitous if one would have it so. And the verses within sentences that one or another editor has ejected, what shall we say to them? Lachmann has named several in his note on our verse, viz. 1, 334, 454; 3, 415, 433; 4, 229, all of which he ejects and all of which I regard as genuine, and I am not alone. It is not worth while to name other verses. I maintain that if the verse has good MS

support the burden of proof lies on him who would eject it. I trust I have shown that our verse is not superfluous according to the standard of the later editors. It is no more unnecessary than others that are unquestioned; it does not disturb the sense and it is not inconsistent with the context.

2. The second objection of Suerdsiö and Lachmann is to *improba* which must mean *immane* or *vile* or *scelerosum*, all of which meanings Lachmann would have inapplicable here. Lucretius has *improba* in 3, 1026 and nowhere else. The word, as Kennedy says on Georgic 1, 119, is applied to that which insists and perseveres in doing something wrong or unpleasant. It occurs in the XII Tables, Ennius, and Plautus, and was common in the Jurists; it is found in the prose and poetry of all ages of Roman literature. No word has a better claim to pure Latinity. The hexameter poets, like Lucretius in 3, 1026, prefer to put it in the fifth foot, but Virgil in Georg. 3, 431 has it in the first as in our line here. It is applied to both persons and things, here an epithet of *ratio*. Horace, C. 3, 24, 62, says *improbæ | crescunt divitiæ*, which is not without force for this discussion when we remember the object of navigation. The use of an adjective with *ratio* is Lucretian; he has *vera ratio*, 1, 498, *prava* 4, 520, *falsa* 4, 485; and an objective genitive dependent as well: *vitæ rationes* 1, 105, and particularly 6, 1226 *nec ratio remedi communis certa dabatur*. And if in our verse *improba* belongs in sense with *navigii* rather than with *ratio*, there is a parallel in 1, 81 *inpiæ te rationis inire elementa viamque | indugredi sceleris*. Other cases of this hypallage are 1, 1102 *volucris ritu flammæ*; 3, 308 *naturæ vestigia prima*: I have gathered together several instances in my note on 1, 10. The problem reduces, then, to the question whether the epithet *improbus* may properly be applied to navigation. Lucretius' attitude to the sea and to all connected with it is distinctly unfriendly: 2, 557 *infidi maris insidias virisque dolumque | ut vitare velint, neve ullo tempore credant, | subdola cum ridet placidi pellacia ponti*; note *insidias*, *dolum*, *subdola*, *pellacia*, these alone justify *improba*. The new-born babe, 5, 223, is a *navita proiectus ab undis* in its helplessness, and the close neighborhood of our verse, 5, 1000 to 1005, is full of hostility to the sea. Latin poets continue the sentiment for the Romans as a nation never loved the sea: Virg. Georg. 1, 254 *infidum remis impellere marmor*, Aen. 5, 848 *menes salis placido voltum fluctusque quietos | ignorare iubes? menses huic confidere monstro*;

Prop. 3, 7, 37 *natura insidias pontum substravit avaris* which brings us back to the *improbæ divitiæ* of Horace. So later Seneca, *Medea* 326 *avidus nimirum navita—dedit illa <Argo> graves improba poenas*. Wretched is navigation, and its wretched art was unknown. *Improbus* is that which is not *probus*, what the writer disapproves of, what can not stand his test. It is a purely subjective word. Thus it is said of *panis*, *arva*, *mons*, *labor*, *hasta*, *homo*, *lupus*, *carmina*, *spes*, because with all of these things or persons the writer was displeased. Hence a translation in our passage by 'villainous', 'miserable', 'wretched', 'despicable', 'contemptible', 'knaveish', 'nefarious', 'vile' would be satisfactory. All that Lucretius means is that he disapproves strongly of the art of sailing ships. I can see, then, no ground for objecting to *improba*. Florus (1, 45, 17) says *improbam classem naufragio castigasset Oceanus*.

3. The third objection is the most serious of all, namely the meaning and form of the word *navigii*. It is denied that it can mean navigation here, and that an uncontracted genitive in *ii* of nouns, can be used by Lucretius. I am aware that a defence of the word is difficult, yet let us see what may be said in its favor.

First, as to the meaning of the word in the sense 'navigation'. Gronovius, as quoted by Suerdsiö, maintained that the first occurrence in this meaning is by Cervidius Scaevola in the Digest XLV 1 leg. 122 § 1 *idque creditum esse in omnes navigii dies ducentos,—ipse in Syriam per navigium proficiscatur—quasi perfecto navigio*. Here *navigii* seems to mean 'voyage', *navigium* 'ship', and *navigio* again 'voyage'.¹ It does not mean navigation in the sense of seamanship, but navigation in the sense of 'the sailing'. Scaevola flourished under M. Aurelius in the second century A. D. and was a contemporary of Fronto, Apuleius, and Gellius. Suerdsiö also refers to Ulpian, Dig. XLIII 12 leg. 1 § 14 *ait Praetor iterve navigio deterius fiat. Hoc pro navigatione positum est; immo navigium solemus dicere etiam ipsam navem—navigii appellatione etiam rates continentur*. This shows that occasionally *navigium* was a synonym of *navigatio*, although ordinarily a synonym of *navis*. Ulpian died in 228. And Justinian's Code (A. D. 534) IV, 33, 3 has *ut post navigium quod in Africam dirigi debitor asseverabat—ut navigii dumtaxat—loco quidem navigii servato*, again in the meaning 'course' or 'voyage'.

¹ The French translation of the Digest (Paris 1805) translates 'tout le temps de la navigation—par mer—ayant finit son voyage'.

In the fourth century the author of the Orig. Gentis Rom., 10, has *taedio longi navigii classem incenderunt*, and the translator of Dictys Cretensis 1, 5 *properatione navigii*; 2, 4 *multorum dierum navigio*, 2, 10 *mare navigio patens*; and finally Rutil. Itin. 1, 541 (416 A. D.) *tempora navigii clarus reparaverat Eurus*. The evidence then shows no occurrence of *navigium* except as a synonym of *navis*, before the second century, and no real parallel at all to the sense demanded by the Lucretian passage, viz. navigation as an art.

Navigium in our line was an attempt to extend the meaning of a word. Lucretius means 'the art of navigation', not the 'art of ships' or the 'art of voyage' or of a ship's 'course'. What is the Latin word for navigation? *Navigatio* usually means 'voyagé', although Cic. De Off. 2, 12 may be interpreted of the art of sailing ships, a passage ejected by Beier as a gloss. The English derivative points to a final development of the meaning 'navigation', of which, however Du Cange gives no evidence. But L. could not use the form *nāvigatio* in the hexameter. Pliny uses *ars navalis*; Statius (Th. 3, 29) and Lucan (7, 126) have *arte relicta* where the context shows that *nāvigādi* is to be supplied; Caesar (BG. 3, 8) *scientia atque usu rerum nauticarum*, and Cicero (ND. 2, 152) *nauticarum rerum scientiam*. Lucretius never uses *navalis*, but he has *astrologorum artem* in 5, 728. But there *ars* is used in opposition to *Chaldaeum doctrina* exceptionally with something of contempt. *Nauticārum rerum* was, of course, excluded by the metre. How then, could he express this abstract idea of navigation?

The word *navigium* occurs in Lucretius in four other places: in 4, 437 and 6, 430 it means ships; in 5, 333 *nunc addita navigiis sunt | multa, modo organici melicos peperere sonores*, it means 'ships' but his real thought is 'now many improvements are being made in navigation', an inadequate expression due to poverty of language; in 5, 1448 *navigia atque agri culturas moenia leges*, it is usually translated 'ships', but it may be an abstract, parallel to *agri culturas*, itself an unique plural to distinguish it from the concrete use of that term in 5, 1367. And our own line admits of a similar interpretation: 'the ship's accursed art', meaning the evil business of navigation. It is, then, unnecessary to press the ordinary meaning of *navigium* here any more than in 5, 333.

But is there any justification for the use of derivatives of *ago* as quasi-abstract terms? *Navigium* is derived from *navigo* and that

from *navis ago*. *Litigium* is a close parallel, meaning 'dispute' in Plautus and 'litigation' in law Latin (Vet. Ic. 7, 1 H.); *remigium* means rowing, boat and crew. *Cogitatio* is both abstract and concrete in Cicero. L. has *servitium* but once (1, 455) and then as an abstract. The comparative absence of abstract terms in the earlier Latinity is well known. Suppose, then, that the word does not mean ship here and that we must wait until the second century to find another case. Is that fatal? The vocabulary of Lucretius has much in common with that of Apuleius, Fronto, the Jurists, and the ecclesiastical writers. The general question has been discussed by Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, at p. 91 and elsewhere, and by Wolff, *De L. vocabulis singularibus*, and to a less degree by Proll, *De formis antiquis L.* Nothing can be more certain than that the Lucretian vocabulary is distinguished by (1) a large number of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, (2) by a large number of words that are commonly regarded as ante- and post-classic, (3) by many words that are found elsewhere only in post-Augustan Latin. Thus he has in common with Apuleius *fluerent omnimodis interstinguere exos*; with Arnobius *formatura formamentum circumcaesura vocamen maximitas pestilitas differitas mactatus aversabilis*; with Sidonius *oppressus*; with Tertullian *crepitacillum*; with Avienus *primigenus frugiparus*; with Lactantius *dementire*; with Paulinus *haerescere*; with Prudentius *renutare*; and with Plautus and Apuleius *loquaculus*, to give one of many examples. There is, then, nothing un-Lucretian in a use of *navigium* in a sense occurring only in late authors.

Yet it may be said in the case of the words mentioned above the meaning is definite and often technical. If *navigium* means ship four times in L. it ought to mean ship here. Such a charge ought not to count against Lucretius any more than against Cicero, who in his philosophical writings constantly limits and expands the meanings of Latin words in his effort to construct a philosophical vocabulary. In L., to mention a few words among many, *elementa error pondus forma imber ignis vacuum locus omne plaga* occur in technical and also in the ordinary meanings.¹ And in such words as *forma, natura, facere, lacescere*, L., like other authors, does not confine himself to single meanings of such words. Therefore if he wished to use *navigium* in different senses he was justified in so doing. It is consistent with his

¹ Cf. Polle, *Artis vocab. L.*; Staedler, *De Serm. L.*

general practice. The other expressions for 'navigation' are utterly impossible in L. and when not barred by metrical difficulty are inconsistent with his style.

The final objection is to the uncontracted genitive in *ii*. As is well known since Bentley's note on Ter. And. 2, 1, 20 the general principle has been accepted that in substantives, the poets to Propertius use only the single *i*;¹ recently the rule has been formulated by Bednara, Archiv 14, 339, 'the gen. sing. of nouns in *-ius* or *-ium* up to the time of Catullus is always found in *i*.' Bednara adds in a footnote the best collection of references to the literature on the subject that I know of. Maas, Archiv 12, 509 sq., has the best discussion of the problem so far as it concerns metrical exigency. His canon is 'the single *i* in dactylic poets occurs only when the double *i* is impossible'. In L. there are following cases of contracted *i* in the MSS (OQ): favoni 1, 11, Memmi 1, 42, absinthi 1, 941, 2, 400, centauri 2, 401, dispendi 2, 1127, Aegi 6, 585, incendi 6, 673, pervigili 6, 754. And there are due to emendation and accepted by most editors stilicidi (-ii OQ) 1, 313, absinthi (-ii OQ) 4, 16, bracchi (-ii OQ) 6, 434, conchyli (-ii Q) 6, 1074, remigi (remigio OQ) 6, 743, remedi (-ii OQ) 6, 1226. Every one of these is a forced quantity and seven of the fourteen occur in the sixth book which is least finished. Not one of them is a choriambic word when uncontracted except *remigii*, and editors admit *rēmigi* in 6, 743 only by allowing a shortening in hiatus before an initial vowel in the following word *oblitae*. L. has two cases of uncontracted genitives of adjectives, *patrii* 1, 832; 3, 260 and *medii* 1, 1082, but I am by no means sure that the latter is not a substantive.

The real question at issue here is what poet was the first to write *ii*. Propertius, said Bentley, and no one tries to emend all the instances out of Propertius because he has *imperii*, *ingenii*, *opprobrii*, *gymnasii* and several proper nouns; there are too many to eject. Virgil has *fluvii* in Aen. 3, 702 and *Palladii* in 9, 150; these are explained away or cut out so as not to affect the general question. Then there is Catullus 9, 5 *O nuntii beati* that they will have plural in spite of Prop. 4, 7, 21 and Lucan 2, 45. The matter reduces to numbers merely: one case in an author can be removed by medicine or at the worst by surgery, and Propertius is the first who has the *ii* disease hopelessly. Is it not more reasonable that

¹ Cf. Kühner, Lat. Gram. I p. 284.

at first we should find a single example, rather than many, of a grammatical or metrical variation from a general observance? If, for any reason, the usage is novel or offensive to the writer or to his readers, is it probable that he would extend the usage widely? Rather should we not expect to find some special reason for an unique occurrence? Lucretius has a single instance of elision of an iambic word (4, 741) of course not admitted by Lachmann; he has but one hypermeter (5, 849); he elides final *z* but twice (1, 677; 3, 49); he has but one verse ending in three spondees (3, 198), also disapproved by Lachmann. And Virgil in the Georgics has but one verse in three spondees (3, 276) and but two in the Aeneid (3, 74; 7, 634). All the editors but Lachmann and Bernays think L. has *oportet* in 1, 778. Some one must have begun to use the uncontracted *ii* just as some author must have been the first to approve the use of a word. The language was growing in Lucretius' time both in vocabulary, word formation and syntax. Probably the analogy between *-ii* in the genitive singular and nominative and vocative plural had been already noted, perhaps by Lucilius and Accius, and very likely it was a matter of popular debate. Lucretius in rapid composition thought he might use it, for how else could he express himself? I challenge any one to express the entire thought of our line without using *navigii*. I myself have experimented: for instance:

(a) *ars tum navalis ratio caecaeque iacebant*. Here *ars navalis* is used for navigation but the expression, so far as I know, occurs only in Pliny NH. 5, 67. It is hopelessly prosaic. *Improba* is omitted and *caecae* is questionable.

(b) *caeca scientia navalisque ars improba deerant*. Here *scientia* is a word foreign to Lucretius' vocabulary. It is prosaic and mostly Ciceronian. The important *tum* is missing and *deerant* is weaker than *iacebant*.

(c) *improba nautarum ratio tum caeca iacebat*. Lucretius does not know the form *nauta*; his word is *navita* and the expression *nautarum ratio* is not sufficiently definite.

(d) *improba nautica tum ratio atque ars caeca iacebant*. *Ars nautica* of Frontinus and Florus is out of the question, not to mention metrical defects in the verse.

Had then Lucretius any choice other than the use of *navigii*? Bothe first changed to *navigiis* which is printed by Bailey and approved by Cartault, Flexion 17, but Housman, Cl. R. 14, 367, is right in calling the change futile. L. construes *ratio* with the

genitive as I have shown above, and never with the dative; in 6, 535 and 1090 the datives are possessive with substantive verbs. He has *nunc addita navigiis sunt* | multa in 5, 333 and *navigia* in 4, 437; 5, 1448; 6, 430. Other writers use *navigium*, *navigio*, *navigiorum*. I find the form *navigii*, in addition to the passages cited above, in Cic. ND. 2, 87, Q. Curt. 4, 7, 24, Dictys Cret. 5, 16; Pliny NH. 13, 70, Suet. Nero 34, Tac. Ann. 14, 5, Ov. M. 11, 561, Sen. Ep. 90, 24, Non. 533, 14; 535, 19; 536, 8. Kühner, Gramm. p. 286, has rightly said that not much reliance can be placed on the evidence of the prose writers in this matter, yet it is worthy of passing remark that with one exception no standard text of any author anywhere prints *navigi*. There are plenty of examples of other cretics: Zielinski¹ in his *Clauselgesetz* in Cicero's *Reden* p. 769 has several, but it is not impossible that the form *nāvigī* was distasteful for some reason and was avoided; perhaps there was a tendency to vocalize the *v* and the coalescence of *avi* was feared; so *navita* became *nauta*, *nāvīctūla*, *nāuctūla*; cf. *bobus* from *bovibus*, *aucella* from *avicella*, *aetas* from *aevitas*, *amasti* from *amavisti*. *Naugi* from *navigi* would have been intolerable. Propertius has *Lanūvī*, but *Lavīni*, in each case through metrical necessity; Pliny NH. 35, 17 *Lanivi* or *Lanuvi* with MS variants. Perhaps a short *vi* was unable to maintain itself in a cretic word; I have been unable to find any other choriambic word, shortened to a cretic, where *v* is intervocalic in the second syllable. *Dīlūvī* occurs in Sen. NQ. 3, 27, 1 and elsewhere; *diluvi* is not cited. *Pāctūvī* and *Pāctīvī* are both given, but also *Pacvi* (see Georges, *Wortformen*). *Dānūvī* and *Danubii* alone are cited. *Naufragium* is already contracted, and the genitive uncontracted in *ii* occurs in at least seven authors. There are no Latin words beginning with *naug* but several with *aug*. Nonius, however, p. 60, 10 M. read *naugas* for *nugas* in Plaut. Amph. 626. Ribbeck reads in Accius 488 *obliscar* for *obliviscar*, and in 190 *obliscier*; Fleckeisen, Jahrb. 101, 73 proposed *oblisci* in Plaut. Capt. 985 and *obliscendi* in Miles 1359; in the latter passage Leo follows him. *Mōvimentum* reduces to *mōmentum*, and *pāvītans* remained uncontracted. *Navis*, even, is monosyllabic in Plaut. Men. 344 and *navi* probably in Lucil. 483 Marx.

¹ Zielinski's rule for Cicero is 'ordinary substantives have only -ii; Roman proper names sometimes -ii, sometimes -i' (p. 769).

This may be the reason for the avoidance of the form *naviger* that is quoted by Georges, Wortformen, only from Ausonius (Idyll. 3, 26; 10, 27, 367) and from Avienus (Ora Marit. 636).

The single occurrence of *navigi* is in Pliny NH. 13, 70; there Jan, Sillig, and Detlefsen all read *navigi*. Sillig notes *navigio* in MS R. of Pliny; the older editors all read *navigii* and Pliny nowhere else has the genitive singular of the word. I am unable to discover the MS tradition of Pliny except for the Veronensis of which Mone published an apographon in Sillig's Pliny Vol. 6. The Veronensis has *navigi*, but Mone in his description of the codex, p. xxviii, says that it frequently omits a double *i* in the genitive sing. and dative and ablative pl.; thus *folis* for *foliis*. In addition the last letter of a word is frequently omitted (p. xxiii), and repeated (p. xxiv). Hence the evidence of M in this passage should have little weight. There is nothing in the prefaces of Sillig, Jan, and Detlefsen that bears on the orthography of this case form, but some remarks on Plinian orthography were made by Detlefsen in Phil. 28, 310 sq. to the effect that that adopted by Sillig and Jan was arbitrary.

Finally, Munro would retain the verse, emending to *improba naucleri ratio cum caeca iacebat*. *Navarchi* (Cic. Tac.) would be more in Lucretius' style than *naucleri* (Plaut. Mil. 1110) if both were not hopeless because they lay weight on the skipper's competency. Munro was led to retain the line by Manil. 1, 87 et vagus in caecum penetravit navita pontum. As Manilius is known to have studied Lucretius this parallel has some force.

To sum up: I regard the verse in the MS form as genuine. Brieger (Prol.) says of it 'si Lucretius scripsit, hora non fausta scripsit': I would change to 'Lucretius scripsit hora non fausta'; if he had lived to revise his poem his great ability would have enabled him to express his thought in some other manner that would have harmonized better with the linguistic standard of his day.

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VI.—NOTES ON PHILOLAUS.

In Philolaus fragment 6 (Diels) we read: *ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἀρχαὶ ὑπάρχον οὐχ ὁμοῖαι οὐδ' ὁμόφυλοι ἔσσαι, ἤδη ἀδύνατον ἦε κα αὐταῖς κοσμηθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ἁρμονία ἐπεγένετο ᾧτινῶν ἄδει τρόπῳ ἐγένετο. τὰ μὲν ὦν ὁμοῖα καὶ ὁμόφυλα ἁρμονίας οὐδὲν ἐπεδέοντο, τὰ δὲ ἀνόμοια μηδὲ ὁμόφυλα μηδὲ ισολαχῇ ἀνάγκα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἁρμονία συγκεκλείσθαι, οἷα μέλλοντι ἐν κόσμῳ κατέχεσθαι.* Instead of *ισολαχῇ*, a conjecture of Meineke's, the MSS show *ισοταχῇ*. This, however, is so clearly inept that nobody has been found to defend it. Heeren read *ισοτελῇ*, as if on MS authority; but of recent years all appear to acquiesce in the suggestion made by Meineke. Diels renders *ισολαχῇ* *das gleich Verteilte*, and Newbold in an interesting article on Philolaus recently published (*Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, XIX., 187) says; "Etymologically it should mean 'equally allotted' or 'equally apportioned', and this exactly expresses the relation which the component parts of a figure bear to the homologous components of another which is similar to it. Whatever the ratio which an element of one bears to its homologous element in the other, that same ratio is repeated between every pair of homologous elements,—the second figure is 'equally apportioned' as regards the first."

It is not my intention at present to write a critique of Newbold's suggestive interpretation of *ἀπειρα* and *περαίνοντα* in Philolaus. I have offered one explanation of their significance (*Πέρασ and Ἀπειρον in the Pythagorean Philosophy*, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, XIV., 384 foll.), and am fully aware how hazardous it is, in view of the great variety of views on matters Pythagorean presented even by our ancient authorities, to declare that any application of the notion, which is not self-contradictory, may not have been among others in the mind of Philolaus. But I venture to say that if there had been a blank space in the MSS in the place of *ισοταχῇ* no one would ever have thought of *ισολαχῇ*. The tenor of the fragment in question and of fragments 1 to 5 offers not the slightest support to such a reading.

Fragments 1 and 2 assert that the world is an *ἀρμονία* of *ἄπειρα* and *περαίνοντα*. Fragment 5 introduces the terms *ἀριθμὸς περισσός* and *ἄρτιος* (apparently as the equivalents of *περαίνοντα* and *ἄπειρα*) together with the *ἀρτιοπέριττον* as their *ἀρμονία*. Proceeding to fragment 6, we find stated the reason for the need of *ἀρμονία*. It is because the principles are reciprocally exclusive and hence cannot combine of themselves to make a world: τὰ δὲ ἀνόμοια μηδὲ ὁμόφυλα μηδὲ ἰσοταχῇ ἀνάγκα τῷ τοιαύτῃ ἀρμονίᾳ συγκεκλείσθαι, οἷα μέλλουσι ἐν κόσμῳ κατέχεσθαι. Meineke's *ἰσολαχῇ* is as clearly inept as *ἰσοταχῇ*: apart from the fact that the word does not occur elsewhere, it is impossible in the context. His other suggestion, *ἰσοπαλῇ*, *equal*, which has been received with scant favor, would suit far better. What is needed is a word which, like *ἀνόμοια* and *ὁμόφυλα*, shall suggest the Pythagorean *συστοιχίαι*, to which allusion is clearly made. In a review of Newbold's Philolaus (*Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods*, III., 583 foll.) I therefore proposed to read *σύστοιχα*; but *ἰσολαχῇ* would seem to be paleographically more probable. Hence I would now suggest *ἰσοταγῇ* for the MS *ἰσοταχῇ*. It not only contains the desiderated reference to principles of the same rank and class, but it is also probable paleographically. Like Meineke's *ἰσολαχῇ*, *ἰσοταγῇ* nowhere occurs; but, unlike it, it has extant a congener in *ὁμοταγῆς*, much in use among mathematicians to denote what is *ranged in the same row or line*. That the two words could well be synonyms is proved by the case of *ἰσοταχῆς* and *ὁμοταχῆς*.

In fragment 11 (Diels) we read: νῦν δὲ οὗτος (sc. ἀριθμὸς) κατὰν ψυχὰν ἀρμόζων αἰσθήσει πάντα γνωστὰ καὶ ποτάγορα ἀλλάλοις κατὰ γνώμονος φύσιν ἀπεργάζεται σωματῶν καὶ σχίζων τοὺς λόγους χωρὶς ἐκάστους τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν τε ἀπείρων καὶ τῶν περαίνοντων. Boeckh substituted *σωματῶν* for the MS *σωμάτων*. Subsequent editors have rightly followed him; but they have misinterpreted the term, taking it to mean 'embodying', 'conferring corporeality'. Newbold deserves credit for having first publicly directed attention to the required meaning, showing that the context calls for a term, like 'compounding', to contrast with *σχίζων*, 'factoring'. He, however, proposed *συνάπτων*, regarding *σωματῶν* as impossible. I too had been for some time on the same track, though I lay no claim to his interpretation of the *γνώμων*. Consequently I had considered a number of candidates for the place of *σωματῶν*, such as *συμβάλλον*, because of Heraclitus fragment 126 a (Diels, it was 4 a in the first ed.) κατὰ λόγον δὲ ὥρέων συμβάλλεται ἐβδόμῃς κατὰ

σελήνην, διαιρείται δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἄρκτους, a passage closely analogous and probably written under Pythagorean influence; or such as *συναίρων* (the normal contrary to *διαιρείται* in the fragment just quoted) because of Plato, *Phaedrus* 249 B *δεῖ γὰρ ἄνθρωπον συνίεναι κατ' εἶδος λεγόμενον, ἐκ πολλῶν ἰδὲν αἰσθήσεων εἰς ἓν λογισμῷ συναιρούμενον*. I am now persuaded, however, that Boeckh's reading is correct, because it lends itself perfectly to the correct interpretation of the passage.

Epicurus was not the first to regard *σῶμα* as an *ἄθροισμα*. The notion goes back to Democritus, the contemporary of Philolaus, and beyond him into the shadowy past. In Greek usage *σῶμα* may stand for an organic body regarded as compounded of its members; for a body of three dimensions (hence, according to ancient conceptions, compound); for a 'body' of persons, a 'body' of writings, a 'body' of proofs or arguments. Similarly *σώματιον*, like *corpus* in Latin, is used of a book or of a corporation. The adjectives *σωματοειδής* and *σωματώδης* follow the meanings of the substantive. The verbs *σωματουργεῖν* and *σωματοποιεῖν*, naturally equivalent to *σωματοῦν*, and the derivative substantives *σωματοποιία* and *σωματοποιήσις* also have the meaning of organizing and unifying. Cp. Artemidorus IV. 1 *οὐδὲ ἐνδέχεται τὰ γε οὕτως ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα σωματοποιεῖν καὶ εἰς ἓν συνάγειν*. To be sure, most of these words appear late; but, first, nobody will contend that *σῶμα* did not naturally have this connotation to the mind of a Greek; and, secondly, the date and authenticity of the fragments attributed to Philolaus are themselves so much a matter of doubt that it would be clearly begging the question to object to *σωμάτων* bearing this sense at so early a date.

Diog. Laert. VIII. 85 (fragment 1, Diels): *ἡ φύσις δ' ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀρμόχθη ἐξ ἀπείρων τε καὶ περαινόντων καὶ ὅλος ὁ κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα*. Diels renders thus: "Die Natur ward aber bei der Weltordnung aus Unbegrenztem und Begrenztem zusammengefügt, wie denn auch die ganze Weltordnung und alles in ihr aus diesen beiden besteht." Two points in this rendering at once strike the reader: *κόσμος* is taken to have two meanings almost in the same breath, and a new predicate has to be supplied in what is regarded as the second clause. The reason for this strange interpretation clearly lies in the phrase *ἡ φύσις δ' ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*. These words are, I think, a corruption for *ἡ φύσις δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ*, arising from a failure of the copyist to note that he was writing Doric. The construction thus becomes the familiar periphrasis *ἡ φύσις τῷ κόσμῳ* = *δ*

κόσμος; cp. fragment 2, quoted below. Diels, failing to see this, has failed also to reproduce the force of καὶ ὅλος . . . πάντα, which means "not only the world as a whole (which has already been said, since ἡ φύσις τῷ κόσμῳ = ὁ κόσμος), but also (and this receives emphasis because not before mentioned) all that is therein." Cp. fragment 2, quoted below.

This use of καὶ . . . καὶ, in which the second member receives especial emphasis, is of course common everywhere. It is somewhat curious, therefore, that Diels has failed to render it correctly also in fragment 11: ἴδοις δέ κα οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς δαιμονίοις καὶ θείοις πράγμασι τὰν τῷ ἀριθμῷ φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν ἰσχύουσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπικοῖς ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις πᾶσι παντᾶ καὶ κατὰ τὰς δημιουργίας τὰς τεχνικὰς πάσας καὶ κατὰ τὰν μουσικάν. His rendering is, "sowie auch in allen technischen Verrichtungen und in der Musik." The meaning is clearly, I think, 'not only in technical procedure in general (compare πάσας here with ὅλος in fragment 1), but particularly in music' (where first the Pythagoreans had successfully applied mathematics to empirical science).

The passage just quoted from fragment 11, suggests another observation. In fragment 2 we read ἐπεὶ τοίνυν φαίνεται οὗτ' ἐκ περαινότων πάντων ἔόντα οὗτ' ἐξ ἀπείρων πάντων, ὅληον τὰρα ὅτι ἐκ περαινότων τε καὶ ἀπείρων δ τε κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ συναρμύχθη. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις. The last clause, Diels in his first edition rendered, "Damit stimmt auch die Beobachtung an den Werken überein." In the second edition he substitutes "Aeckern" for "Werken", presumably out of regard for the suggestion of Newbold, who had in the interim developed an elaborate theory of the περαινότα and ἀπειρα, based in part on the supposition that ἔργα here means *fields* or *lands*. A comparison of fragments 2 and 11 should have prevented him from falling into this error. As τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ θεῖα πράγματα means *things divine*, so τὰ ἀνθρωπικὰ ἔργα means simply *things human*. The addition of the λόγοι does not, I think, make against this view, it being only padding, going along with πᾶσι παντᾶ to complete the picture and suggested by the ubiquitous pair λόγῳ·)(·ἔργῳ. In fragment 2 also, I believe, ἔργα means *things*, not *fields*.

Fragment 5: δ γὰρ μὲν ἀριθμὸς ἔχει δύο μὲν ἴδια εἶδη, περισσὸν καὶ ἄρτιον, τρίτον δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων μειχθέντων ἀρτισπέρितτον. Instead of *μειχθέντων*, which yields a loose construction, I would propose *μειχθὲν τὸ*, referring to the familiar construction *μειχθῆναι ἐξ*, e. g.

Plato, *Repub.* 548 C, *Protag.* 320 D., etc. Instead of *ἐξ*, though rarely, *ἀπό* occurs, as e. g. Hippocrates, *Aër.*, 285 [Manetho], 6. 322 *τόσσοι ἀπ' ἄλλοίων μικτοὶ τελέθουσι τοκήων.*

In closing these scattered notes it may be well to draw attention to a misprint in fragment 2 (*Diels, Ed. II.*), p. 240, l. 6, where the text should read τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκ περαιόντων κ. τ. λ.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen, mit einem
Beitrage von GEORG KAIBEL herausgegeben von ADOLF
WILHELM. Mit 68 Abbildungen im Texte. Sonderschriften
des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien,
Band VI. Wien, Alfred Holder, 1906. Pp. 278. M. 16.

The records kept by the Athenian Archon and King of the annual contests held under their direction at the City Dionysia and Lenaea became, as time went on, an extensive and valuable but unwieldy source of information. But it required only diligence and accuracy for any one who had access to them to draw up in convenient form the chief items of interest contained in them. If his interest was in the festivals as institutions, he might simply compile the list of prize-winners of every kind; if in the facts of literary history, he would select only the items which bore upon the poets and their work. Now we possess fragments of two compilations from these records, and they reveal these two points of view: 1) IG. II 971, for which Wilamowitz Göt. Gel. Anz. 1896, 614 has proposed the convenient designation "Fasti", gives the victors at the Dionysia—tribes and lyric choregi, tragic and comic choregi and poets, and tragic actors: 2) IG. II 973, 975, 972, "Didascaliae", in which the poets, their plays and protagonists, are given in the order of their success, the old play and the satyr-play (both outside of the contest), and the victorious actor. So far as we can see, both of these documents are official in character; if the Didascaliae were influenced by Aristotle's studies in this field, the influence was probably not direct. But we possess two other kinds of documents, both apparently of private origin and derived probably not directly from the archives but indirectly through the Fasti and Didascaliae above described: 3) IG. II 977, the "Victors'-lists"—the names of the victorious poets and actors in comedy and tragedy at each of the two festivals, arranged in the order of their first victories. The information needed for its compilation was all furnished by the Fasti. The fourth, IG. XIV 1098 a, 1097, 1098, is not so easy to describe in a word. Its character is didascalie and the matter contained in it was all to be had in the Didascaliae with the exception of an occasional learned comment of Alexandrian origin. The arrangement is by poets in the chronological order of their first appearances, and under each are given the plays with which he was first, second, etc. in each festival. There

are numerous other inscriptions from which information is derived concerning the dramatic contests at Athens, such as dedications, agonistic records of various kinds, etc.; but they require little interpretation and as compared with those just mentioned are of minor importance.

Since Wilhelm's announcement eight years ago of his discovery of important new fragments of these great documents and of his intention to reedit the whole series, the appearance of his book has been awaited with impatience. A fragment of any of them of any considerable size was likely to settle some of the questions concerning which scholars had not yet reached agreement, and the attention which had been concentrated upon the old texts as edited by Köhler had raised innumerable questions of detail which could be answered only by a competent epigraphist who was fully aware of the significance attaching to these details. The chief desideratum, then, was an edition in which, first of all, the texts themselves should be given with all possible completeness and finality, together with such minute information as to the shape and condition of the stones, style of writing, etc. as would contribute to the correct classification of the fragments and to the determination of the purpose and origin of the documents themselves. It has been quite clear for some time that, until the fundamental work of recension should be accomplished, little further progress in this field was to be expected, and that meanwhile the use of this important source of information by classical scholars in general would be restricted owing to the difficulties and uncertainties attendant upon the study of the inscriptions. It was inevitable, too, that the scholar who undertook the reediting of these inscriptions would still have a great deal of pioneer work to do, and that a relatively large part of his book would be given to the discussion of minor details. Probably no one who had himself seriously wrestled with the enormous difficulties involved in this subject or was conversant with the present status of the discussion believed that the time was ripe for the final edition, in which textual and epigraphical details, the deliberate weighing of possibilities as to position, person, date, etc., and the discussion of minor topics in general, should sink into the background and give place to the consideration of the documents in their larger significance and of the subject-matter in its bearing upon literary history.

With this conception of the task we greet Wilhelm's book as satisfying our needs and fulfilling our expectations with conspicuous success. His readings must be regarded as final, so far as the results of any man's observations may be final. An appeal to the stones will not often be necessary. The number of fragments has been materially increased and a good many others for the first time joined to their mates. The photographs are beyond criticism, though they do not, of course, show the fainter lines and are no substitute for autopsy or squeezes. The descriptions

and transcriptions are open to few corrections and these mainly typographical. The restorations show a marked advance toward completeness and certainty; but there is room for further progress in this direction and some of Wilhelm's will doubtless have to yield. The literary apparatus is very full, the prosopographical at times too full; for Wilhelm cannot resist the temptation to suggest possible identities and relationships even when, if capable of proof, no illumination whatever would result. And when such conjectures are scattered over the text instead of being relegated to the footnotes the reader's attention is seriously distracted. In fact, the text throughout should have been relieved of small details and minor digressions.

The book was in type more than three years before it was published. This explains a good many disturbing additions and the 18 pages of *Nachträge* in which the literature of the interval is duly taken into account. There is so much here that is new, including some modifications of the author's views, that the reader would do well to consult this section constantly as he reads. The reason for this extraordinary delay is not explicitly given, though a period of illness is alluded to (p. 240); but no one will be disposed to lay the blame at Wilhelm's door who has followed the affairs of the Austrian School at Athens in recent years and is aware of the influences which have resulted in the removal of Wilhelm to Vienna. The delay has not been to the advantage of the book, but this is a consideration of lesser importance; it is a matter of great importance, however, and a source of deep regret to scholars the world over, that the most brilliant epigraphist of the present generation, whose continued residence in Athens would best serve the interests of scholarship everywhere, will no longer be at his old post there.

Professor Kaibel's part in the collaboration is limited to one essay (pp. 167-194) in which he interprets broadly the Victors'-lists, using the *Fasti* to establish the date of the official recognition of comedy. A melancholy interest attaches to this sketch as the last considerable essay by this gifted scholar. Though written not many months before his untimely death in the autumn of 1901, it shows no diminution in his power of lucid and vigorous presentation. But considered as an elucidation of this document, it represents a stage in its study which that had already been passed in 1901 and its incongruity in its present setting is emphasized by Wilhelm's numerous corrections. The fact is, as the reviewer knows through correspondence had with him in the summer of 1900, that Kaibel had only then reluctantly given up Bergk's classification¹ of the lists of comic poets and in the last year of his life probably had not the time or the strength to work

¹ But, strange to say, not because the new classification brought the lists of victors into better accord with the literary records, but for the mechanical reason that the earlier list must be Dionysian, since Aristotle speaks of "the archon" giving a chorus to the comic performers. But even if both lists be-

over the literary material afresh in order to adjust his ideas to the new classification. Certain it is that he never grasped the far-reaching character of the deductions which naturally followed the acceptance of the correct classification. But his vision was always clear and his intuitions sometimes truer than even Wilhelm's reasoning. We cannot regret, therefore, that Wilhelm decided the embarrassing question which confronted him by giving this essay a place in his book.

The first chapter deals with the Fasti. We learn that this inscription, the main part of which was inscribed between 346 and 342, was ca. 1.74 m. in height and covered a wall built of four rows of blocks. The existence of an upper or lower margin on a fragment does not therefore fix its position in a column, but only in one of the blocks of a column. A new fragment *g* which joins *h* on the left enables Wilhelm to estimate the number of lines in a column at ca. 135; the exact number for the early part of the inscription proves to be 140. Several results naturally follow: Praxiergus 471/0 is the lost archon in *b* (*f* Köh.) col. I, Sosigenes 342/1 in *f* (*e* Köh.) col. I, while *b* must be directly under *a* with the least possible interval between them. This result agrees entirely with the conclusions which I reached by a somewhat different procedure, taking Lipsius' certain conjecture [Πολυφράσιμος] in *b* col. I as the starting point to determine the number of letters lost in the archon's name. From the faintest traces Wilhelm cleverly restores another archon's name—Pythodelus 336/5 at the top of *i* (*d* Köh.), thus fixing the period of the comic poet Procleides. The two small new fragments *k* and *l* are unimportant.

Wilhelm refrains from attempting to determine by calculation the exact constitution of the columns which intervened between *b* and *f*, feeling that the gap is so large and the chances of irregularities so great that the results would be unsatisfactory. But fortunately, shortly after the appearance of this book, he discovered and promptly published (Bericht d. Wien. Akad., Sitzung d. 4. Juli, 1906) the original stone which Pittakis saw when he jotted down the confused notes from which Wilhelm, and Köhler before him, had tried to extract by divination a portion of 971 (*d* Wilh., *c* Köh.) The new fragment is so important that I venture to state simply as theses to be proved some conclusions which I have reached and hope to publish shortly: 1) The heading extended over only the first three extant columns; 2) the next seven columns contained each 141 lines,—the number deduced by Wilhelm for the new fragment; 3) the synchoregia lasted only two years, 406/5 and 405/4; 4) in these two years, therefore, will fall the

gan with the name of Chionides, we should still be able to distinguish them, because the literary records of first appearances and first victories are based wholly upon the contests at the Dionysia. As to the significance to be attached to Aristotle's reference to the archon see my Introd. of Comedy, pp. 4, 25.

victories of Aristophanes and Sophocles recorded in the synchor-egic inscription IG. II 4 1280 b, p. 254, and the victory of Cephisodotus in 402 with a single choregus (Lys. 21. 4) need not have been won at the Lenaea, to which I once assigned it; 5) when the production of a play was committed by a poet to a didascalus, it was the poet and not the didascalus who was officially awarded the prize. With these facts in mind we shall be in a better position to interpret the Victors'-lists. This new fragment of 971, by the way, has this entry under the year 386: *παλαιὸν δράμα πρῶτον | παρεδίδαξαν οἱ τραγῳδοί. πρῶτον* is therefore, as Wilhelm remarks, to be restored in the other new fragment *g*, where we have the corresponding entry for comedy. We now understand that the Fasti recorded these events simply as innovations; reproductions of old plays, regularly given in the Didascaliae, had no place in this catalogue of victors, for there was no contest; e. g. an old tragedy was given in 341 (IG. II 973), but is not entered in the Fasti for that year, frag. *f*. What shall we conclude as to the production of old tragedies before 386 and of old comedies before 339? Since the prize was awarded in such cases, according to the tradition about Aeschylus, we must conclude that the old play competed on even terms with the new. That this is the correct inference seems to be shown by A. Körte's clever restoration of IG. XIV 1098 a, l. 5, in the record of Teledeides: [Ξ]εppovs ἀν[αδιδάξας].

Since Magnes won a victory in 472 (971 *a*) and his name is sixth from the top in the Victors'-lists, Wilhelm accepts E. Meyer's view of the documentary character of the statement of Suidas *διδάσκειν ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν*; and he properly combines this notice with Aristotle's Poet. 3. The chronological relation of Chionides to Epicharmus is settled once for all by our inscriptions. Whether or not the truth could have been established without this evidence is not now a matter of much consequence.¹ As to the exact date indicated by Suidas as the epoch date for comedy Wilhelm gives variously 488/7 or 489/8 (p. 109), 488/7 or 487/6 (p. 175, n. 1), and finally (p. 244) 489/8, for which he decides on the ground that even by inclusive reckoning 487/6, the date which I favored, could not be the eighth year before Salamis, while by exclusive reckoning 489/8 could be. But surely the chronographer who took Salamis as his starting point quite naturally counted all the archons, beginning with Calliades 480/79 and ending with Telesinus 487/6, and found them eight in number. So 486, which is best in accord with Suidas, fits best into the calculations (p. 243) back to the beginning of the inscription. It is worth remarking here, lest we should pride ourselves

¹ Nevertheless credit is due to Wolf, Clinton, Bergk, Meyer and others who saw the didascalie character of Suidas' notice and saw how it was to be reconciled with Aristotle. This notice has entered into all discussions of the subject; Wilhelm's language p. 14 is therefore not quite accurate, "unbegreiflicherweise unbeachtet gelassene Nachricht".

too much upon our insight, that Clinton long ago unhesitatingly put Chionides into his *Fasti* under the year 487/6.¹

The epoch date of the *Fasti* is still a matter of dispute. Wilamowitz Gött. Gel. Anz. 1906, p. 624 still advocates the first tragic contest in 534 and urges the didascalical notices concerning Thespis, Choerilus, Phrynichus, and the first men's chorus in favor of his view; and certainly there could be no broader definition of the character of the epoch event that the word *κῶμοι* in the heading. If this means the original festival act, we should have to assume that the festival was established the year Thespis first exhibited *ἐν ᾧσται*. And that may well have been the case. Wilhelm inclines to the opinion that the epoch event was an innovation of the period of Cleisthenes. His date 505/4—502/1 corrects itself to 502/1 as soon as 487/6 is recognized as the inevitable interpretation of Suidas. As to the heading, the knowledge to be gained from the new fragment *d* (above, p. 85) suffices to eliminate from consideration a number of suggestions (p. 9, 244). The phrase, *κῶμοι ἦσαν τῶν ἐν ᾧσται Διονυσίων*, which once commended itself to me, is of suitable length, but Wilamowitz's objection to it is fatal—that it is not a prose phrase. *τῷ Διονύσῳ Ἐλευθερεί*, which is practically Foucart's (*τῷ Δ. τῷ Ἐλ.*) is rather better than the rest, even than *τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐν ᾧσται*, for *ἐν ᾧσται* more than likely accompanied *οἷδε γενικήσιν* which stood in the first part of the heading.

The Didascaliae are the subject of the second chapter. Wilhelm considers it probable that all 14 fragments belonged to the same document and that the arrangement of its four sections was: Dionysia, tragedy and comedy; Lenaea, comedy and tragedy, i. e. at each festival the contest which was first to be established had the precedence. Here again an important new fragment is added, 974 *c*, the comic didascaliae for the year 312/1 and a part of the year before. The first item for 312 is an old play of Anaxandrides, the last the name of the winning actor. Wilhelm is inclined to regard the list as Dionysian. The actor's contest at this date is not decisive against this view; while the presence of the old comedy, which we have learned from 971 *g* was an innovation of the year 339 and is not on the Lenaeae programme of the year 288 (II 972), makes about equally for it. The most interesting item in 974 *c* is the comment after the poet Ameinias, who was third: *οὗτος ἔφηβος ὦν ἐνεμήθη*. We are at once reminded of the tradition regarding Eupolis and Menander and now understand how such facts could become a matter of permanent record. When the official didascaliae make a note of the fact that a poet was admitted to the competition in spite of his

¹ One might infer from Wilhelm p. 242 that I regarded 487/6 as only "a little more probable" than 479/8. On the contrary, I gave the latter as a mathematical possibility and then gave three reasons against it and in favor of 486. One of the latter is that "we obtain precisely the date given by Suidas". The phrase which he quotes is used apropos of still a fourth reason: "on this ground *also* 502 is a little more probable than 505".

youth, the implication clearly is that the case was exceptional, and the purpose of the note is clearly, not to signalize the youth's precocity, but to indicate that a special concession had been made for him.

Nowhere does Wilhelm's acumen in distinguishing the characteristics of different hands and periods of writing stand him in such good stead as in his discussion of II 975. All the fragments (except *bcd* which, as he assures us, are correctly joined by Köhler)¹ are arranged by him in chronological order by observing minute differences in the writing, assigned to four hands. The conclusions reached compel assent; but I cannot forbear to express a lingering doubt regarding *f*. The most striking peculiarity here is that the victorious actor is twice omitted. In no other fragment of 975 does this happen. After this contest was once established, it was the regular thing for the judges to select the best actor and for the *didascalai* to record the prize. It is hard to see why the award should have been withheld in just these two years, as Wilhelm holds, except on the hypothesis advanced by me, viz. that this fragment is from the period, between 329 and ca. 312, just prior to the establishment of this contest. But 975 still presents a good many unsolved problems and this is one of them. Wilhelm's argument on the chronology of Antiphanes seems to me unconvincing, and also his attempt to prove the existence of a second Antiphanes, son of Panaetius.

Chapter III presents in masterly fashion the text of the great Victors'-lists, with now 39 fragments instead of Köhler's 32. Inscribed upon the inner side of an epistyle belonging to the dedication of an agonothete, the architectural indications do not suffice to determine the original order and arrangement of the eight lists. Except where two or more pieces can be joined, the relation of each to the whole must be determined by its contents, though the period is roughly given by the writing. In this edition all the fragments are classified except eleven, and most of these are insignificant. The original portion of the lists, consisting of perhaps thirty-two columns of seventeen names each on the average, was inscribed at the time the building was erected, "near the end of the first third of the third century". From time to time continuations were added, bringing the record down to the second half of the second century. Each of the eight lists had its own heading, but in only the four lists of poets was the festival named. The festival was indicated for the four actors' lists by their position relative to the lists of poets. Thus, both lists of tragic actors bore the heading *ὑποκριτῶν τραγικῶν*, but the one which followed the list headed *δοτικοὶ ποιητῶν τραγικῶν* was of course recognized as referring to the Dionysia. It is surprising

¹ My doubt was evidently not justified. It seemed to me that there was not sufficient space for the restorations in ll. 14, 15 (*δε*), and I could not see on *d* the endings *-τι*, *-κα*, *-ο* in ll. 11, 13, 14, though they are visible on the photograph. The triangular piece was probably not in place.

that the four headings over the lists of poets did not contain the word *νῆκαι*; but perhaps the whole series was preceded by the general title *Νῆκαι ἀστικοὶ καὶ ληναῖοι*. At any rate Wilhelm seems to be right in maintaining that the headings extended over only the first column of each list. The comic contest at the Lenaea, therefore, goes back only to Xenophilus, i. e. to ca. 442. The tragic actors' contest, established at the Dionysia in 449, was not brought into the Lenaea until some ten to twenty years later, as shown by the new fragments *rs*. But the tragic contest itself at this festival dates back to a time not more than twenty years before 417, as we learn from 972; the actors' contest was probably established at the same time.

Unquestionably the most important new find in the book is 977 *e*—a portion of the Dionysian list of comic poets. Wilhelm has joined it to *d* (*i* Köh.), the famous piece with the name of Magnes. A new fragment *f* he joins to *g* (*k* Köh.), which is at the top of the third column of this list. We thus have, with few gaps, portions of most of the thirty-four names of the victors at the comic contests at the Dionysia. Magnes was sixth from the beginning. Unfortunately the new piece preserves only the first two or three letters of the names, but in the majority of cases there is little room for doubt as to the correct restoration: Telecleides III begins col. II, followed by II, one lost name, and: *ΑΙ*, *Φερ*-, *Ερμ*-, *Αρι*-, *Εὐ*-, *Κα*-, *Φρυ*-, *Αμ*-, *Πλα*-, *Φιλ*-, *Δυκ*-, *Δευ*-.; then in *g* Nicophon, Theopompus, Cephisodotus, and

Kaibel unhesitatingly restores Aristophanes in the l. 7, though to do so he had to withdraw his former opinion that Aristophanes won no City victory. But Wilhelm stoutly resists the temptation. After an able argument in which he maintains that the actual didascalus and not the poet received the prize, he rejects the claim of Aristophanes to a place in this honor-list at a date required by the position of *Αρι*- here (near 425) and restores Aristomenes. The name of Aristophanes for the City victory of the period of the synchoregia must have stood, he thinks, after in col. III. On the same principal he restores the didascali Callistratus and Philonides further down, though for the latter Philyllius is suggested as more probable by the corresponding Lenaeon list; for the former Cantharus, a contemporary of Plato comicus, is the only alternative. It is an interesting question, but space will not permit its discussion here. In my opinion, however, Wilhelm's conclusion runs counter to the evidence, which has been materially increased, it is true, by his rediscovery of 971 *d*. It can be shown that the place after is too late for a first victory in 405 or 404, to which the synchoregia can now be confined. This makes Aristophanes inevitable just above Eupolis. Neither can Lysippus for a supposed first victory in 410 be restored after Cephisodotus, for the same reason. Hence it is to be restored above Pherecrates, where the remains point, as Wilhelm states, to *Αδρ*-, *Αφ*- or *Δυ*-.; but we know of no poet of the period who fits either of the first two possibilities.

Lysippus is just as inevitable here as is Aristophanes just below. The restoration of XIV 1097 along the lines indicated in Class. Phil. I (1906), 201ff., is determined by this fact, and this in turn excludes Aristomenes from a victory at the Dionysia. The names in the new fragment should accordingly be restored: Lysippus II, Pherecrates, Hermippus II (or more), Aristophanes II (or more), Eupolis IIII, Cantharus (?), Phrynichus, Ameipsias, Plato, Philyllius (?), Lycis, Leucon.

A second new fragment of the same list (*h*, p. 118) gives the names of Poseidippus, Apollodorus (Carystius), Philemon the younger, Phoenicides (whose position as a poet of the New Comedy is now secure; cf. 972), and a third Philemon. In the two lists of tragic actors a distinct advance is to be noted. Two new fragments with the heading (*rs*, p. 145) make it possible to assign *ρ* (*e* Köh.) to the Dionysia, *rs* with *tuw* to the Lenaea. The Nicomachus in the former is doubtless the tragic actor of schol. Arist. Ran. 1506. Under [*Δειπ*]τιν[*ης*] I saw *ΣΙ*, the end of a name, not noted by Wilhelm. Some of the restorations in *s* seem to me to be very doubtful: *Δειπτιν*[*ης*] does not fill the space and *Καλλιππ*[*ος*] satisfies the conditions rather better than *Ηρακλείδης*. *Μυννίσκος*[*ος*] is only one possibility. Nor is it at all certain, in my own mind, that if *Mynniscus* is right here he is the well-known actor for Aeschylus, but rather the son (cf. 972); the *Mynniscus* of *ρ* might well be, however. The lists of comic actors are also much improved. But Wilhelm's hesitation to assign *δ'ε'* (*ρ'* *w* Köh.) to the Dionysia and *γζα'* (*uv* Köh.) to the Lenaea is scarcely justified. For the consistent omission of the victorious comic actor in 971 is just as good evidence that there was no comic actors' contest at the Dionysia down to 329 as the consistent naming of the tragic actor furnishes proof of the existence of the tragic actors' contest. Hyp. Arist. Vesp. does not weigh against the testimony of the Fasti, and Körte's explanation of this notice, as due to the contamination of the didascalic notice of the performance *ἐν ᾧ* with the later performance at the Lenaea, is satisfactory.

We must pass over Wilhelm's interpretation of IG. XIV 1097, 1098, 1098 a, which is not very different from Körte's, and his discussion of the so-called Rhodian didascalie IG. XII i 125, which occupy the fourth chapter, and his interesting restoration of IG. II 1289 and of other inscriptions in the Anhang. The indexes are full and an invaluable help to the user of the book.

EDWARD CAPPS.

Der Wortschatz des Englischen Maundeville nach der Version der Cotton Handschrift Titus C XVI. Von ROBERT HERNDON FIFE, JR. Leipzig, 1902.

Speaking of the English version of Maundeville's Travels, Ten Brink remarks that its linguistic importance is high. 'The great

multiplicity of subjects that had to be spoken of forced the translator to make a more extensive use of his native vocabulary than mediocre scribes were wont to do in those days.¹ 'Diesem Wink', says the author of *Der Wortschatz des Englischen Maundeville*, 'soll die vorliegende Arbeit Folge leisten.'

The author's task was in many respects a difficult one. It is well known that the English Maundeville is a translation of a French original composed about 1371.

The numerous manuscripts of the English version fall into three main divisions: (1) all manuscripts but two, a defective version, and the only one printed until 1725; (2) Cotton MS. Titus C XVI (in this review designated as C), with a gap of three leaves, in Halliwell's edition, filled from a manuscript of group (1); (3) Egerton 1982 (designated here as E), a complete version in Northern dialect. As a basis of his study Dr. Fife has done well to choose C, printed by Halliwell in 1835, as the one which corresponds most closely of any to the only French text accessible. Yet it is clear that for a final study of meanings a comparison of all texts, including the French original, is desirable. And here his trouble begins, for Halliwell simply reprinted a previous edition without variants or corrections from the manuscript. The errors in Halliwell's text which resulted from this method have been in part remedied by Dr. Fife from portions of the text printed elsewhere directly from the manuscript,² and from variants in the Roxburghe Club edition of Egerton 1982; but the Halliwell edition has a trick of omitting or altering important passages, and, when all is done, a considerable number of such defects must stand, which could be amended only by comparing the printed text throughout with the manuscript. The trouble was certainly worth taking for purposes of completeness in a work of this nature.

Another difficulty, quite as serious, is the comparative inaccessibility of the Egerton version and the French text. Egerton 1982 is printed only in a rare edition prepared for the Roxburghe Club by G. F. Warner. This edition contains also the most accessible version of the French text, printed from two complementary manuscripts.³

Dr. Fife's book is chiefly characterized by great industry in compiling and manipulating details. He has collected some 3,000 words, and, so far as one may judge by a test here and there, he has suffered none to escape. If he grows a bit perfunctory at times it is not surprising, since he seems to have worked with no particular scientific end in view. No deduction is made,

¹History of English Literature 3.15.

²Wülker, *Altenglisches Lesebuch* 2.200: Morris and Skeat, *Specimens* 2.164.

³This French text is not the original of any existing English versions, though it apparently corresponds most faithfully to C.

no inference drawn, no synthesis nor generalization is attempted. It may indeed be objected that anything of this nature lies beyond the scope of such a work. But the spirit and true significance of Ten Brink's words just quoted, with which Dr. Fife leads off, imply at least that such deduction is desirable, and suggest inquiries which clamor for such answers as it lies peculiarly in the author's power to give. What in general, one may ask, are the tendencies of the translator's vocabulary? Did he introduce any Oriental or Romance words which have been retained in English? Is the proportion of the Romance to the native element of its vocabulary large? Is he inclined to render a Romance word merely by the English form of the same word? Is he, on the whole, conservative, or fond of novelty? The last question is of especial significance in the case of a writer who belongs to a time of such general innovation as the fourteenth century. Dr. Fife excites one's curiosity without satisfying it, as to questions of the translator's accuracy, skill, synonymy, and the like. Concerning this last point a little more care in the matter of cross-references would have helped greatly. Interesting synonyms which would thus have been evident at a glance are *formyour* and *creatour*, *glasse* and *verre*, *white thorn* and *albespyne*, *serche* and *encerche*, *colber* and *dowve*, *grau* and *tombe*, or even a longer series, such as *delve*, *dyggen*, *grauen*, *burye*, *entere*.

Whether it belongs to a mere Wortschatz to generalize or not, its object may perhaps be more clearly defined than has been done in the present case. If it is to serve as a word-list only, what need of so many very obvious definitions? If it is to be a concordance, the references should be complete. If it is the author's purpose to make a lexicon, he cannot afford to be slovenly in his definitions. *Buxomly* is more than 'gnädig, freundlich', implying, as it does, both by etymology and context, the idea of obedience and courtesy.¹ It translates the Fr. *benignement*. *Avere de poys* is not mere 'Waren', but rather 'merchandise sold by weight' (N. E. D.), or more specifically, 'objets qui se vendaient au poids, . . . particulièrement employés comme remèdes en médecine, comme condiments, comme matières colorantes' (Godefroy s. v. *avoir*). 'Dyapred' cloth is not necessarily, nor merely, 'buntfarbig', but rather cloth whose ground is diversified 'with a small uniform pattern.' *Garant* is defined as a 'dunkelfarbiger Edelstein'; a direct quotation from N. E. D. would have served better.² *Hevy* (71.2, not 172.2 as given) is more than 'betrübt, unzufrieden'; the French is *trop corupez*, and N. E. D. (*heavy* VI. 22) gives 'angry', with this instance as an illustration, and Destr. Troy 12320: 'Eneas with anger was an-

¹ The Sultan 'commanded. . . to all his Subgettes. . . buxomly to recceyve me. . . and for to obeye to all my requestes resonable', (82.11).

² Blundered readings in the English versions of Maundeville for O. F. *geracites* ad. L. *hieracitis* (Pliny) "a stone the color of a hawk's neck". Cf. Liddell and Scott, *iepaxirns*.

gardly hevvy'. There is much avoidable confusion in the treatment of *ferire*. The definition reads, '1. Tragbahre, Thei setten him (den Kaiser) upon a blak fertre 225.19 . . . (vgl. Godefroy, *fautre*) . . . 2. Schrein'. Which of the two *fautre*'s in Godefroy is meant does not appear; none of the definitions correspond to 'Tragbahre'. A Latin equivalent, *feretrum*, on p. 60 of Halliwell, and Warner's note on 110.3, should have put the definitions to rights. As a matter of fact, *ferire* represents two different words: (1) O. F. *feutre*, *filtre*, Lat. *filtrum*, 'felt', Godefroy's *fautre*; in Maundeville it corresponds to the *filtrum nigerrimum* of Hayton's Liber de Tartaris 16.433 ff., the source of Maundeville at this point. The black felt was used at the crowning of the Kahn as a symbol of the poverty which he must endure if unfaithful in office. C is puzzled with the word, and renders it variously—*ferire* (meaning *feretory*?) 225.19, *stede* 254.26, *wode* 247.22, and *ferne* 307.28. (2) O. F. *fierire* (in Maundeville *ferires*), Lat. *feretrum*, modern *feretory*, that is, 'reliquary', or, as N. E. D. interprets in this instance, *bier*.

It is not easy to see why *cylour* should be referred to the rare variant form *cilery*, 'the drapery or foliage carved on the heads of columns', instead of the more common *celure*, 'canopy', or perhaps in this case, 'Decke', as Dr. Fife says. A similar case is that of *halle*, where insufficient distinction is made between *halle*, 'überdeckter Saal', found in Old English, and *hale*, 'Zelt' (Fr. *tentz*, C *Hales* and *tentes*, E *tentes*), perhaps an adaptation of O. F. *hale*, in origin a doublet of *hall*, but meaning 'a place roofed over, but usually open at the sides', (N. E. D.).

Certain errors of detail appear to be the result of inattentive proof-reading. *Yndenes* should be *Yndynes*; *felonouse* should be *felonouse*, which is quite a different word. *Deliverly* is an adverb, not an adjective. *Cerche* is glossed under the letter C without reference to *serche*, of which it is, of course, only a variant spelling. *Seysoun* is an unnoticed variant of *cesoun*. *Bek* (48.26) should have been glossed independently as *back*, instead of being entered under *bek*, 'Schnabel'. It is clearly a mistake for *bak* as the readings *back* in E, and *dos* in Fr., show. Dr. Fife is sometimes excessively cautious in the matter of readings, as when he gives a second and unique definition of *raveyne* (*ravin*) as 'kollektiv, Raubvogel', to fit the reading 'bridides and foules and raveyne' (309.23), where 'foules of raveyne' was clearly intended, as the expression is common and occurs twice elsewhere in C. Another instance is *sleve* (153.7), which, as the context and other editions indicate, appears to be Halliwell's misprint for *heres*. *Sleves* has occurred in the preceding line; and Warner, who in his edition of E gives important variants in C, does not notice *sleve* at this point.¹

¹ The passage in Halliwell runs: 'The Wömen ben righte foule and evylle arrayed; and thei gon alle bare fote, and clothed in evylle Garnementes, large

What exquisite reason, one may ask in passing, requires that a study in English literature, by one whose native tongue is English, should be written in German?

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and wyde, but thei ben schorte to the Knees; and longe Sleves doun to the feet, lyche a Monkes Frokke; and here Sleves ben hongyng aboute here Schuldres'.

REPORTS.

HERMES XL.

Fascicle 3.

Studien zu Lygdamus und den Sulpicia-Gedichten (R. Bürger). The style of poetry introduced by Gallus and perfected by Tibullus and Propertius found a belated imitator in Lygdamus (cf. Leo on Ciris A. J. P. XXIV, p. 344), and so, while these elegies (Tibullus bk. III) are post-Ovidian (in spite of Skutsch, Belling etc.), they appear more archaic. A comparison of Tib. III 2 with its models, especially Propertius II 13 b, reveals the character of the imitator. Only Lygdamus and Propertius wrote epistolary elegies (cf. Tib. III 3 and 5, Prop. I 11, III 22); not so Tibullus and Ovid (barring certain exceptions in the case of the latter). The Sulpicia-elegies (Tib. IV 2-6), which have so beautifully expanded the theme of Sulpicia's love for Cerinthus (Tib. IV 7-12), are commonly ascribed to Tibullus; but Ribbeck's doubt (Gesch. d. röm. Dicht. II 194. 196.) and Marx's dogmatic negation (Pauly-Wissowa, Alb. Tib.) are justified by the fact that Tib. IV 2 not only shows imitation of Tib. II 2; but also of elegies in Prop. IV that were composed 16 B. C. or later; that is to say after the death of Tibullus. This judgment on Tib. IV 2 necessarily includes the closely connected poems 3-6. These and other considerations prove that Tib. IV 2-6 were not by Tibullus. They were certainly unknown to Lygdamus and Ovid; Belling's parallels prove nothing.

Ein verlorenes Epyll des Bion von Smyrna (G. Knaack). That Bion had composed a poem Orpheus, is a conjecture of Knaack (Pauly-Wissowa II 481) which Skutsch supported (Vergils Frühzeit 59), based on the Epitaphius Bionis by Ps.-Moschus. This thesis is now elaborated. [But see Wilamowitz, Textgesch., p. 241 ff. and Berl. Phil. Woch. (1906) p. 713.]

Probleme der Textgeschichte des Statius (A. Klotz). The codex Puteanus (P) s. X, though carefully written, was derived through a somewhat defective copy from a lost codex Juliani, which stood in close relationship to the grammarian Priscian; hence P shows a close agreement with the latter's citations. The rest of the Statius MSS represents partly an older vulgata, influenced sporadically by the codex Juliani, partly by a younger vulgate influenced by P itself. Verses that occur only in certain ones of the MSS should be regarded as spurious unless they can be shown to be necessary, or, at least, suitable. This test reveals the merits of P. In one instance, however, (Theb. 4, 716) P contains a verse omitted by Priscian and most MSS, a striking

discrepancy and problem ; but Klotz discovered in the fall of 1903 in a Leipzig MS (s. XI) this verse as part of a longer interpolation. This seems to have been a marginal addition to the codex Juliani, from which the above verse found its way into P. This however and certain other minor discrepancies and omissions do not affect the intrinsic value of P. Klotz discusses a number of passages in the light of the MS evidence, mediating between the somewhat radical Otto Müller and Kohlmann, and the too conservative Helm.

Minucius Felix and Caecilius Natalis (H. Dessau). More than twenty-five years ago Dessau identified the Caecilius Natalis in the Octavius of Minucius Felix with the Caecilius Natalis mentioned 210-212 A. D. in inscriptions of the Numidian Cirta (cf. A. J. P. I 490), and now returns to this much debated question, not only with arguments to substantiate his original view, but going a step further, to identify him with the Natalis who asked forgiveness of bishop Zephyrinus (202-217 A. D.) for having consented to act as bishop of the Theodotian sect (Euseb. hist. eccl. V 28, 8 ff.). The rejection of the Logos doctrine by this sect would explain the avoidance of this subject in the Octavius. Various other arguments are adduced and attention called to the fact that H. Valois made the same identification in his notes to Eusebius (l. c.). The conversion of Caecilius Natalis, if not the composition of the Octavius, must be placed soon after 212 A. D.

Spartas Heer und Leuktra (G. Busolt). Busolt has made an important contribution to the vexed question of the organization and numerical strength of the Spartan army, so jealously guarded (Thuc. V. 68), taking issue especially with Kromayer (Die Wehrkraft Lakoniens und seine Wehrverfassung, in den Beiträgen zur alten Geschichte III (1903), p. 173 f.). A careful examination of the relevant passages in Thucydides, Xenophon etc., particularly those pertaining to the battle of Mantinea (418 B. C.), the blockade of Sphacteria and the battle of Leuktra (371 B. C.), shows that, while the size of the Spartan army remained about the same in this period, its organization changed and its quality deteriorated owing to the diminishing number of Spartans. At Plataea the Spartans and Perioeci fought in separate divisions in equal numbers (Hdt. IX 10, 11, 28), at Mantinea shoulder to shoulder in the proportion of 2 : 3. The proportion was reduced to 1 : 2 at the close of the Peloponnesian war, making it advisable to eliminate one battalion, as the Spartans were required for front-rank men and officers. Accordingly instead of the seven lochoi, each containing 640 men as a full complement, they organized six morae of 720 men each. By 371 B. C. the proportion was 1 : 5 and we find the battalion reduced to its former strength of 640 men. B enables us to recognize the shrewdness of Epaminondas' plan to crush the king's body-guard of 300 Spartans. The result was inevitable. The article is important for its details, its treatment

and estimate of the sources, and for its citations of modern authorities.

Zu Antiphons Tetralogien (W. Dittenberger). D. answers the attack made by Lipsius (Berichte d. phil.-hist. Classe d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wissensch. 1904, p. 192) on the results of his Antiphon investigations (Hermes XXXI, p. 271 ff., XXXII, p. 1 ff. cf. A. J. P. XVIII, p. 364; XIX, p. 225). Lipsius, while admitting the difference in language between the tetralogies and the three other speeches and so, the possibility of spurious authorship, tries to show that the author of the tetralogies was not ignorant of the Attic law of Antiphon's time. D. admits certain of Lipsius' points, viz., that the distinction made between *ιεροσουλία* and *κλοπή ιερῶν χρημάτων* may be correct, although the neglect of this distinction in Xen. Hell. I 7, 22 is not satisfactorily explained by Lipsius. On the other hand D. maintains against L. that the author did not know that Draco, followed by Solon, recognized cases of *δίκαιος φόνος*, and in regard to the *ἀπειναύτησις*, which L. (Att. Process p. 380) thinks extended over more than one year, shows that the scholion to Homer B 665, now cited by L., is as worthless as Tetralogy B β 10.

Aus der Münchner Hygin handschrift (M. Manitius). M. in pursuance of his studies of the astronomical work of Hyginus (cf. A. J. P. XXIV, p. 473) gives an account of codex Monacensis lat. 13084, which he considers a better representative of Bursians C. class than D. He gives a stemma of this class.

Miscellen: C. Robert, on the basis of the Ravennas scholion to Arist. Birds 181 f. *πόλος παρὰ τὸ πολεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα* proposes *ὅτι δὲ πολεῖται ὅτι αὐθὰ καὶ διέρχεται ἅπαντα διὰ τοῦτου, καλεῖται νῦν πόλος*.—Instead of Klein's interpretation of ΣΕΚΛΙΝΕ, the name of a flute-player (Furtwängler—Reichhold Taf. 63, cf. also Klein Lieblingsnamen 65) as from *σὲ κλίνε* (Meistersignaturen 138), we must transcribe *Σηκλίνη*, a syncopated form for *Σηκυλίνη*. *Σηκύλη* (Ael. Peasant let. 3) is a collateral form of *σηκίς* (= *ταμία*), *Sekylene* and *Sekyle* were perhaps names of hetaerae. See Hesych. v. *σηκύλλαι*· *αἱ ταμίαι παιδίσκαι* where the latter is probably a second meaning.

Fascicle 4.

Die Composition und Litteraturgattung der Horazischen Epistula ad Pisones (E. Norden). The leisurely, conversational style of the *Sermones*, which Lehrs called, die Form der Formlosigkeit, Kiessling, *grata negligentia*, is regarded by H. Peter, in the case of the A. P., to show intentional disorder. Attempts to find a definite plan have failed through subjectivity (Vahlen's admirable analysis is partial, vv. 1—118). Norden supports his analysis by reference to a traditional rhetorical scheme, with which there is a close correspondence. The A. P. belongs to that class of didactic literature called *εἰσαγωγαί* (Institutiones, Introductiones), which were commonly addressed to younger persons.

N. substantiates the following analysis: *I De arte poetica* 1-294. A. De partibus artis poeticae 1-130: 1. De argumentorum tractatione et inventione 1-41; 2. De dispositione 42-44; 3. De elocutione 45-130 (a De verbis singulis 45-72; b. De verbis continuatis (= de metris) 73-85; c. De verborum coloribus 86-130). B. De generibus artis poeticae 131-294: Transito 131-135; 1. Epos 136-152; 2. Drama 153-294 [Propositio 153-155; a Die griechischen *ᾠδῆ* 156-250 (a Tragödie und Komödie 156-219; β. Satyrspiel 220-250). b. *Σύγκρισις* des griech. u. röm. Dramas 251-294 (a. In der Form 251-274; β. In den *ᾠδῆ* 275-294)]. *II De poeta* 295-476. Transito 295-305 + Propositio 306-308. A. De instrumentis poetae 309-332. B. De officio poetae 333-346. C. De perfecto poeta 347-452 (1. Das Postulat möglicher Vollkommenheit 347-407; 2. Seine Erfüllung durch ernstes Studium 408-452). D. De insano poeta 453-476.

Zu Cicero ad familiares XI 6 (W. Sternkopf). S. defends his division of this letter: XI 6 § 1 and XI 6 § 2. 3 (cf. A. J. P. XXIV, p. 218) against Schiche (Jahresb. d. phil. Vereins zu Berlin, XXX Jahrg. p. 422 f.).

Zur ägyptischen Prophetie (U. Wilcken). There is still lacking a satisfactory text and interpretation of the prophecy of an inspired potter before a king Amenophis, contained in some Hellenistic papyri fragments of the II and III centuries A. D. and originally published by K. Wessely (Neue griech. Zauberpapyri, Denkschriften der k. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien; phil.-hist. Kl., Band XLII, p. 3 ff.). Wilcken stimulated by a recent study of Reitzenstein (Ein Stück hellen. Kleinlitteratur, Nachr. d. kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., 1904 Heft 4. p. 309/32), attacks the problem anew with the aid of a photograph, and publishes the text with conjectures and critical notes. The now evident reference to Alexandria reveals the Hellenistic origin and shows that the scene before Amenophis and the statement that the whole is a translation, are pure inventions; or, as Wilcken is inclined to believe, the lines referring to Alexandria may have been inserted in an older oracle. For the prophetic literature of Egypt is known to extend back to about 2000 B. C. and Herodotus (II 133) gives us an example from the Fourth Dynasty. Its historical significance becomes evident when we believe with Ed. Meyer (Die Mosesagen u. die Lewiten) that the Hebrew prophets adopted not only the uniform scheme of the Egyptian oracles; but also the idea of a Messianic future.

Der Mauerbau des Themistokles (E. Meyer). Stern followed Beloch in wholly rejecting Thucydides' story how Themistocles deceived the Spartans (A. J. P. XXVI, 478). Bruno Keil (Anonymus Argentinensis, 1902, 282 ff.) followed in the same strain; but accepted the protest of the Spartans as historical. Meyer defends the anecdote while admitting its exaggerated

character. It sets forth clearly the significance of the fortifications, which practically made Athens an independent power. On this the dualism in Hellas rested, which finally led to the Peloponnesian war. To Themistocles belongs the credit not only of recognizing the importance of the walls, but also of building them in spite of the Peloponnesians.

Verbesserungen und Bemerkungen zum 11. Buch der Naturalis Historia des Plinius (D. Detlefsen). The corrections (F¹) of codex Leidensis Lipsii (F) are to be classed with the palimpsest Moneus (M), together with which they supply a number of lacunae, in some cases independently. The fullest use of F¹ should be made in the preparation of a new edition.

Herodots Werk *περὶ τῶν ὀξέων καὶ χρονίων νοσημάτων* (M. Wellmann). The anonymous, but admirable medical treatise *Διάγνωσις περὶ τῶν ὀξέων κ. τ. λ.* contained in two Paris MSS (cod. suppl. gr. 636 and Fonds grec. 2324), the former of which (s. XVII) was discovered on Mt. Athos by Minoides Mynas, is in close agreement, often verbal, with a number of passages in Oreibasius, in Latin translations of Soranus and Philumenus etc. The author was clearly an eclectic, and on the evidence of respective borrowings, comes in between Soranus and Philumenus, and so must be assigned to the II century A. D. These and other considerations point to the eclectic Herodotus, whom Galen praises (XI 432). The identity is made certain by the agreement in matter and in the use of terms and expressions with extant fragments of Herodotus.

Conjectanea (F. Leo.) VIII Apulei metamorphoseon prooemium etc., IX Senecae suasoria prima; X Senecae de clementia; XI Titulus militis (see Hermes XXXVIII, p. 305).

Der Physiker Arrian und Poseidonios (W. Capelle). The Arrian of whom Stobaeus has preserved three fragments on meteorological subjects can be no other than the writer whose date is fixed as about 175 B. C. by quotations in Philoponus and Agatharchides (Susemihl Alex. Lit 1, p. 775). A comparison of these fragments with Pseud-Aristot. *Περὶ κόσμου*, with Ioannes Lydus de ostentis, Seneca Nat. Quaest. etc., shows that whereas Poseidonios was a common source for all these, he in turn depended on Arrian. No doubt it was due to the fame of the *Μετεωρολογικά* of Poseidonios, which was mainly a learned compilation, that Arrian, after two centuries, was wholly forgotten.

Miscelle: Fürst S. Trubetzkoy, referring to W. Solowiow's wonder at Plato's satirizing in his Laches the worthy general Nicias long after the latter's tragic end, finds this Nicias to be a literary character. A Nicias is cited among the works of Phaedo by Diogenes Laertius II 9 (cf. also Suidas s. v. *Φαίδων*).

HERMAN L. EBELING.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOGIE, Vol. LXI (1906).

Pp. 1-18. Eine Menippea des Varro. O. Hense. Varro's satire *Περὶ ἰδεσμάτων* (see Aulus Gellius, VI 16; XV 19, 2) may have been suggested by the Cynic Menippus. Or it may have been derived from the Stoic Chrysippus.

Pp. 19-27. Zu den Fasti censorii. F. Münzer. One of the censors for the sixty-first lustrum (634=120) was L. Calpurnius Piso, the annalist. One of the censors for lustrum LXIII (646=108) seems to have been Q. Fabius Q. Serviliani f. Q. n. Maximus Eburnus.

Pp. 28-33. Die Klage der Ciris. S. Sudhaus. Perhaps line 408 should read: "vos, humana olim", etc. Lines 448-53 are out of place; they may be inserted after line 477. Without them, the passage 428-58 falls into five regular divisions, of five lines each.

Pp. 34-77. Das Syntagma des Gelasius Cyzicenus (continued from Vol. LX, p. 613). G. Loeschcke. This long article insists that Gelasius is a very valuable authority for the proceedings of the council of Nice, and that he deserves much more respect than he usually receives. He seems to have had access to a copy of the official report.

Pp. 78-90. Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Horaz. O. Keller. A spirited reply to Vollmer's article in the tenth supplementband of the Philologus. Vollmer assumes that all our MSS of Horace are derived from an imaginary 'editio Probi' (through the 'editio Porphyriionis cum commento' and the 'exemplar Mavorti cum commento Porphyriionis'); that the 'archetype' thus belongs to the sixth century, later than the year 527 (not to the first or second century after Horace); that the 'Muttercodex' of Keller's third class should be assigned to the Carolingian period (he even gives the name of the interpolator of Sat. I 10, Heiric of Auxerre, b. 841). But all this is fanciful and arbitrary. Moreover, he combines Keller's first two classes into one—which is a very doubtful gain. He thus puts into one class certain MSS which are clearly separated by some very striking variants (for example, E, A and a, in the Epistles), and he ignores the fact that for the Odes and Epodes there is a certain relation between the first and second classes, as opposed to the third, while for the hexameter poems classes I and III are closely related, not I and II. To illustrate the critical methods of the 'Neuhorazianer', Keller discusses once more the text of Sat. I 6, 126. Here Vollmer accepts the reading 'fugio campum lusumque trigonem', and because Porphyrio explains a different reading, he insists that Porphyrio really explained the word 'trigonem', and that the words now attributed to him are merely a late gloss, substituted 'durch Karolingische Weisheit' to explain the usual text. But surely our text of Porphyrio

goes back much farther than the Carolingian period. In this case he accepts the text reported from a badly collated MS of the poorer class, and then conjectures that his precious reading was once given in some of the oldest and best of the MSS of his first class. All of which is 'reinste Willkür'. Keller still maintains that the alleged reading of Bland. Vet. at Sat. I 6, 126, is merely a conjecture. He is still firmly convinced that it was first made out of the corrupt variant of the Codex Gothanus, 'fugio campum lusitque trigonem'.

Pp. 91-106. Zu augusteischen Dichtern. F. Wilhelm. The writer offers parallels from the Greek Anthology (V 17 and XI 44) to the sentiment of such poems as Horace, Od. II 4; Ovid, Am. II 8, 11 ff.; Propertius, I 9, and to such jesting invitations as are given in Catullus XIII, Horace, Od. I 20; IV 12, Martial X 48, etc. He sees in Ovid, M. X 542-52, the influence of Propertius, II 19, 17 ff. He thinks that the second Sulpicia poem of Tibullus (III 9 Hill.) was, directly or indirectly, influenced by an Alexandrine model. He infers, from a comparison of Nonnus, Dion. XV 169 ff., and XVI, that Ovid had a Hellenistic model for his story of Daphne, M. I 452 ff. And he offers sundry Greek parallels to Ovid's complaint of Iphis, M. IX 726 ff.

Pp. 107-16. Fulgentiana. P. Lehmann. A study of the Codex Fuldensis, now preserved at Cassel.

Pp. 117-34. Phoibammon *περὶ μυήσεως*. The text, with critical notes. The author seems to have lived in Egypt, in the sixth century.

Miscellen.—Pp. 135-8. G. Knaack. Antiphanes von Berge. This Thracian writer probably lived at the end of the fourth century, and composed *ἄπιστα ὑπὲρ Θούλην*, a parody of the Voyage of Pytheas. His work was used and imitated in the first century A. D., by Antonius Diogenes. The name Pytheas should be substituted for 'Etesias' of the MSS in Servius' comment on Geor. I 30.—Pp. 139-40. G. Némethy. Horatiana. The passage, Sat. II 3, 182-6, is to be explained by a reference to one of Aesop's fables (Halm's edition, Leipzig, 1860, p. 20, n. 41). In Carm. III 14, 22, 'murream' means 'fulvum'. In Carm. IV 15, 2, 'increpuit lyra' means 'pulsavit lyra'. "Nam *increpare* interdum idem significat, quod *pulsare*, i. e. pulsare ita, ut crepitus fiat . . . Quare etiam apud Tibull. I 1, 30: 'stimulo tardos increpuisse boves' non significat: boves stimulis fodiendo hortari, sed simpliciter: cedere stimulo".—Pp. 140-4. F. Buecheler. Nepotianus. The epitome of Valerius Maximus which goes under the name of Ianuarius Nepotianus was probably written at Rome, or in the western part of the empire, about the beginning of the fifth century.—P. 144. O. Seeck. Zur Geschichte des Weihnachtsfestes. It is probable that as early as the year 333 the 25th of December was regarded, in Rome and at the imperial court of Constantinople, as the birthday of Christ. We may infer, how-

ever, from the silence of Eusebius, that some years later (in 339) this date had not yet been accepted in Palestine.

Pp. 145-8 De Sicili cantilena. F. Marx. On the gnomic verses inscribed on the monument of Seicilos of Tralles. In the first verse, an imperative *φαίνου* is meaningless; perhaps we should read *φαίνοῦ*, vocative of a feminine name *Φαινοῦς*. In the third and fourth verses there is a striking agreement between the musical notes and the accentuation of the words; in the first verse this agreement is lacking. The metre, too, of the first verse is irregular. Possibly Seicilos adapted some existing verses by substituting the name of his wife for some other proper name.

Pp. 149-65. *ΛΑΒΡΥΣ*. W. Vollgraff. This is probably a Carian word, not Lydian, as Plutarch stated. It is not Indo-Germanic, but must be assigned to the primitive speech of Asia Minor. The wide-spread use of the double axe as a religious symbol—in Asia Minor and Greece, in Egypt and Etruria—suggests that the primitive peoples of the Mediterranean lands all belonged to the same stock. This inference is supported by a long list of proper names which may be connected with *λάβρυς*.

Pp. 166-77. De vitis Vergilianis. E. Norden. I. De Aelii Donati vita. The epigram of Sulpicius Apollinaris was not quoted in the Vita of Suetonius, but was inserted by Donatus. II. De Servii vita. The Vita which is prefixed to the commentary on the Aeneid is merely an epitome of a longer Servian Vita, which was itself derived from Donatus. III. De Probi qui dicitur vita. This cannot be the genuine work of Valerius Probus. The author belongs to a later date than Donatus and Servius, perhaps to the early part of the sixth century. His compilation contains much that is worthless, and it records no fact which is not known from other sources. One of his statements still continues to mislead scholars, namely, that Andes was thirty miles from Mantua.

Pp. 178-84. De Pseudo-Heronianis. R. Meier. The collection of mathematical papers which Hultsch edited in 1864 cannot be the genuine work of Heron of Alexandria.

Pp. 185-201. Zur lateinischen Etymologie und Wortbildungslehre. M. Pokrowskij. I. *Actutum* is an adverbial neuter of an old adjective **actū-tos*, 'full of motion'. For the formation, cp. *astū-tus*, *statū-tus*, *cinctū-tus*, etc. *Celeber* is from a stem **kele* ('drive'), with an old suffix *-dhlo-* (= *bili-*). The suffix *-bri-* in *celeber* is due to dissimilation; cp. *alebris* (later, *alibilis*), *fellebris*, *salaber*, *anclabris*, etc. II. For *haruspex* we may assume a Latin stem **hārō-* or **hārā-* (= Sanskr. *hirā*, 'vein'). The later word *harispex* is probably an independent formation, after the analogy of words like *extispex*. III. *Fontnālia* and *Fontānālia* are independent formations belonging to different periods. *Fontinalia*, from **fontinus*, (from *fons*) is probably the older. So *Frutinal* is from **Frutinus*, or rather **Frutina* (cp. *Liben-tina*). IV. The

old word *viduertas* seems to be formed from a stem enlarged by *-ro-* or *-ero-*; cp. Goth. *viduv-air-na-ns*, *δρφανοῖς*. V. *Ignosco*, formed from *in-* and *gnosco*, means something like 'einsehen', to put one's self in an offender's place, to consider any mitigating circumstances, and then to pardon him. Compare the French proverb, 'tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner'. Sometimes (as in Terence, Hauton. 218, Eun. 42) we have the combination *cognoscere et ignoscere*. Compare, too, the similar Greek formation *συγγνώσκειν*, and, in particular, the passage in Sophocles, Antig. 61-66, where *σύγνωια* is based upon *ἐννοεῖν*. VI. *Serenus* is to be connected with *ξερός* (*ξηρός*), and its primary meaning is 'dry, bright'.

Pp. 202-31. Zu den attischen Rechnungsurkunden des 5. Jahrhunderts. W. Bannier. The earlier tables presented a financial statement for each year. Between Ol. 89^a and 90^a it became customary to present a report for each prytany.

Pp. 232-43. Zur Abgrenzung und Verbindung der Theile in Horazens *Ars poetica*. P. Cauer. In writing the *Ars Poetica*, Horace may have had in mind the rhetorical treatises of his day (Hermes, XL 481-528), but it is not a formal treatise, and it is not likely that he intended the various divisions to be distinctly marked. In several passages the transition is intentionally obscured; for example, sections 289-94, 131-5, 86-98 may be connected either with what precedes or with what follows. Lines 347-65 read like a dialogue.

Pp. 244-66. Untersuchungen über die Arbeitsweise Diodors. A. v. Mess. An examination of the books of Diodorus (XI-XVI) in which he gives a summary of Ephorus. The statements of Ephorus are often modified or misrepresented.

Pp. 267-82. Eine Elegie des Tibull (I 3). A. Elter. Lines 53-4 are addressed to Messalla, and we need not assume any lacuna. For the distant reference of 'quodsi', cp. Hor. Carm. I 1, 35. The 'Gedankengang' of the elegy is set forth in detail.

Pp. 283-303. Menekrates von Nysa und Die Schrift vom Erhabenen (mit einem Anhang über Apollonius, den Lehrer des Porphyrius). E. Hefermehl. The digression in the ninth chapter of the *περί ὑψους* which contrasts the Odyssey with the Iliad may have been drawn from Menekrates of Nysa. This disciple of Aristarchus is mentioned by Strabo, XIV 650.

Miscellen.—Pp. 304-5. Fr. Reuss. Megasthenes. The historian Megasthenes was probably a native of Asia Minor, and wrote in the Ionic dialect.—Pp. 305-6. G. Némethy. Ad Ovid. A. A. III 783. 'Phylleia mater' means 'mulier Thessala bacchans'; cp. Ov. Her. XIII 35; Met. XI 69; Verg. Geor. IV 520.—Pp. 306-7. P. Menge. Zu Caesar BG. 7, 35, 4. The writer supports the old conjecture '*carplis* quidem cohortibus' (carpere=dividere).—Pp. 307-8. F. Buecheler. *Νεόψηφον*. In Suetonius, Nero,

XXXIX, read νεόφηφον· ΝΕΡΩΝ ἰδίαν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινεν. Νεόφηφον is formed after the analogy of ἰσόφηφον. The word Νέρων has the same numerical value (1005) as the three words which follow it (75 + 454 + 476 = 1005).—Pp. 308–10. F. Buecheler. Deferebant grandioribus. The expression 'deferre alicui' ('to show respect to some one') was probably in use before the beginning of the fourth century.—P. 311. K. Tittel. Noch einmal die Pigna. The writer meant (Rh. Mus. LX 297; see, also, LX 462) only that the pine cone was in many places a conventional ornament of water-pipes; not that the Pigna of the Vatican was ever so used.

Pp. 313–43. Einige Interpolationen der Odyssee und Aristarch. A. Roemer. Notes on β 89; γ 309–10; θ 81–82; δ 276; ε 50; λ 565–67; λ 52–54; β 19–20; δ 158–67; δ 569; ε 47–49; ε 8–12; μ 86–88; μ 124–26; λ 315–16; μ 163–64; δ 280 ff.

Pp. 344–51. Beiträge zur attischen Epigraphik. Joh. E. Kirchner. I. An attempt to determine the dates of the Athenian priests of Asclepius mentioned in I. G. ii. 835. It is based upon W. S. Ferguson's recent discovery that these priests were appointed according to the fixed official order of the tribes. II. Ποτάμιοι Δειραδιῶται.

Pp. 352–59. Herakleides von Mylasa. F. Rühl. The story told by Sosylus (see Hermes, XLI. 103 ff.) of the exploit of Herakleides at the battle of Artemisium does not agree with the history of Herodotus. It cannot refer to the battle which was fought against Xerxes, B. C., 480. Probably it refers to some battle fought against the Phoenicians at a different Artemisium, perhaps in Caria.

Pp. 360–407. Untersuchungen über Ephoros. A. v. Mess. A study in detail of the sources of Ephorus' account of the expedition of Cyrus, and of the Persian war. In his *κατάβασις* he followed Xenophon very closely; in his *ἀνάβασις* he borrowed a little from the *Περσικά* of Ctesias. He also drew upon the *Περσικά* to correct and supplement the narrative of Herodotus. In cases where he made use of two authorities, the result was not a mere compilation of extracts; he worked one story into the other very carefully.

Pp. 408–13 and 635–36. Der Leichenwagen Alexanders des Grossen. F. Reuss. A study of the funeral car which brought the coffin of Alexander from Babylon to Egypt (Diodor. XVIII 26–28).

Pp. 414–26. Lectiones Epicureae. W. Crönert.

Pp. 427–71 and 511–42. Ueber die Echtheit der platonischen Briefe. H. Raeder. This long article begins with a historical sketch of the controversy as to the genuineness of the thirteen Platonic Epistles. A study of the hypothetical dates of these letters results in assigning most of them to about 365–352. We should thus consider the points in which they agree with Plato's

later writings, especially the Laws, rather than emphasize the points wherein they differ from such dialogues as the Republic and the Phaedo. They agree with the Laws in the avoidance of hiatus, in their vocabulary, in such usages as καθάπερ for ὥσπερ, ὅπως for ὅτι ὅντι, in fondness for pleonasm, in the use of such periphrastic expressions as ἐχούτα ἐστίν, συμβῆναι γινόμενον, in the use of περί with an accusative (with the force of an adjective or of a genitive), in freedom of hyperbaton. These peculiarities, by the way, are especially noticeable in what purport to be the latest of the Epistles. Moreover, a study of the historical and political relations which are dealt with in these letters tends to confirm one's belief in their genuineness. And, finally, even the philosophy of the Epistles may very well represent the philosophy of Plato's old age.

Miscellen.—Pp. 472-73. F. Buecheler. Ἀκρόνυχα. This word, in an inscription lately found in Miletus, is a technical expression, to be connected with δνυξ, not with νύξ.—Pp. 473-76. F. Rühl. Die Zeitanätze für Hellanikos.—Pp. 476-80. A. Körte. Anaximenes von Lampsakos als Alexanderhistoriker.—P. 480. W. Schmid. ὕμνος. This word may be derived from the stem ἰδ- (ἴδω, ἰδέω), with the suffix -μος (compare the change of Ἀγαμέμνων to Ἀγαμέμνον). The barytone accent may be due to its Aeolic origin.

Pp. 481-90. Zu Vergils 6. Ekloge. Fr. Vollmer. Some notes on Skutsch's new book 'Gallus und Vergil'. The opening lines of the sixth Eclogue must mean that Virgil introduced the bucolic γένος into Rome. If this statement leaves no room for any earlier Latin eclogues of Gallus—such as Skutsch has conjured up from Bucol. X 51—so much the worse for Gallus. The song of Silenus is not a catalogue of the poems of Gallus; it serves rather to illustrate to Varus the richness of the bucolic material which lies ready to Virgil's hand. (In line 9. Vollmer would read, *non in iussa cano*). As for Skutsch's thesis that the Ciris was written by Gallus, his arguments are inconclusive, and can have very little weight against the ancient tradition which ascribes the poem to Virgil.

Pp. 491-510. Präpositionsgebrauch in griechischen Mundarten. F. Solmsen. This study deals with the prepositions ἐν and παρά.

Pp. 543-53. Zur Ueberlieferung und Textkritik von Suetons Schrift de grammaticis et rhetoribus. M. Ihm. A study of the Vienna MS published by J. Huemer about thirty years ago.

Pp. 554-66. Eine verlorene Rede des Themistius. O. Seeck and H. Schenkel.

Pp. 567-90. De figuris coniectanea. R. Hildebrandt. Examples from Greek, Latin and German of metalepsis, prothysteron, syllepsis, schema ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, and a study of Porphyrius' Syrnix.

Pp. 591-604. Adnotationes criticae ad Libanii orationum editionem Foersterianam. H. van Herwerden. Commentatio tertia (cf. Vol. LX, p. 106 sqq.).

Pp. 607-19. Zu Ennius' Iphigenia. F. Skutsch. I. In the fragment quoted by Varro, L.L. VII 73, "temo superat stellas" means something like "Der Wagen hebt seine Sterne empor"; "etiam atque etiam" has a temporal force; "agens" governs "iter". II. An attempt to reconstruct a bit of Ennius from Cicero, Tusc. III 57. III. An explanation of "praeterpropter" (Gell. XIX 10): "*praeter* (von *prae*) heisst 'vorbei', *propter* (von *prope*) heisst 'nahe', *praeterpropter* also etwa 'bald am Ziele vorbei, bald nahe daran'; *praeterpropter vita vivitur* also etwa 'das Leben wird ohne bestimmtes Ziel gelebt, ins Blaue hinein, zwecklos'".

Pp. 620-24. Zu Aufidius Bassus. W. Pelka. Aufidius' history probably extended to the year 31, the year of the fall of Sejanus.

Miscellen.—Pp. 625-28. F. Buecheler. Ein paar Namen und Personen. The use of the name Cinara in Propertius, IV 1, 99, may be meant to suggest Horace's Cinara. The Antiochus mentioned in a new inscription from Argos seems to be the Antiochus mentioned by Philostratus. Examples of cases where it is hard to decide whether a word is a proper name or an adjective.—Pp. 628-29. F. Rühl. Die Rechnung nach Jahren vor Christus. This method was first employed by Petavius.—Pp. 629-30. L. Radermacher. Euripides Bacchen 65 ff.—Pp. 630-33. W. Crönert. In fragmenta libelli qui ab Hippomacho incipit adnotationes criticae.—Pp. 633-34. H. Rabe. Nachlese zu Phoibamon.—Pp. 634-35. M. Schmitt-Hartlieb. Zu Seneca Troades 783. Defends the MSS reading, "O morte dira".—Pp. 636-40. A. Ausfeld and W. Kroll. Zu Julius Valerius. Textual notes.

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BRIEF MENTION.

Some years ago I was harangued by one of my former students—a flower recently ‘escaped from cultivation’, to use a botanical phrase—on the importance of Greek as an element in modern culture. Now that is a subject that always stirs me to rebellion, and prompts me to take the other side. I understand perfectly why Lord Lyttelton and Miss Swanwick finally turned against Greek; and when the printers once made me speak of the ‘indefensibility of classical studies’ instead of the ‘indefeasibility of classical studies’, I was chagrined at having missed so fine a theme. However, I am constitutionally averse to debate, and so submitted meekly to the rolling periods of the young professor, although I suspected that he was practising on me as Phaidros would fain have practised on Sokrates. But my thoughts wandered round the stake to which I was tethered. Bréal had recently published an article on ἀγορεύειν, now incorporated in his new book on Homer, and I wondered whether ‘harangue’ would ever lose the sense of public discourse, as ἀγορεύειν seems to have done. Odysseus, as Bréal urges, does not threaten to ‘harangue’ Eumaios (Od. 14, 192), and it is to be hoped that Penelope did not ‘harangue’ her maids (Od. 17, 505). Then, as my eyes rested on the fluent sermonizer, the Greek proverb δελφίνα νήχεσθαι διδάσκει came up to my mind, and I meditated on the spheres of English and Greek metaphor in proverbs, the grace of the one, the homeliness of the other, and from that I passed on to the arithmetical problems of the Greek Anthology and thought it a pity that they had not found their way into our school-books. They are so much prettier than ours. It was but a step from that to the beauty of the Greek hydraulic toys. But by that time the voice had ceased, and Apollo saved me. It was after all a somewhat amusing experience to play the part of Anstey’s hero in ‘Vice Versa’. But it is an experience that does not bear frequent repetition, and while I have never replied to any of the ill-considered criticisms of my Pindar that have crossed my track from time to time, since my review of Dr. FENNELL’S *Olympian and Pythian Odes* (A. J. P. XIV 498 foll.), I am moved to make an exception in the case of Dr. HEADLAM, who, if not exactly a young man, is little more than half my age, and who has been amusing himself by reproducing what his countrymen call ‘class-room funniments’ about some of my notes on Pindar, in the course of which he has read me some lessons that I hardly need. See *Journal of Philology*, No. 60, p. 299.

P. 4, 285 the poet says of Damophilos whose cause he is pleading: οὐδὲ μακύνων τέλος οὐδέν. ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπων βραχὺ μέτρον ἔχει. εὖ νυν ἔγνωκεν' θεράπων δέ οἱ, οὐ δράστας ὀπαδεῖ. The passage has been variously interpreted. The sense that it yielded to me is: 'Damophilos is not one that postpones decisive action. The favorable season hath but a brief span. Damophilos knows IT full well. He follows IT close as an attendant (θεράπων), not as a drudge (δράστας)'. Fraccaroli, who knows Pindar better than Dr. HEADLAM does, and has made better use of my edition, renders the passage: 'Ben la (=l'occasione) conobbe e quale famigliar l'accompagna, e non ischiavo'. The scholiast and Mezger after him consider the subject of ὀπαδεῖ to be καιρός, not Damophilos. I do not agree with this interpretation, but it is not absurd; and so I indulged in a little note on the aspects of time to the Greek, the mutuality, so to speak, of Time and Man as illustrated by χρόνος, ἡμέρα, καιρός—a manner of supplement to O. 2, 11. Dr. HEADLAM merely quotes the scholiast to shew 'quam minima scientia scribantur scholia'. 'Quantula' is the way I learned the famous sentence of the Swedish Chancellor but no matter. This is the way in which Dr. HEADLAM treats my note.

Prof. Gildersleeve: "The Greeks conceive Time and man as companions (ὁ χρόνος συνών, Soph.). If, as Hesiod says, Day is sometimes a step-mother, sometimes a mother to a man (O. et D. 825), so a man may be a son or a stepson to Time—an attendant (θεράπων), as Patroklos was on Achilles, or a mere drudge. A θεράπων is one who has rights, who can avail himself of an opportunity without servility."

But χρόνος is a very different thing from καιρός: a man was not said in Greek ὀπαδεῖν χρόνον: nor in the text is there anything whatever about either son or stepson.

This too is a good example to illustrate what I have been urging lately, that until we are familiar with Greek *ideas*, we shall never be able to read Aeschylus or Pindar or Greek literature generally with the right intelligence. καιρός is the *proper point* in time or place, etc., etc., etc., etc.

Now if Dr. HEADLAM had pondered the words he quoted, if he had observed that I use the word *opportunity*, if he had been at the pains to consult the commentators, he would have found that we were both in accord with Heyne, and that there is nothing new in his interpretation. Says Heyne: Capit occasiones opportunas consiliis, non servili modo ex iis pendet ut ex herili nutu. The lecture on the difference between χρόνος and καιρός is wasted. I have not needed it any time these sixty years, and assuredly I did not need it in 1885 or any of the citations Dr. HEADLAM has rattled, to use Wilamowitz's charming expression (A. J. P. XXIV 234). In Anglo-Saxon we use 'time' for both χρόνος and καιρός, and Dr. HEADLAM himself in the course of his criticism translates καιρός 'time'. To 'serve time' illustrates the one, 'to be a time-server' illustrates the other. In idiomatic English we have no word for θεράπων, and that is what I tried to bring out, for Mezger's 'freund' is unsatisfactory.

The *θεράπων* is after all subordinate. Damophilos is no mere 'opportunist' as Dr. HEADLAM correctly explains, for I have no quarrel with his exegesis. In 1885 'opportunist' was not the common word that it is now or I might have used it. In 1885 Mr. Ingalls had not written his much quoted sonnet on 'Opportunity'. If he had, I should not have cited it. But in 1885 I wrote on P. I, 48: *ἥνικα : ὅτε :: καιρός : χρόνος*. This very Fourth Pythian has for its burden *χρόνος* as the Ninth has for its *leitmotif* *καιρός* (A. J. P. XXV 483). To be sure, I might have cited Mrs. Barbauld's famous poem for the Greek conception of *χρόνος*, 'Life, we've been long together', and for *καιρός* Tennyson's 'who knew the seasons, when to take occasion by the hand' or else '<who> grasps the skirts of happy chance', but I have my own views as to the proper range of illustrative quotation, and do not repent me of the brevity of my commentary on Pindar, although a good English friend of mine once told me with British bluntness that my notes were not so much notes as notes for notes. Against careless and captious readers like Dr. HEADLAM one is never safe.

P. 2, 82: *ἀγὰν διαπλέκει* is a very difficult passage. If, as has been suggested, the MS *ἀγαν* is a gloss on *πάγχν*, the conjectural genius has full sway, but is it credible that *πάγχν* should need a gloss? Schroeder cites my explanation without comment. Dr. HEADLAM says:

I will only say that whether or not it was possible in Greek *to weave a bend*, the expression would have conveyed nothing here to a Greek mind. Greek serpents did not fawn; nor did the Greek dog behave according to the pronouncement of Prof. Gildersleeve: '*ἀγή*, 'bend', is not the doubling of the fox but the peculiar fawning way in which the dog makes an arc of himself'. I should have said that it was more peculiar to the cat:—but probably this dog is of the same breed as that which certain critics of Agam. 1228 have described as *stretching out a smiling ear*.

Now, if Dr. HEADLAM had ever played with a dog, he would have known what I meant. There is no reference to the arched back of the dog, 'le chien', as a French observer has it, '*pris en faute que l'on voit s'enfuir, l'oreille basse, le dos arqué, la queue en ventre*'. My reference is to the arc of a circle that the dog makes of himself in his wheedling approach to his master, what the observer already quoted, calls the '*bondissement latéral*'. It is this curl, this wriggle, that seems to be meant by *ἀγὰν διαπλέκει*. It is not necessary to insist on the 'braiding', 'plaiting' sense of *διαπλέκει* here any more than in the other passages cited. The fawning dog wriggles his way through as the wolf makes a circuit and heads off his foes, *λύκοιο δίκαν ὑποθεύσομαι*. But this reminds me of another railing accusation brought against my interpretation of this comparison in Hermathena, 1904, p. 177,

because I do not translate ὑπο- by 'crossing', as if the word I use in explaining the passage, 'circumvent', did not involve crossing.

A friend of mine, who has made a close study of dogs for many years, says: 'I should think that any one, whom a dog has deigned to notice, would have in turn noticed the felicity of your interpretation of ἀγὰν διαπλέκει', and confirmation has come to me since from various sources. But what does Dr. HEADLAM propose to do with the passage?

'The Greek conception', he continues, 'was that *Treachery* by *sawning* lures into the *Net of Harm*: δολόμητιν δ' ἀπάταν· θεοῦ τις ἀνὴρ θνατὸς ἀλύξει; φιλόφρων γὰρ αἰνοῦσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει βροτὸν εἰς ἄρκνας ἄτας, Aesch. Pers. 94. The obvious ἄταν Heyne did indeed conjecture; yet hardly a single critic has approved it; Hermann, who had given his approval once, withdrew it afterwards in favour of this same misguided ἀγὰν'.

Surely, Hermann's withdrawal might have given Dr. HEADLAM pause. To quote his own words, à propos of καιρός and χρόνος, 'until we are familiar with Greek *ideas* we shall never be able to read Aeschylus or Pindar or Greek literature generally with the right intelligence'. In this sphere and in this passage ἀτη means much more than 'harm' as καιρός means much more than χρόνος. Até is one of the untranslatables and Shakespeare uses the word in the Greek form over and over. After Homer Até becomes a heaven-sent, or if you choose, a hell-sent Goddess of Mischief, and in the Aeschylean passage we have to do with a δολόμητις ἀπάτη θεοῦ, not with human treachery or canine wheedling. It is rather strange that the critic who found so much fault with me for omitting entirely δαιμονία in my paraphrase of O. 9, 118¹ (l. c., p. 305) should have overlooked the θεοῦ in his rendering of the passage from the Persae, for it is on θεοῦ 'that the strongest stress is thrown'. To those who are lured into the Net of Até, God 'sends a strong delusion that they should believe a lie'. But τις ἀνὴρ θνατὸς ἀλύξει; when it comes to interpreting Pindar and Aeschylus. That δαίμων in post-Homeric theology means 'genius'—a discovery which Dr. HEADLAM springs upon the world—will be no news to the Aeschylean or Pindaric scholar or any other scholar. See Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. The application to O. 9 is another matter.

I hold no brief for the veterans (A. J. P. XXV 108), and abandon all old men, myself included, to the tender mercies of Rudyard

¹ An amazing misstatement only to be paralleled by Herr STOLZ's false witness (A. J. P. XXII 350), for which Herr STOLZ has not had the grace to apologize. My 'paraphrase' of O. 9 runs thus (p. 202): 'The narrative of his successes closes the poem with a recognition of the *divine decree* (δαίμονία v. 118 q. v.) that made him quick of hand, ready of limb, valorous of eye'.

Kipling, whose savage indictment of The Old Men I keep ever before me on my study table. We are all old enough to know better. Burges was sixty-two in 1848 when he remarked on Hermann's emendation, Aesch. Ag. 160: οὐ λελέγεται, that the great German scholar had neglected to show that λελέγεται is used as a future passive, as if that were not the chief use of the fut. perf. 'middle', as if Plato had not written Rpb. 457 A: κάλλιστα γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ λέγεται καὶ λελέγεται. Paley was sixty-two in 1878 when he woke up to the narrow range of the fut. participle (J. of Phil. 8, p. 79) to my great amusement and wonderment at his ὀψιμαθία. Perhaps by the time Dr. HEADLAM is sixty-two he will wake up to this elementary fact. In his discussion of Aeschyl. Ag. 1277 (l. c. 290), he says: 'μένει με κοπέισαν ὅτ κοπέιση could not mean "awaits me, about to be beheaded"', κοφθησομένην', as if the fut. participle were a normal construction, to say nothing of the form κοφθησομένην, which, so far as I see, lacks warrant. But all this is a weariness, and I am ashamed to waste the scant pages of *Brief Mention* in replies to criticisms, a profitless exercise at any rate, from which I dissuade all over whom I have any influence. So I will not stop to shew that there are in my judgment four good reasons for rejecting Dr. HEADLAM's interpretation of O. 6, 74: μῶμος ἐξ ἄλλων κρέμαται φθονόντων κτέ. which he renders 'Cavil of the envious hangs beyond all others over those on whom'.

The blunders, mainly self-detected, of my Pindar, have cost me many sleepless nights, but Dr. HEADLAM's sneering comment will not disturb the light slumbers of my late afternoon, and I hope that he too will sleep *sur les deux oreilles* on his impossible future participle. Or, if he belongs to the order of mind that is consoled by other people's mistakes—I do not—he may take comfort from the fact that a great scholar and genius, to whom even he would look up, once wrote in a heedless moment ἀπονίσαι for ἀπονίσαι; and in the last few days I have stumbled upon a number of 'howlers'—to use the academic slang of the other side—that make one hold one's breath; for the sinners are scholars who are to be held in the highest esteem. One academic eminence puts six hundred years between Thukydides and Polybios; a great Homeric authority cites αἰσθάνομαι as a specimen of the Homeric 'middle of feeling' though αἰσθάνομαι does not occur in Homer; and a most deserving commentator on Aristophanes, cites as a parallel to Pindar P. 6, 36: βόασε παῖδα δν, the familiar passage from Lys. 1, 11: τὸ παιδίον ἐβόα in which τὸ παιδίον is subject (S. C. G. §205). But the word 'subject' reminds me of another specimen of oscitancy, and here again we have to deal with a noted commentator on Aristophanes, who tells us R. 1367: τὸ γὰρ βάρος τὸ βασανιέει τῶν ῥημάτων that βάρος is subject and τὸ object, as unnecessary a piece of information as Dr. HEADLAM's sermon on the difference between χρόνος and καιρός.

It is fourteen years since DRERUP, a favorite pupil of Lipsius, took up the task of editing ISOKRATES, which Bürmann had abandoned. He had the advantage of training in the school of an eminent master in the domain of Attic oratory: he succeeded to the studies and the apparatus of Bürmann and Keil (A. J. P. VI 107), and he had the privilege of access to the Index Isocra-teus of Baiter, then in MS, now edited by Preuss, whose name it bears (A. J. P. XXVI 237). The fruit of this long and ample preparation, lies before us in the first volume of DRERUP's *Isokrates* (Leipzig, Dieterich) and will doubtless receive respectful consideration, more respectful, it is to be hoped, than DRERUP accords to some of his predecessors. The series of DRERUP's Isokratean studies was opened with a dissertation on the authority of the codices of Isokrates, followed up by various papers on the text of Isokrates in which he has recorded the results of his researches in the libraries of England, France, Italy and Austria. The first chapter of the Praefatio gives a minute description of the papyri and codices of Isokrates; the second deals with the interrelation of the codices; the third treats of the excellence of the Urbinas, of the archetype, of the papyri, of the *testimonia veterum*. In the fourth he discusses the dates and the genuineness of the various orations of Isokrates, and in the fifth he describes and characterizes the previous editions of the orator, and unfolds the method pursued in the present work. There is to be a sixth chapter, which will have to do with the life of Isokrates, the arguments of the orations and the scholia. But this chapter is reserved for publication with the second half, which is to be brought in the current year (1907).

After all the labor bestowed on the text of an orator, whose importance is out of all proportion to his popularity; after all this elaborate preparation for the annotation of so many neglected orations, one learns with regret that Professor DRERUP declines the task, and has determined to devote himself to the text of Demosthenes to which he has already made important contributions, as he does not fail to remind us. Now Demosthenes will never lack students, even if they are not so well equipped as Professor DRERUP. But for Isokrates there are few who share the enthusiasm of Hieronymus Wolf, cited by DRERUP (p. CLXVII): 'Quae mihi res (Euagorae laudatio) tantam Isocratis admirationem movit ut ex eo tempore vix ullum sive Latinum sive Graecum scriptorem illi antepo-nam'. Discourse as much as you choose about the influence of Isokrates on oratorical art, about the importance of his educational programme, and the loftiness of his Pan-Hellenism, he is a sheer weariness to the average modern, whether in translation or in the original; and those who have to study him are grateful to Pöhlmann (A. J. P.

XVI 528) for extracting from his text something besides unimpeachable moral lessons, patriotic commonplaces and self-satisfied reflexions on the wonderful work of his life. 'Compel them to come in' is the motto of the few who make a cult of Isokrates, and the droll book of Kyprianos gives expression to a feeling that the novice in Isokrates is very apt to entertain. The fact that no annotated edition of all Isokrates has appeared since the time of Coraïs, just a hundred years ago, speaks volumes for the practical estimation in which he is held, and sharpens the regret that has already been expressed.

For my own part, in spite of sundry flippant utterances, I have long valued Isokrates as a touchstone for the appreciation of what may be called the physical charm of the Greek language, and if I am ever tempted to underrate him otherwise, I take the blame to myself. For one thing, Isokrates is associated with the memory of my early student years while at Berlin (1850-51), when for the first time I was brought face to face with such men as Boeckh and Lachmann and Bekker. It was a great thing for an American boy to see scholars in the flesh. Boeckh I worshipped, ignorantly, no doubt. Lachmann *tantum vidi*, but Bekker, Immanuel Bekker, was a great name even to an untaught American youth, and I hastened to buy a copy of the Berlin edition of the *Oratores Attici*, and to inscribe myself for his lectures on Isokrates. To my amazement I found myself in the smallest auditorium of the university, which, small as it was, offered ample accommodation for the handful of students that shared my venture. At the appointed hour the great man came in scowling, plunged his face into his notes, and began to read with scant comment a lot of *variae lectiones*. I was quite unprepared for that sort of lecture, and after a few times fell out, as I believe the rest did also, to the joy of the old scholar, who was thus liberated from his task. In 1860 I was in Germany again and related my experience to Leopold Schmidt, the noted Pindaric scholar, who told me that he and several of his friends bound themselves by an oath to make Bekker lecture, and that when the master found that he could not shake off his unwelcome auditors, he surrendered at discretion and opened to his captors the treasures of his wonderful knowledge. Never, said Schmidt, have I derived so much from any of my teachers. Even the most bitter foes of Germans and German scholarship have done homage to Bekker, and as I take up my well-worn *Oratores Attici*, and look at the *malim's* in the notes, I realize how much he was in advance of his times. No wonder, then, I am even more unpleasantly affected by DRERUP's condescension upon Bekker than I was by his sneering remark about Goodwin (A. J. P. XXIII 109). No wonder that I am somewhat resentful

when I read: 'Bekkerum non ex subtili oratoris cognitione sed ex libro antiquissimo ne diligenter quidem excusso, in quem fausta fortuna ductus inciderat, recensionem tumultuariam instituisse cognoscitur; ex ingenio suo ad oratorem emendandum perpauca attulit.' It is true that we have learned to read more closely; it is true that, thanks largely to excellent indices and to statistical investigations, we can pronounce more confidently as to the chances of this reading and that, but it is hard for an oldster to see a DRERUP pass on to a Bekker the buffet that Bekker dealt to a Villoison. One of the counts in the cruel indictment brought against HOUSMAN (A. J. P. XXVII 487) by WÖRPPEL (N. P. Rundschau, 1906, S. 533) is 'eine hart an Abgunst streifende Taktlosigkeit hochverdienten Gelehrten gegenüber'. It is a count on which others besides HOUSMAN can hardly be acquitted. But *Brief Mention* is not the place for the discussion of DRERUP's constitution of the text of Isokrates. It follows the Urbinas closely and where there is a deviation, the editor shows a careful study of the usage of the orator. But to this conservatism there is a very disagreeable contrast in the revolutionary change he has made in the order of the orations. With characteristic cocksureness DRERUP has abandoned the customary arrangement for an order based on the rhetorical subdivisions. The λόγοι δικαστικοί are put first, then the ἐγκώμια and παρααινέσεις, to be followed by the λόγοι συμβουλευτικοί and the letters. No matter what the theoretical justification of such an arrangement may be (comp. A. J. P. VI 108), it is a serious practical mistake, and as Preuss has not accommodated his index to Drerup's views, the student will feel indignant at the enhanced difficulty of reference. To be sure, Preuss has discarded the old familiar numbers, but the abandonment of the sequence means a decided retardation in the use of DRERUP's edition. All such changes are vexatious, as when Krüger, in numbering the books of Herodotos, follows the order of the Greek alphabet to the neglect of the ἐπίσημον for 6, as Poppo has done in his small edition of Thukydides. Nor am I disposed to forgive Voemel for abandoning the traditional numbering of Demosthenes' orations after he passes 34. A change heartily welcomed was Nauck's introduction of the alphabetical order of the plays of Euripides; for a chronological order, if it is to be of real use, must be certain; and when Mr. MURRAY's *Euripides* came out I expressed my regret that he had not seen fit to follow Nauck (A. J. P. XXIII 110), but a rearrangement of Demosthenes so that XVIII, XIX, XX, LIV should not carry one at once to the spot would be a nuisance.

In A. J. P. XXII 232 I remarked: 'The only authority cited for 'neck and crop' (A. J. P. XIV 258) by the Century Dictionary <s. v. 'crop'> is my close contemporary, George Augustus

Sala, and the Oxford Dictionary bids us wait for NECK which I shall never live to see.' But I have lived to see it. Only I am sorry to find that the earliest authority given is 1825, and no explanation is vouchsafed. 'Crop', 'crap', means 'scruff of the neck', says the English Dialect Dictionary, and this may be accepted as the proper meaning here.

G. L.: Students of Plautus will be much interested in Professor RADFORD'S elaborate paper on "*Plautine Synizesis*" (Am. Phil. Trans. XXXVI, pp. 158-210). The term synizesis has been used very loosely by editors and critics and its relation to the Iambic Law has been much disputed. Professor RADFORD shows that the phenomena of synizesis in Early Latin are distinctly Roman, while in the Classical Poets, as Vergil, they are Greek. In the latter the usage "assumes the weakening of a *medial* syllable" in a polysyllable like *alveo*, whereas in the former it "is chiefly connected with the weakening of an *initial* syllable in words beginning with an iambus", as (*e*)os, (*e*)amus, t(*u*)am rem (but always *exeamus*, *aureo* without such weakening). It occurs in connection with the short vowels e, i and u, which have not degenerated into consonants but are true vowels "with slurred or faded tones".

According to this an extensive list of words which are usually classed under the Iambic Law must be removed; for "an iambic sequence of syllables if initial, i. e. if forming a single word or word-beginning, has the value of a single long, in case the former of the two syllables contains the half-vowel u or i, or the similarly pronounced e, in hiatus".

This synizesis does not appear in verse closes for various reasons; it occurs "most frequently in proclitic and enclitic words like possessive pronouns or the substantive verb, which usually have little appreciable accent of their own; but it is also freely admitted in words which possess the ordinary intensity of tone", when they are subordinated to words of greater force and weight.

In the course of the discussion, which is very detailed, Professor Radford treats a number of matters more or less intimately connected with the immediate subject, such as the scansion of *nempe* and similar words in which he justly takes issue with Skutsch; the position of the possessive pronoun, the metrical treatment of *rem*, *gnatum* and so forth. In all these cases his remarks are valuable and acute. He betrays however in some places a lack of fixity of opinion which is to be deprecated. Thus at the beginning of the paper, he discusses the divergent views of the ancient *metrici* who divided syllables into long and short only and the *rhythmici* or *musici* who recognized a *syllabam longa longiorem* and *brevi breviorum*. He bases his discussion on the theories of the latter school. On page 198, he admits that he could have arrived at the same results in entire dependence upon the teach-

ings of the metrici and that the early part of his paper is not absolutely necessary. On page 174, he advances and retracts a view as to the treatment of *nescio quis* in the same paragraph. On page 189, he admits in a footnote that the view advocated in the text may be wrong. In some places also he confuses certain things that are not similar. Thus on page 182, he reckons *uoluptas* as a word that suffers synizesis like *corundem*. On the same page he regards *quoui* as an iambus. On page 164, he includes *laudarier* and *laudari* as doublets in the same list as *periculum* and *periculum*. But these small matters do not affect the valuable treatment of the whole subject. I must, however, protest against the perverse use of *arsis* instead of *thesis* for accented syllable, which is now abandoned by all American and most English handbooks, as well as in recent discussions of English metric.

M. W.: Although according to Professor Scripture the division of words into syllables and of verse into feet on present principles is nonsense, and must give way to a psychological 'centroid' theory, most of us profane still continue to speak of syllables and feet, and the practical application of the 'centroid' theory to ancient verse is reserved for the grammar of the future. THULIN in his recent treatise on *Italische Sakrale Poesie und Prosa* (Berlin Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1906) deals largely with syllables and cola, assonance and rhyme. Certain parts of the Etruscan Agram inscription, which he regards as ritualistic, as well as the prayers in the Iguvinian tables, he proves to be metrical. The greater part of his treatise is devoted to the Saturnian and to the Carmina preserved in Cato, Macrobius and Livy. In his discussion of the Saturnian he takes issue with Leo on many points, not according to quantity the supreme rôle, and yet laying less weight upon accent than has been customary of late. Coincidence of accent and ictus he recognizes as invariable in the second part of the first colon. This first colon to use the words of the writer arises "aus einem dreiwortigen Kolon, das erst allmählich in einen quantifizierenden umgewandelt worden ist, und noch die Spuren seiner ursprünglichen Natur aufweist". Confirmatory evidence for this view is found in the Oscan and Umbrian. The treatment of the *Carmina* and the *Haruspicum verba*, in which he finds parallelism, symmetry and rhythmical elements associated with alliteration, is especially interesting.

M. W.: S. EITREM, *Observations on the Colax of Menander and the Eunuch of Terence* (Christiania, 1906, pp. 28). The author discusses the considerable fragment of Menander's Colax published in the third volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, beginning

with the best preserved part containing the description of the parasite. Following Ribbeck in part, he illustrates the leading characteristics of the parasite, with an array of passages, skilfully grouped, drawn from many Greek and Latin writers. For some of the doubtful lines in the Menander fragment he suggests emendations. He then discusses briefly the contamination in the Eunuchus of Terence, attempting to show how far Terence has followed Menander's Eunuch, how far his Colax, and to what extent has been independent, as in the character of Antipho. Terence's eagerness to condense his Greek original, he thinks, has sometimes lead him into obscurity and slight inconsistencies. In the nature of the case, the results reached are not conclusive. Hasten the day, when the discovery of a completed original of one of Terence's plays may put an end to mere hypothesis.

W. P. M.: *Tennysons Sprache und Stil*, by Dr. ROMAN DYBOSKI, is a new volume (1907) of the Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie. It devotes 544 pages to an elaborate classification of the poet's peculiarities of syntax, style and language. It is a work of enormous industry and wide learning, and its orderly collections of examples will be of great use and convenience to future editors. One little slip may be of interest if only because it suggests some weird possibilities in our long-range views of the classics. The expression, "a schoolboys' barring out", is explained as meaning "breaking out of bar". The author remarks that the meaning of the verb is reversed by the addition of the adverb, and offers an illustration from the Saemundar Edda. The volume has its lesson, too, for the reckless tribe of hunters after literary parallels. The expression "the wonder of the hilt" (*die wunderschön gearbeitete Hilze*) is compared with a passage of 'M. Chuzzlewit', "looking far into the deep wonder of her bright dark eyes". And the 'Latinism' in "last night, their mask was *patent*" is illustrated by another passage of Dickens, "a *patent* upright grand pianoforte". "We are so apt to see parallels when we are well acquainted with but one of the lines—or with neither".

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

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WHOLE No. 110.

I.—TRANSPOSITION VARIANTS IN CICERO'S VERRINES.

Even if we omit minor instances, and cases where the divergence is between inferior MSS only, there are over four hundred and fifty places in the Verrines where our standard codices differ from each other as to the order in which the words should be arranged. What is the explanation of this phenomenon? It cannot be altogether due to accident. When we have placed the rival readings over against each other, supported each by the authority of MSS whose general character is now more or less fully known, can we decide with any degree of certainty which was the original order, as set down by Cicero, and which the inversion of a copyist?

Considerations of prose-rhythm must have entered very largely into these discrepancies. Cicero's order may have been perverted, in places, with the view of illustrating some law of rhythm which the copyist had in mind at the time of writing. The result was very often to obscure the rhythm intended by the orator. The early editors were aware of this: in his edition of 1540, J. Sturm speaks of 'numerus transpositione verborum divulsus'. Or again an inversion may have been effected from the wish to exemplify some grammatical rule or figure. A scribe may have had a fixed idea, for example, as to the proper position of words like *iste* and *etiam*, and have altered his text accordingly. At III, § 162, the received text runs *ut inimicus neque deesse nocenti possit neque obesse innocenti*. When we find a late 15th century MS, like Lg. 29, altering this collocation to *nocenti deesse*, we know that the motive must have been to produce a kind of chiasmus. With the same motive, at II § 34, we find the copyist of Lg. 42 substituting *ex negotiatoribus propositi* for *propositi ex*

negotiatoribus. The attempt to avoid hiatus will be recognised as having furnished another motive, which accounts for a considerable number of transpositions.

The criticism of the Verrines must henceforward, for reasons which have been stated in previous papers,¹ deal with the earlier books, and Books IV-V, as one continuous whole: the emergence of the Cluniacensis, and its proved relation to Lg. 42, make it necessary to treat separately the Second and Third Books of the *Actio Secunda*. The object of the following paper is to give a full list of the numerous transposition variants, quoting first in order the reading which on diverse grounds I propose to accept as correct, and which will accordingly appear in the text of my forthcoming volume in the Oxford Classical Series: thereafter are cited the variations, with the MS authority for each.

It should be premised that in addition to the fragments of the Vatican palimpsest (V) I deal, for the first part of the research, with two main families of MSS, which are designated respectively ψ and π . To the former belong, for the earlier books, Par. 7775 (S), Par. 7823 (D), and the various MSS cited in the Zürich edition, including, for Books IV-V, the Regius Parisinus 7774 A, which is called R: to these I have added Harl. 4105 (K), and Harl. 4852 (Z). The π family includes primarily Par. 7776 (p), along with Lg. 29 (q), and Harl. 2687 (r): but with these may be conjoined the 13th cent. Paris MS 4588 (k) and the later Lg. 6 (b). These are the forerunners of the *dett.* (δ). For Books II and III our main authorities are, in addition to V and π , the Cluni codex now in Lord Leicester's library at Holkham, and its copy or derivative Lg. 42, which I cite as O, and of which the official description is Flor. Bad. 2618 (79). To include most *codd.*, in addition to such as may be specially cited, a convenient sign is ω .

The references which follow are throughout to the pages of Müller's Teubner Text.

Div. in Caecil.

100, 3 *ita sim ut D ψ* *sim ita ut π*

Such transpositions of *ita* are especially frequent. Cp. the following:

215, 19 *ita istum codd. praeter O (istum ita).*

235, 32 *ita rem quemadmodum Vqr : rem ita qu. Op.* and ed. Rom. 1471.

¹ See especially the Journal of Philology (London), Vol. XXX, pp. 161 sqq.

- 245, 21 *scriptum ita est* codd. plerique : *ita scriptum est* O.
- 253, 32 *ita eos abs te institui . . . ut* pb al. : *eos abs te ita* O.
- 269, 20 *tum (tunc) ita . . . ut* p rell. : *ita tum . . . ut* O.
- 277, 33 *Cum haec essent ita constituta* ω : *ita essent* V sol.
- 328, 37 *nisi ita res manifesta erit allata ut* p et vulg. (recte) : *ita ante allata* O, post *allata* Lamb.
- 344, 24 *aequum ita est solvi* ω : *est ita* O.
- 101, 1 *suarum fortunarum* ω (295, 32) : *fort. suar.* (sed cum signis transp., ut 109, 5) D, itemque G, LK.
- 101, 21 *habere eos* prd ed. Rom., et ita Quint. IX, 2, 59 (cf. 471, 28) : *eos habere* Dψ.
- 102, 20 *solacium exitii quaerunt* Dψ : *ex. sol. quaerunt* prd ed. Rom.
- 106, 29 *potius ab hoc quam* Dψ : *ab hoc potius quam* prd ed. Rom. (329, 11).
- 109, 5 *tua ista accusatio* ω (239, 23 : 483, 26) : *ista tua acc.* D (sed cum signis transp.), G, K ed. Rom.
- 116, 32 *dicturum te esse audio* D al., ed. Rom. : *te* om. p, dein eadem manus inseruit ante *dicturum*, et ita *te dicturum* qrG, L.
- 117, 21 *posse reperiri* ω ed. Rom. : *reperiri posse* pqr.
- 117, 23 *si iure posses eum accusare* Dψ : *iure eum posses* pd : *eum iure posse(s)* r. Is *eum* an adscript?

Actio Prima.

- 126, 8 *nulla res tam patria cuiusquam* D al. p. Here the later hand in p (=p¹) has inserted a second *cuiusquam* before *tam*,—an emendation made in accordance with what became a common reading (q₆ ed. Rom.) : r follows faithfully with *cuiusquam tam patria cuiusquam*.
- 131, 9 *innocente homine* Dψ : *homine innocente* πbd ed. Rom. (193, 18 : 401, 29).
- 132, 2 *prope toto commutato consilio* DG₁ : *prope consilio toto commutato* πb D¹K : *prope toto cons. comm.* rell. praeter Z, in quo est *toto prope comm. cons.*
- 134, 3 *aut accipere aut recipere* π Ps. Asc. : *aut recipere aut accipere* Dψb ed. Rom.

- 136, 7 *tempus hoc vobis divinitus datum esse* (divinitus vobis LK₂) D Ψ : *tempus opportunissimum vobis hoc divinitus d. e.* pbrð ed. Rom.
 136, 17 *fortissimo et clarissimo* D Ψ b ed. Rom. : *clar. et fort.* pqr (Rosc. § 6).

Act. Sec. Lib. I.

- 146, 1 *quisquam iudices* D Ψ : *iudices quisquam* π b ed. Rom.
 For similar inversions of *iudices*, which naturally comes after the emphatic word, cf. 272, 16 : 279, 9 : 293, 27 : 302, 22 : 334, 13 : 351, 4 : 428, 7 : 497, 9.
 157, 6 *est mihi alius locus* Pal. Taur., Asc. : *est alius mihi locus* D Ψ p et pler., ed. Rom.
 157, 9 *dictum est hoc* Pal. Taur. b : *d. hoc est* π ed. Rom. (om. D Ψ).
 160, 1 *suo artificio* D Ψ : *artificio suo* pbð ed. Rom. (*suo* om. Ps. Asc., Schol. Gron.).
 161, 25 *iudiciorum se dominos dici* Dp et pler. : *se iud. d. d.* Ps. Asc., Schol. Gron. : *iud. dominos se dici* ed. Rom.
 164, 11 *munus illud suum non esse* DZ π b ed. Rom. : *illud munus suum n. e.* G₂K : *munus suum illud n. e.* G₁.
 165, 25 *Postridie homines mane* D Ψ : *Postridie mane hom.* pð ed. Rom.
 166, 32 *militum tribunus* D Ψ : *tribunus militum* p (errant Zumpt et Iord.) rb.
 167, 33 *reperire neminem polerat* π b ed. Rom. (Zielinski, p. 193) : *nem. rep. pot.* D Ψ .
 174, 33 *homines formosos* DZ pb ed. Rom. : *formosos homines* S (sed cum signis transp., ut 179, 16 : 371, 2 : 424, 3) G₂K.
 179, 16 *audaciam amentiamque* prb K ed. Rom. : *amentiam audaciamque* SD (sed cum signis transp.) ZG₁λ.
 181, 17 *inventus est* V sol. : *est inventus* SDp π ed. Rom.
 181, 27 *cui satis non fuerit* V sol. : *cui non satis f.* π b ed. Rom.
 181, 31 *tu tibi* V : *tibi tu* π b. Desinunt iam in l. 24 huius paginae D Ψ .
 182, 34 *hominis aliud* π : *aliud hominis* bð ed. Rom.
 185, 22 *iste virgis* Vpqr : *virgis iste* bð ed. Rom.
 186, 16 *homo sit heres* V : *sit homo heres* p π ed. Rom.
 186, 19 *ut ego non dicam, pecuniam intercessisse . . . declarat* V : *ut ego pecuniam non dicam inter., . . . declarat* pr π ed. Rom.

- 187, 6 *in causa aequissima fuit* V : *fuit in causa aeq.* pr
(204, 9).
 187, 36 *Recita Cn. Faeni testimonium* V : *Recita test. Cn.
Faen.* pb ed. Rom.
 188, 8 *Ne Tadii quidem tabulis* V : *Ne tabulis quidem Quinti
(Q.) Tadii* p et pler.
 190, 18 *esse optimum factu* prb : *optimum esse factu* ed. Rom.
vulg.
 193, 18 *illius iniquissimi hominis* V : *ill. hom. iniq.* p^o ed.
Rom. (131, 9).
 195, 21 *praetextatum venisse* V : *venisse praetextatum* pr^o ed.
Rom.
 198, 15 *cui ego nisi* V : *cui nisi ego* p^o ed. Rom. (223, 3).

This concludes the enumeration of instances up to the end of the First Book of the Second Actio. The re-establishment of the authority of the Vatican Palimpsest (Am. J. Ph. XXVI, pp. 409-436) lends weight to the readings of its surviving fragments, as quoted for the latter part of this book. In the last eight or nine places, it seems safest to follow the tradition of V, and here p may have been the inverter. But we must be careful not to lose sight of the probability that a large corpus of speeches like the Verrines may have been differently dealt with at different places by various readers or revisers, and it would not be safe to infer that p is the transposer throughout. What V would have shown, if it had survived, in the earlier passages, especially where there is a divergence between π and D Φ , can only be conjectured.

In view of the relationship which has been proved to exist among the extant MSS of the Verrines, the criticism of the earlier books may be considered as continuous with that of Books IV and V,—that of the intervening portion contained in Books II-III being reserved for separate treatment. A full list of transposition variants is accordingly submitted here for Books IV and V:—

Book IV.

- 365, 36 *hospes esset* VSDK : *esset hospes* RZ pr ed. Rom.
 366, 17 *Messanam cum imperio nemo* R₁SDZ : *nemo Messanam
cum imperio* V p^o ed. Rom. : *Mess. nemo cum imp.
K* (fort. recte).
 366, 26 *cuiquam praeterea* VR π : *praeterea cuiquam* SD Φ , ed.
Rom., ed. Venet. 1483.

- 366, 27 *istius domus* V (Zielinski, p. 196) : *domus istius* RSD p, al., Non., ed. Rom.
- 369, 33 *habuisse illa* V π ðK ed. Rom. : *illa habuisse* RSDZ.
- 370, 15 *de pecuniis repetundis* VRp, ed. Rom. : *de repet. pec.* SG_λ.
- 371, 2 *ista laudatio* VRp ed. Rom. : *laudatio ista* S (sed cum signis transp.) D Φ (174, 33: 494, 23).
- 371, 27 *ex foedere debuisti* Rp ed. Rom. : *debuisti ex foedere* SD Φ .
- 379, 10 *iam non* RH¹ p ed. Rom. : *non iam* SD Φ .
- 379, 36 *erepta sibi vasa optime facta dicebat* ω , ed. Rom. : *e. s. vasa facta dic. optimo* p¹ : *e. s. vasa facta opt. dic.* p^q.
- 387, 11 *me nunc de Verre dicere* ω : *nunc de Verre me dicere* p (me om. ed. Rom.).
- 387, 30 *litteras ad quos solebat misit* R al. : *ad quos sol. litt. misit* S in mg., G₃K.
- 389, 19 *credo satis* RHp ed. Rom. : *satis credo* D Φ .
- 392, 24 *Tuus enim honos* ω : *tuus enim est honos* pq : *tuus est enim honos* ð ed. Rom.
- 395, 31 *eversurum esse illam* RSH (240, 36) : *illam eversurum esse* pð.
- 397, 25 *nec solum sed etiam eorum* SD al. ð ed. Rom. (470, 18) : *eorum etiam* R (463, 32) : *etiam* om. pq.
- 401, 29 *innocentē in hominem* RS : *in innoc. in hom.* D Φ : *in hom. innoc.* p : *inn. in hom.* Z (131, 9: 193, 18).
- 402, 21 *igitur tibi nunc* R : *nunc igitur tibi* SD Φ : *tibi* om. pq : *nunc* om. ed. Rom.
- 405, 11 *mihi non modo breviter* Rp al. : *non modo breviter mihi* S Φ (428, 7).
- 407, 10 *fuisse putatis (putastis)* ω : *putastis fuisse* pq : (*fuisse feminam put.* K).
- 409, 14 *orbem omnem* R : *orbem omnium* pð : *omnem orbem* SD Φ .
- 410, 14 *Tanta enim erat* SD Φ pð : *Tanta erat enim* R. Cp. 392, 24: also the following places: 279, 20: 285, 34: 307, 5: 341, 5: 353, 3: 369, 5: 458, 13.
- 411, 9 *gemitus fletusque fiebant* RSD : *fletus gemitusque fiebant* pð, Martianus Capella (v. § 163: Rosc. § 24).
- 414, 14 *una via lata* ω : *una lata via* pð.

¹ H = Codex Harleianus 2682, olim Coloniensis Basilicanus.

- 414, 31 *aedificiis omnibus publicis privatis* pð : *aed. publicis omnibus privatis* RS#. Here one of Lambinus's codd. (λ) is reported as giving *et privatis*, and perhaps *privatis* is an adscript.
- 415, 25 *victoria illa sua* R# : *illa victoria sua* p al. : *sua* om. δ.
- 419, 3 *Syraculis abstulit* pð (Zielinski V₁) : *abstulit Syraculis* R# (*abs. Syracusanis* q).
- 419, 10 *tandem dolore eos* R# : *tandem eos dolore* pq : *dolore tandem eos* K.
- 419, 25 *credite hoc mihi* R# : *credite mihi hoc* pG₁ al.
- 420, 29 *existimare hoc volo* RSD# (fort. *existimari* ?) : *existimare vos hoc volo* p : *exist. hoc vos volo* δ.
- 421, 36 *totius provinciae ad me* R ω : *totius ad me prov.* π.
- 422, 22 *consilii negotiique* R ω : *negotii consilii* KZ.
- 424, 3 *Quid est hoc* RG₁q : *Quid hoc est* SG₁L : (S with faint transposition marks, as at 174, 33). Cp. 298, 32 : 383, 4.
- 424, 6 *illi ipsi tui convivae* R ω : *ipsi illi t. c.* pð. (Cp. 216, 28 : 356, 26 : 446, 3 : 473, 16).
- 425, 17 *multo labore meo* R ω : *labore meo multo* S#.
- 426, 1 *ipsorum Syracusanorum* R al. : *Syr. ipsorum* S# : *Syr. om.* pq. Perhaps *Syracusanorum* is an adscript.

Book V.

- 428, 6 *eius defensio ostenditur* Rp al. : *defensio eius ost.* S#.
- 428, 7 *mihi ante est indices* R al. (405, 11) : *ante est mihi (om iud.)* S# (146, 1).
- 433, 17 *ad fortunas omnium pertinerent* R al. : *ad omnium fort. pert.* S#. (Zielinski's V₁ v. V³). Cp. 479, 9.
- 442, 4 *videntur esse* R al. : *esse videntur* S#. Cp. 222, 4.
- 446, 3 *ab ipsis istis Mamertinis tuis laudatoribus* R al. : *ab istis ipsis tuis Mamertinis laudatoribus* pkð. (For *ipsis istis* cp. 424, 6).
- 446, 19 *ipsorum ex litteris* R al. : *ex ipsorum litt.* S#.
- 450, 27 *provinciae spolia portaret* R ω : *spolia prov. port.* SG₁ al.
- 455, 2 *erant capti* RS#p : *capti erant* V.¹

¹ This reading might be accepted, out of compliment to the antiquity of V. But in view of the aberration which follows, only a few lines further down, it seems safer to conclude that the reading given in V is an inversion of the original order.

- 455, 15 *capitibus obvolutis e carcere* RS \wp : *involutis e carcere capitibus* V.
- 456, 8 *continuit populus Romanus se* R ω : *se cont. pop. Rom. p* (cont. se. pop. Rom. q).
- 456, 17 *crimen et iudicium* R ω : *iudicium et crimen* p.
- 458, 13 *volo enim esse* SD ω : *volo esse enim* R (sed cum signis transp.) pqr : 410, 14.
- 458, 13 *totum mihi* RSD : *mihi totum* pqk.
- 458, 36 *etiam libertus* ω : *libertus etiam* k (463, 32).
- 459, 7 *Cleomenes vir* RS \wp : *vir Cleomenes* V.
- 459, 21 *tamen animo* R \wp al. : *animo tamen* Vp δ .
- 460, 7 *haec ego* ad R \wp : *ego haec* ad V : *haec omnia* ad pk.
- 461, 31 *res se habebat* R \wp : *sese res hab.* p δ : *res sese hab.* q.
- 463, 32 *non modo verum etiam hac* VpYZ al. : *hac etiam* RSDG₁. Cp. 397, 25.
- 464, 17 *myoparonibus parvis* R et pler. : *parvis myop.* V sol.
- 466, 13 *de se sermones* vulg. : *se* (ante SERmones) om. R¹p : *sermones de se* S \wp . (Cp. 442, 36).
- 468, 24 *commoti nuntio* Vp δ : *nuntio commoti* RS \wp . (Zielinski V, v. S₂).
- 468, 24 *aspiciunt catenis* RS al. : *catenis asp.* VK.
- 468, 37 *causa indicta* R ω : *indicta causa* V sol.
- 469, 3 *patris lacrimae* Vp : *lacrimae patris* RS \wp .
- 470, 18 *etiam illud* RK : *illud etiam* S \wp . (458, 36).
- 471, 11 *in tantam* V p δ : *tantam in* RS \wp : (*in* om. G₂).
- 471, 28 *sunt haec* V pk δ and Quintilian (VIII, 4, 19) : *haec sunt* RS \wp .
- 471, 31 *est* Vpk δ , and Quint. : om. RS \wp .
- It is to be noted that throughout this passage Quintilian seems to have had the Vp tradition before him.
- 472, 9 *cibum tibi* RS p δ : *tibi cibum vestitumque* V : (*tibi* om. Quint.).
- 472, 11 *adferam mortem filio tuo* R ω : *mortem filio tuo adferam* V.
- 472, 30 *ne hoc posses* RS : *hoc ne possis* p δ .
- 473, 16 *neque tibi neque illis* RSK : *neque illis neque tibi* V : *neque tibi* δ .
- 473, 16 *ex ipso illo* R ω : *ex illo ipso* V p δ .
- 473, 31 *vos quoque hic*, etc., Vp al. : *vos hic quoque* RS \wp . Cp. 261, 5.
- 475, 3 *populi causa* RS \wp : *causa PR* V : *causa populi* δ .

- 475, 8 *non argentum non aurum* RS Ψ p δ : *non aurum non argentum* Vq.
 475, 12 *ita velit fieri* V sol. (Zielinski, p. 198): *ita fieri velit* R ω . Cp. 255, 21; 338, 23.
 477, 30 *non ego nego securi* V : *non ego securi nego* δ (desunt R Ψ).
 478, 2 *hoc Amestratini hoc Herbilenses* R ω : *hoc Herb. hoc Amestr.* V δ .
 479, 1 *cum tibi haec diceret* R p al. : *cum diceret tibi haec* S Ψ .
 479, 8 *ab quaestore et ab legato* R ω : *ab legato et quaestore* S Ψ .
 479, 9 *ab oculis omnium* R ω : *ab omnium oculis* p (433, 17).
 480, 34 *ulla possit esse* R ω : *possit ulla esse* pq : *possit esse ulla* δ .
 481, 14 *iam (tam SD) saepe* RSD al. : *saepe iam* p : *saepe om.* q.
 483, 26 *istis defensoribus tuis* R al. : *istis tuis defens.* SD Ψ .
 484, 10 *Quot bella . . . arbitramini* R ω : *Quot bella arbitramini . . .* SD Ψ .
 490, 16 *esse me dicam* pq : *me esse dicam* δ edd.
 490, 29 *se civem esse Romanum* p ω : *se civ. Rom. esse* q.
 494, 23 *ornamenta ista* R ω : *ista ornamenta* pq (371, 2).
 496, 3 *ego hoc onus* RSDq : *hoc ego onus* p δ (271, 34, 36).
 497, 9 *mihi iudices optatum illud est* RSD : *optandum mihi iudices illud est* π (iudices om. q) : *iudices optandum est illud* δ .
 497, 30 *manibus regis* q λ : *manis regibus* R : *magnis regibus* SD Ψ : *regis manibus* pk δ .
 499, 1 *ab isto uno* R : *ab uno isto* SD Ψ .

The 130 variants set forth in the foregoing list are obviously in themselves of no great importance, but they may be made to throw some light on the history of the constitution of the text, and on the inter-relationship of the MSS. Though not so numerous as those with which we shall have to deal in a separate examination of Books II–III, they are of too frequent occurrence to be considered merely accidental. The probability is that many of them are due to the individuality of some copyist, or copyists, who either simply wished to differentiate their version by giving effect to some personal preference, or sought to illustrate by their transpositions some law of prose rhythm.

A considerable block of instances should, however, be eliminated where a divergence in the order seems to have been caused by the inadvertent omission of a word and its subsequent restor-

ation by different scribes in different places. As obvious or probable examples of this phenomenon, the following places may be studied: 116, 32: 366, 17: 397, 25: 402, 21: 420, 29: 426, 1: 456, 8: 463, 32: 466, 13: 472, 9: 473, 16: 481, 14: 490, 29.

In regard to all the variants, it will be seen at a glance that the fragments of the Vatican palimpsest (V) are of primary importance. The general characteristics of this codex have been fully dealt with in a former paper (*American Journal of Philology*, XXVI, p. 409 sqq.). Its age is in its favour: it belongs to the 4th century, and may be said to represent what came to be the vulgate at the earliest point of departure. The evidence seems, in fact, to show that V embodies the tradition which Quintilian had before him, when he made his quotations from the Verrine orations. Just as editors have followed the extant fragment of the Turin palimpsest, on the ground of its antiquity, in two places (157, 6 and 9), so it seems probable that the reading of V should be accepted at 181, 17, 27, 31: 366, 27: 468, 24: and 475, 12. In these last three passages Zielinski prefers, as has been noted *ad loc.*, the rhythm of V: cp. 167, 33. The following seem to be indifferent and inconclusive: 464, 17: 468, 37: 472, 11. The difficulty is that V is found in agreement sometimes with the Ψ family, at the head of which stand S and D, sometimes with p and the other members of the group which I have included under the sign π . With 366, 26 (where Vp are reinforced by R) may be compared 369, 33: 459, 21: 463, 32: 468, 24: 469, 3: 471, 11 and 28: 473, 16. At 473, 31 Vp are undoubtedly right, as against mistakes in R and Ψ : cp. 414, 31. On the other hand in places where p sides with RS against V, the reading of V may be considered doubtful: 455, 12, (especially with l. 15 following): 459, 7: 460, 7: 475, 8.

As to the comparative authority of R and S (v. *Engl. Journ. Phil.* XXX, p. 195 sqq.), in places where there seems little to choose between two different collocations, R is on the whole to be preferred to S: e. g., 371, 27: 379, 10: 389, 19: 405, 11: 409, 14: 425, 17: 428, 6, 7: 433, 17: 442, 4: 446, 19: 450, 27: 479, 1. In all these passages R is reinforced by p. On the other hand p supports the order of S at 410, 14. And S undoubtedly influenced later tradition more than R did: the formula S Ψ is of more frequent occurrence than R Ψ . For *exx.* cp. 370, 15: 371, 2.

We may now go back to Books II and III. The criticism of this portion of the Verrines depends on (1) the extant parts of the Cluniacensis (C): (2) the tradition of the same codex, as it

may be recovered from Lg. 42 (O) and other witnesses: (3) the vulgate, introduced by Par. 7776 (p): and (4) the fragments of the Vaticanus (V).

Let us deal first with the extant portions of C (pp. 202-209, p. 240 and pp. 259-265). So far as concerns transposition variants, the following is the complete list of divergences. It should be premised that where the first hand in Lg. 42 is expressly cited (O'), the reading was afterwards altered, by the same or by a later hand, into conformity with the vulgate.

- 202, 2 *vos propinquis* CO' : *propinquis vos* p rel.
- 203, 8 *ex tota provincia homines nobilissimi* CO : *hom. ex tota prov. nob.* p rel.
- 203, 13 *iam liberius apud vos* CO' : *liberius apud vos iam* p rel. : 310, 10.
- 203, 16 *umquam ulla* C rel. (205, 16) : *nulla* (n del. m. 2) *umquam* O, sed. corr. m. 1.
- 204, 9 *Mamertinis erga istum sint* CO' : *sint Mam. erga istum* p rel. (187, 6).
- 204, 33 *negotiantur in Sicilia* CO : *in Sic. negot.* p rel., corr. O m. 1.
- 205, 3 *esse aliis* CO : *aliis esse* p rel.
- 205, 16 *in re umquam ulla* CO : *ulla in re umquam* p rel., corr. O m. 1 (203, 16).
- 206, 27 *tamen putabat* CO : *putabat tamen* p rel., corr. O m. 1. (225, 20 : 301, 33).
- 207, 18 *hoc aures tuae* Vp rel. : *aures hoc tuae* CO'.
- 208, 4 *Quae ista defensio est?* CO p al. : *Quae est ista defensio?* ed. Rom. 1471.
- 208, 5 *res nova est* COp al., ed. Rom. : *nova res est* vulg.
- 208, 8 *causas obtinebant* p al. (Zielinski p. 193) : *obtinebant causas* CO'.
- 208, 21 *accensi medici* CO' : *medici accensi* p rel.
- 209, 5 *nostros comites* C p al. : *comites nostros* O'. (This I take to be one of several instances of unwarranted aberration on the part of the writer of Lg. 42).
- 209, 16 *tu hoc a me* CO' al. : *tu a me hoc* p rel.
- 240, 24 *dies festi aguntur* C (*agitantur* Vp rel. : 255, 31) : *festi dies aguntur* O (sed corr. m. 1).
- 240, 36 *se funditus eversas esse* CO (prob. Ziel. p. 194) *se eversas funditus esse* V : *funditus eversas esse* (om. *se*) p rel. (395, 31).

- 241, 9 *Faciunt hoc homines* CO : *fac. homines hoc* q et al.: habent Vp^a *hoc* sup. lin. : om. b ed. Rom.
- 241, 16 *Veneri potissimum* codd. praeter V (*hostissimum Veneri*).
- 259, 4 *ne minus triginta* CO : XXX *ne minus* p al.
- 259, 21 *statuae eius* CO : *eius statuae* p rell.
- 259, 22 *venio* (=vento) aut C : *aut nemo* O, but with transposition marks.
- 259, 26 *Centuripinos reponere* CO : *reponere Centuripinos* p rell.
- 259, 37 *civium esse* CO : *esse civium* p (*esse* om. d).
- 260, 8 *ego eas* CO : *eas ego* p rell.
- 261, 5 *vobis quoque* CO p al.: *quoque vobis* V, ed. Rom. Cp. 352, 5: 473, 31: Rosc. § 82.
- 261, 25 *tu auctoritate* VCO : *auct. tu* p rell.
- 262, 9 *isti ipsi* CO : *ipsi isti* p ed. Rom. (356, 26).
- 262, 12 *familiaritatem tantam* CO : *tant. fam.* p rell.
- 262, 26 *ille etiam* CO : *etiam ille* p al. (et ita primo O : corr. m. 1.)
- 263, 3 *caput suum aut existimationem* CO' : *suum caput atque exist.* p rell.
- 264, 11 *crimen hoc* CO : *hoc crimen* p rell.
- 264, 18 *ista mihi* Cp : *mihi ista* O rell. ed. Rom.
- 265, 14 *iam hoc me tacito* p et plerique codd. (*hoc* om. b ed. Rom.): *me iam hoc tacito* CO.
- 265, 30 *teneri videbitis* p rell. (Zielinski, p. 194) : *videbitis teneri* CO.

So far as this list goes, we might be somewhat doubtful as to the authority of the Cluniacensis. It might even be argued that C was the transposer, not p, or one of the ancestors of p. The reader will note that the authority of V is, for the above passages, inconclusive as between CO and the p family. It is on other variations, apart from transpositions, that we must rely to prove the general superiority of the C tradition. These will be duly recorded in my forthcoming edition of the text, in the Oxford Classical Series. Meanwhile it should be noted that the version contained in O is not in all points an accurate transcription of C. The sequel will show a still greater number of instances where the copyist of O made transpositions on his own account. He was a fifteenth century scholar, who found it easy to make obvious corrections where the writer of C had erred: this seems to me to cover the instances of divergence on which Mr. A. C. Clark has partly relied for his argument that O was not, as I have

maintained, directly copied from C (Class Rev. XVI, p. 325). Moreover, the writer of O had before him a MS of the p family, as well as C, and his doubts as to the propriety of departing from what was then the vulgate are evidenced by the way in which he so frequently corrects what he has transcribed from C into conformity with the more usual version.

The lost parts of the Cluniacensis can be restored, not only from its copy O, but also from the so-called Nannianus (N), the Fabricianus (F), and the Metellianus (M). Here my symbol will be c; and I now proceed to append the remarkably long list of transposition variants for those parts of Books II and III which no longer survive in the Cluniacensis as we have it today. The general argument will follow by way of conclusion.

210, 15 *Decreta eius modi* codd. praeter O (*Eius modi decreta*).

This is one of a whole block of instances where Müller follows O against all the codd. To me this appears a very doubtful procedure. We cannot infer with any certainty that the order of words in O is that which would have been found in the Cluniacensis, if that valuable codex had come down to us intact, firstly because cases have just been cited where O makes a gratuitous departure from C as we actually have it (v. supra, 203, 16: 209, 5: 240, 24: 259, 22: 264, 18), and secondly because if the reading just cited, and many other transpositions of the same class, had appeared in C, they would certainly have been chronicled by Nannius, or Fabricius, or Metellus.

210, 33 *conventu civium Romanorum* VO: *civ. Rom. conv.* p al., ed. Rom.

211, 4 *civem suum* codd. praeter V (*suum civem*).

211, 13 *propositi ex negotiatoribus* V et rell. praeter O (*ex negot. prop.*).

211, 31 *argenti optimi* codd. praeter O (*optimi argenti*). These instances are noteworthy. The former is a gratuitous inversion by O: if it had stood so in C, the variant would have been reported by Nannius, or Fabricius, or Metellus. The latter is even more decisive. Instead of *plena domus caelati argenti optimi*, O gives, omitting *domus* by accident, *plena caelatia optimi argenti*, i. e., the *a* in *caelatia* seems to show that the copyist began to write *a]rgenti*, and then arbitrarily changed the order.

- 211, 35 *Heractio pecuniam* codd. praeter O (*pecuniam Heractio*).
 212, 4 *quidam erant* p et pler. : *erant quidam* O (so also q.)
 212, 14 *negent ex testamento* codd. praeter O (*ex test. neg.*).
 213, 14 *ius esse certum* codd. praeter O (*certum ius esse*).
 213, 19 *commodum ipsi* codd. praeter O (*ipsi commodum*).
 215, 19 *ita istum* codd. praeter O (*istum ita*) : cp. 100, 3.
 215, 33 *aliquanto ante quam* p et al. : *ante aliquanto ante quam* O. This may be another instance (cp. 343, 2) in which O is caught in the act of making an inversion. But it should be noted that *aliquanto* does not occur in Par. 7786, and is omitted also in the editio Romana : it may have been supplied in some ancient copy above the line, or in the margin. The vulgate gives *ante aliquanto quam*.
 216, 21 *data esse Verri* cO : *Verri data esse* p rell. Here the Cluniacensis is reported by Fabricius: Zielinski, however, (p. 193) prefers the order in p.
 216, 27 *bona privati* (*privata* k) p et rell. praeter O (*privata bona*).
 216, 28 *ipsi illi* codd. praeter O (*illi ipsi*) : 424, 6.
 216, 36 *rumore populi et clamore* p rell. praeter O' (*rumore et clamore populi*).
 216, 37 *furto manifesto* codd. praeter O (*manif. fur.*).
 217, 18 *tecum multum* p rell. praeter O (*multum tecum*).
 217, 19 *una* codd. praeter O (*tecum una* : corr. m. 1 *una tecum*). If *tecum* had stood in the Cluniacensis, it would certainly have been reported.
 218, 29 *quo accessisti quaeso*. I base this new reading on the tradition of the Cluniacensis reported by Nannius and Metellus, *quo accessisti quasi* : O perpetrates an inversion, *acc. quo quasi*. Lambinus conjectured *quo quaeso accessisti*, MS support for which is now forthcoming from Lg. 6 and 1 (*quo quasi accessisti*) : p omits *quo*, and so also q.
 218, 30 *tecum istum* codd. praeter O (*istum tecum*).
 219, 1 *Epicrates quidam* codd. praeter O (*quidam Epicrates* : 'pessime', Zielinski, p. 193).
 219, 10 *hunc everti* V et rell. praeter O (*everti hunc*).
 219, 20 *contemnere et neglegere coepit* V : *negl. et cont. coepit* p rell. : *negl. coepit et cont.* O.

- 219, 36 *ab se male acceptos* codd. praeter V (*male acceptos ab se*).
Here V may be right : or *ab se* may be an adscript :
it is omitted in the editio Romana.
- 220, 15 *re cognita* p rell. praeter O' (*cognita causa*).
- 221, 26 *existimatione eius* V rell. praeter O (*eius exist.*).
- 221, 27 *illud idem (item V)* VO : *idem illud* p rell.
- 222, 4 *esse videantur* V rell. praeter O (*videantur esse*) : 238,
23 : 309, 7 : 442, 4.
- 222, 30 *semper usus est* Vpb : *semper* om. O' : *usus est semper* qr.
- 223, 10 *mecum decedere* VO : *dec. mecum* p rell.
- 223, 11 *oppida mihi* VO : *mihi oppida* p rell.
- 223, 15 *edidi nomina* VO : *nomina edidi* p rell.

In these three instances the authority of V must induce us to accept what might otherwise have been classed as inversions in O. They occur close together, and it is odd that they were not reported from the Cluniacensis : perhaps this codex showed the same order as p, but with transposition marks, which, while they escaped the notice of Nannius and the rest, were given effect to by the writer of O.

- 225, 9 *iudicium dimittitur* O pq (Zielinski) : *dimittitur iud.* rell.
ed. Rom.
- 225, 20 *tamen in consilio* codd. praeter O' (*in consilio tamen*) :
206, 27 : 301, 33.
- 225, 27 *est ventum* codd. praeter Lg. 6 et O (pr. *ventum est*,
corr. m. 1).
- 226, 12 *adfuerant antea* codd. praeter O (*antea adfuerant*).
- 226, 36 *tantam non posse* codd. praeter O (*tantam posse non*) :
non posse tantam ed. Rom.
- 227, 31 *ex hoc iudicio si* codd. praeter O (*si ex hoc iudicio*).
- 228, 1 *istum vobiscum* cO' : *vobiscum istum* p rell.
- 228, 14 *accipere ab reo* codd. praeter O (*ab reo accipere*).
- 228, 20 *pecunia accepta* codd. praeter O (*accepta pecunia*).
- 229, 3 *pecuniam ab accusatoribus dari* O (prob. Zielinski, p. 194) :
ab. acc. pec. dari p rell.
- 229, 26 *attendite diligenter invenietis enim* cO : *attendite enim*
dil. inv. p rell.
- 230, 13 *iste cupiditate* VO' : *cupid. iste* p rell.
- 233, 19 *de sella ac tribunali pronuntiat* codd. praeter O (*pron. de*
sella ac trib.).
- 234, 9 *absens reus* p rell. praeter Oq (*reus absens*).

- 234, 10 *nullum fieri* codd. praeter O (*fieri nullum*).
- 235, 32 *ita rem* Vq : *rem ita* Op ed. Rom. (100, 3).
- 235 37 *Romae liceret* VO : *liceret Romae* p rell., ed. Rom.
- 236, 13 *se laqueos* VO : *laqueos se* p rell., ed. Rom.
- 236, 27 *cum haec ac . . .* (sic desinens) V : *cum res esset acta* p et pler. : *cum acta res* (om. *esset*) O. Here we should probably read *cum haec acta res esset*.
- 237, 8 *tuae te tabulae* O. It seems best here to accept the collocation in O. In p and Lgg. 6, 29 *te* is omitted. The vulgate gives *te tuae tabulae*, though in the ed. Rom. *te* was inserted before *possent*, which gives the best clausula.
- 237, 10 *totum hoc* codd. praeter O (*hoc totum*).
- 238, 12 *Sthenio nemo* codd. praeter O (*nemo Sthenio*, ut videtur).
- 238, 23 *esse videatur* codd. praeter O (*videatur esse*) : 222, 4 : 309, 7.
- 239, 23 *tuo isto* πkO : *isto tuo* δ.
- 244, 28 *illum locum* codd. praeter V (*locum illum*).
- 245, 21 *scriptum ita* codd. praeter O et b (*ita scriptum*) : 100, 3.
- 245, 23 *inquit sunt* cO : *sunt inquit* p al. : *inquit* om b ed. Rom.
- 246, 16 *cum iste* cO : *iste cum* pb.
- 246, 27 *XXX diebus* codd. praeter O (*diebus XXX*).
- 247, 14 *domus tota* codd. praeter O (*tota domus*).
- 250, 6 *animo aequo* codd. praeter V (*equo animo*).
- 250, 33 *omnibus in* codd. praeter O (*in omnibus*).
- 251, 10 *est ista pecunia* VO' : *ista pec. est* p rell.
- 251, 13 *si hoc a vobis* codd. praeter V (*hoc si a vobis*) : *si a vobis hoc* ed. Rom.
- 253, 32 *ita eos abs te* pb al., ed. Rom. : *eos ita abs te* vulg. Here O first wrote *eos ita abs te*, then added transposition marks to change the order to *ita eos abs te*; and then the same hand deletes *ita*, and adds it after *te* = *eos abs te ita*.
- 255, 21 *iudicium fieri* Vp rell. praeter O (*fieri iudicium*) : 475, 12 : 338, 23.
- 255, 35 *locis omnibus* VO p al. : *omnibus locis* c : *omnibus* b δ
- 256, 18 *publice laudarent* codd. praeter V (*laudarent publice*).
- 256, 23 *igitur est* Vp : *est igitur* Ob al.
- 256, 23 *tibi necessario* Vp rell. praeter O (*necessario tibi*).
- 266, 31 *parvis libellis* codd. praeter O (*libellis parvis*).
- 268, 21 *quis (qui O) esset ubi esset* VcO : *ubi esset quis esset* p rell.

- 268, 36 *responde tu mihi nunc O : resp. mihi nunc tu* pb ed.
Rom. : *resp. nunc tu mihi r : tu* om. V.
269, 4 *ne hoc aut* VOcp : *hoc ne* (om. *aut*) b rell. praeter r (*ne aut hoc*).
269, 8 *primas litteras* codd. praeter V (*litteras primas*).
269, 20 *tum ita* p rell. praeter O (*ita tum*) : *ita* om. b.

Book III.

- 271, 24 *confirmato consilio* codd. (including here Harl. 2682=H) praeter O (*consilio confirmato*). The motive of this inversion may have been an ill-judged attempt to produce a chiasmus between *consilio confirmato* and *ineunte aetate*. I take *confirmato* here as a dative (with *sibi*): cp. Cluent. § 13 *animum adulescentis nondum consilio ac ratione firmatum*.
271, 34 *ego hoc* HO : *hoc ego* p rell. Cp. l. 36 : 349. 37 : 496, 3.
272, 15 *istius unius* HcO (224, 6 : 278, 29) : *unius istius* p rell.
272, 16 *mihi iudices* Op et pler. : *iudices mihi* H¹ al. Cp. 146, 1.
274, 35 *vita victuque* p rell. : *victu vitaeque* O. The transposition in O receives no support from Cicero's usual practice : cp. *vitae atque victus* Verr. V § 187 : *vita atque victu* Brut. § 95 : *vita victuque* Legg. § 32 : *vita . . . victusque communis* Or. I § 58. It may be a learned reminiscence of Lucretius (*victum vitamque* V, 804, 1080, 1105).
275, 22 *duae sunt* codd. praeter O (*sunt duae*).
275, 29 *maiorum sapientiam* codd. praeter O (*sapientiam maiorum*).
277, 33 *Cum haec essent ita constituta* codd. praeter V (*ita essent*). Cp. 100, 3.
278, 20 *fingite vobis si potestis aliquem* V rell. praeter O (*fing. vobis aliquem si potestis*.) It may be reported that p has *fingite si potestis vobis aliquem*, where the transposition marks give the generally received reading : 296, 24 : 324, 2.
279, 1 *in convivio saltare* codd. praeter O (*saltare in convivio* : prob. Zielinski, p. 195). Cp. *pro rege Deiot.*, § 26.

¹In regard to the excerpts from the Verrines contained in Harl. 2682 (H) it will be noted that we have four readings at the opening of Book III, for two of which H is in agreement with O. At 379, 10 and 389, 19 we have already found H supporting R.

- 279, 9 *iudices audite* V rell. praeter O (*audite iudices*). Cp. 146, 1.
- 279, 20 *veri enim simile* Vc O : *veri simile enim* p rell. Cp. 410, 14.
- 279, 37 *rerum rusticarum* V rell. praeter O (*rusticarum rerum*).
- 280, 11 *sit licitus* Vq (prob. Zielinski, l. c.) : *licitus sit* p rell.
- 280, 28 *ista cohors* codd. praeter V (*cohors ista*).
- 280, 32 *aiebat omnis esse* V : *esse aiebat omnes* c and Par. 4588 : *esse aiebat omnes esse* O (another attempted inversion : cp. 343, 2) : *omnes dicebat esse* p al.
- 281, 3 *putatis decumanum* V rell. praeter O (*decumanum putatis*).
- 281, 15 *sibi quam* V rell. praeter O (*quam sibi*).
- 282, 6 *virii optimi* codd. praeter O (*optimi virii*, ut videtur).
- 282, 13 *daturum in octuplum* codd. praeter O (*in octuplum daturum*).
- 282, 15 *honestissimorumque hominum* cO : *hominumque honest.* p rell.
- 282, 21 *re quidem vera* codd. praeter O (*re vera quidem*).
- 282, 24 *ullius mentionem iudicii* O p al. (prob. Zielinski) : *ullius iud. ment.* rell.
- 282, 37 *est reliqui* c rell. praeter O (*reliqui est*).
- 284, 33 *esse posset* p rell. praeter O (*possit esse*). Cp. 335, 20.
- 285, 3 *Tantum Apronium* codd. praeter O (*Apronium tantum*).
- 285, 25 *decumas vendidisti* cO (prob. Zielinski) : *vend. dec.* Vp rell.
- 285, 30 *aude te dicere* codd. praeter V (*dicere aude te*).
- 285, 34 *Magna est enim laus* codd. praeter p (*magna enim est laus*), and q (*magna enim laus est*) Here, however, V is reported as omitting *enim*, which may be an adscript. Cp. 410, 14.
- 286, 9 *pro his decumis pecunia* VO : *pec. pro his decumis* p rell.
- 286, 18 *fuit habenda* VO : *habenda fuit* p rell.
- 287, 3 *Siciliae civitates* codd. praeter V (*civit. Sicil.*).
- 287, 9 *mittat litteras* codd. praeter V (*litteras mittat*).
- 287, 34 *augendi criminis* VO : *crim. aug.* p rell.
- 287, 35 *ipse accepi* VO : *accepi ipse* p rell.
- 288, 8 *ex maxima parte ut* V rell. praeter O (*ut ex max. parte*).
- 288, 26 *hoc tibi* codd. praeter O (*tibi hoc*). Cp. 332, 19.
- 288, 28 *rei frumentariae* codd. praeter O (*frum. rei*).
- 289, 17 *esse vestrum* codd. praeter O (*vestrum esse*).

- 289, 21 *aratorum omnes* codd. praeter O (*omnes aratorum*).
- 289, 25 *fuisse dico* cO : *dico fuisse* rell.
- 289, 26 *locatione illa* codd. praeter O (*illa locatione*). Surely if the order given in O had stood in the Cluniacensis, it would have been reported by the collator who noticed *fuisse dico* in the line above.
- 289, 32 *iam addictis* codd. praeter O (*addictis iam*).
- 290, 33 *quod nullam ad aliam rem*. This is the right reading, and it is only cited for the purpose of reporting that O inverts *ad nullam*, and in so doing omits *quod*. Cp. 328, 19.
- 290, 35 *vellet aequo iudicio* codd. praeter V (*aequo vellet iud.*).
- 291, 6 *eius omnis* V rell. praeter O (*omnis eius*).
- 291, 19 *se non arasse* Vc O : *non arasse se* p al.
- 291, 20 *eius esse* V rell. praeter O (*esse eius*).
- 291, 26 *se accepturum* VO : *accept. se* p rell.
- 292, 31 *eorum iniurias* codd. praeter V (*iniurias eorum*).
- 293, 14 *amplius a me* VO : *a me amplius* p rell.
- 293, 27 *iudices dicam* V rell. praeter O (*dicam iudices*). Cp. 146, 1.
- 294, 30 *filius eius* codd. praeter O (*eius filius*).
- 294, 34 *iniuriis contumeliisque* codd. praeter O (*contumeliis iniuriisque*). Cp. 307, 30.
- 295, 8 *antea furta* codd. praeter O (*furta antea*).
- 295, 28 *tanto periculo tuo* codd. praeter O (*tanto tuo peric.*).
- 295, 32 *tuarum fortunarum* p rell. Here O at first wrote *fortunarum tuarum*, but changed to the usual reading cp. 101, 1.
- 296, 1 *pulsari alios autem verberari*. This is the reading of all the codd. except O, which makes (*more suo*) the inversion *autem alios*. The passage may be very simply emended *Videtis pendere alios ex arbore pulsari alios, alios autem verberari*.
- 296, 19 Most codd., agreeing with p, give *eo cum vi ac minis*, which would make a sentence like that at 214, 23 (*quod . . . cum multis lacrimis cum oraret*) : O has the significant inversion *vi ac minis eo*, and so Lambinus in the margin of the edition of 1584. But V gives *eo et cum agminis*, founding on which I propose to read *eo et vi ac minis* (Class. Rev. XVIII, p. 26).

- 296, 24 *satis fortes* V : *et fortes satis* p rell. Here, however, p has transposition marks, as at 278, 20. The fact that all the codd., except V, go on with *et satis plane*, instead of *et plane*, suggests that the true reading is *homines satis fortes et plane frugi*, which some copyist sought to change to *hom. et fortes satis et satis*, etc.
- 296, 28 *magno praesertim* codd. praeter O (*praes. magno*).
- 297, 23 *sibi suas* V rell. praeter O (*suas sibi*) : 303, 14 : 181, 31.
- 297, 26 *dicat licet* V rell. praeter O (*licet dicat*).
- 297, 36 *dedisset* (edid. O) *arator* VO : *arator dedisset* rell.
- 298, 22 *diligentissime pretia* codd. praeter O (*pretia dilig.*).
- 298, 32 *Quid est hoc* codd. praeter O (*Quid hoc est*) : 424, 3 : 281, 19.
- 300, 15 *istius item* V rell. : *item istius* cO.
- 300, 19 *ei lucri dare* V rell. praeter O (*lucri dare ei*).
- 300, 31 *Apronium imitari* V rell. praeter O (*imitari Apronium*).
Cp. 357, 9 where all the codd. have *imitari Antonium*, except O, which first gives *Anthonium imitari* and then restores the usual order of the words. Considerations of rhythm must have been the motive in both cases.
- 301, 33 *tamen illi* V rell. praeter O (*illi tamen*) : 206, 27.
- 302, 14 *pecunias publice* O : *publice pecunias* rell.
- 302, 22 *iudices gemitum* codd. praeter O (*gemitum iudices*) : 146, 1.
- 303, 3 *senatus consultis* codd. praeter O (*consultis senatus*).
- 303, 14 *tibi tuam* codd. praeter O (*tuam tibi*) : 297, 23.
- 304, 3 *totum integrum* VO : *integrum totum* p rell.
- 304, 12 *hic interpres* VO : *interpres hic* p rell.
- 305, 4 *omnino frumenti* VO : *frum. omnino* p rell.
- 307, 11 *ex tabulis ipsius* codd. praeter O (*ex ipsius tabulis*).
- 307, 30 *iniurias libidinesque* codd. praeter O (*libidines iniuriasque*). Cp. 294, 34.
- 308, 19 *haberet arationes* codd. praeter O (*arationes haberet*).
- 309, 7 *praeda esse videatur* codd. praeter O (*esse videatur praeda*) : 222, 4. Here Zielinski (p. 195) would delete *praeda*. But the transposition is obviously one of the 'scholarly' corrections made by the copyist of O : see p. 151, below.
- 309, 20 *non in quo* O : *in quo non* p rell.
- 310, 10 *mihi esse iam* codd. praeter O (*iam mihi esse*) : 203, 13.

- 311, 3 *nullum in Sicilia* codd. praeter O (*in Sicilia nullum*).
- 311, 10 *in foro sibi medio* codd. praeter O (*in medio foro sibi*).
- 311, 21 *agri . . . anni* codd. praeter O (*anni . . . agri*).
- 312, 4 *in faciendis furtis fuisse* codd. praeter O (*in faciundis fuisse furtis*).
- 312, 22 *graviores certioresque* codd. praeter O (*gravioresque*).
This omission ex homoeoteleuto in O (cp. 152) has led editors wrongly to follow Halm in reading *certiores gravioresque*.
- 312, 31 *me multum* codd. praeter O (*multum me*).
- 313, 9 *Leontina civitas me* codd. praeter O (*me Leont. civ.*)
- 313, 32 *quantum lucri* cO : *lucri quantum* p rell.
- 313, 34 *conficere tabulas se negaret* codd. praeter O (*conf. se tab. neg.*) If this reading of O had stood in C, it could hardly have escaped the notice of the collator who reported *quantum lucri*, two lines above. Cp. 452, 35 (*esse*—for *sese*—*vidisse diceret* RS : *vidisse se diceret* p al.)
- 314, 5 *aratores omnes* codd. praeter O (*omnes aratores*).
- 316, 4 *decumas agri Leontini* codd. praeter O (*agri Leont. dec.*).
- 316, 9 *decumae saepe* codd. praeter O (*saepe decumae*).
- 316, 30 *erat aliquid* codd. praeter O (*aliquid erat*).
- 317, 1 HS *fortasse D milia* codd. praeter O (*HS D milia fortasse*).
- 317, 2 *ullo iure* codd. praeter O (*iure ullo*).
- 317, 14 *tanto plus mercedis* pal. : *tanto sibi plus merc.* codd. pler. : *tanto plus sibi merc.* O.
- 317, 26 *secum actum esse pessime* codd. praeter O (*secum esse actum pessime*). As a matter of fact, O here has *pactum* : it may almost seem as if the writer had thought of inverting *pessime actum*, but stopped short in the process.
- 318, 16 *ex publicis litteris* codd. praeter O (*ex litteris publicis*)
Cp. 362, 1.
- 319, 32 *a me opera* cO : *opera a me* p rell.
- 319, 35 *provinciam miseram perditamque* codd. praeter O (*perditamque prov. mis.*).
- 321, 2 *de re eadem* codd. praeter O (*eadem de re*).
- 322, 13 *incredibile dictu est* codd. praeter O (*incred. est dictu*).
- 322, 32 *nervis mihi* V rell. praeter O (*mihi nervis*).
- 323, 32 *eorum te* codd. praeter O (*te eorum*).

- 325, 14 *hoc se audisse(t) p : audisse se* (om. *hoc*) O. Cp. on 313, 34.
- 326, 1 *etiam illum* codd. praeter O (*illum etiam*) : 328, 16.
- 326, 11 *absolvi se* V : *se absolvi* Op rell.
- 326, 17 *statuas idoneum iudicem* V rell. praeter O (*statuas alium iudicem idoneum*). The reading of O here I take to be a marginal variant, possibly in the Cluni codex, "*al. iudicem idoneum.*"
- 328, 16 *etiam aliquis* codd. praeter O (*aliquis etiam*) : 326, 1.
- 328, 19 *quid est hoc* codd. praeter O (*est hoc quod*).
- 328, 22 *magis hoc vobis* codd. praeter O (*vobis magis hoc*).
- 328, 37 *ita res allata ut p : ita ante allata* O, post *allata* Lamb. in mg. 1584. Cp. 100, 3.
- 329, 11 *potius semper* codd. praeter O (*semper potius*) : 106, 29.
- 329, 32 *hoc ut opinor* codd. praeter O (*ut opinor hoc*).
- 329, 36 *te vendere addicere* codd. praeter O (*vendere te addicere*).
- 330, 11 *negare omnia* codd. praeter O (*omnia negare*).
- 330, 36 *defensio est* codd. praeter O (*est defensio*). 428, 6.
- 331, 5 *ideo te* codd. praeter O (*te ideo*).
- 331, 15 *amplius voltis* V (prob. Zielinski) : *voltis amplius* O p rell.
- 332, 19 *sibi hoc* codd. praeter V (*hoc sibi*) : 288, 26 : 344, 17.
- 332, 20 *hoc esse* V : *esse hoc* p al. : *hoc*. om. O.
- 333, 20 *pecunia corrumpi* V rell. praeter O (*corrumpi pecunia*).
- 333, 22 *coniectura domestica* V rell. praeter O (*dom. coniect.* : prob. Zielinski, p. 195).
- 333, 37 *non hoc crimen nos in te* codd. praeter V (*hoc crimen in te nos non*).
- 334, 5 *in decumis socium fuisse* V rell. praeter O (*sotium in dec. fuisse*).
- 334, 13 *iudices, vobis, epistulam* V : *iud. epist. vobis* p rell. praeter O (*vobis iud. epist.*) : 146, 1.
- 334, 34 *pudens ac bonus* p et pler. (335, 12) : *bonus ac pudens* (*prudens*) O al.
- 335, 20 *esse possent* codd. praeter O (*possent esse*). Cp. 284, 33 : *videantur esse*, 222, 4.
- 335, 24 *abs te res publica muneris* codd. praeter O (*res pub. abs te muneris*).
- 336, 2 *deesse nocenti* p rell. praeter qr : these two codd., from a wish to create a chiasmus, invert *nocenti deesse*.

- 336, 7 *emere in Sicilia* codd. praeter O (*in Sicilia emere*).
- 337, 7 *cum posita esset pecunia* cO : *eam cum posita esset* p rell.
- 337, 16 *ad emendum frumentum*, etc. This passage is cited only to record an inversion in O, which omits *frumentum* after *emendum*, and then goes on "*fuert frumentum ne tibi*".
- 337, 34 *in Siciliam litteras* codd. praeter O (*litteras in Siciliam*).
- 338, 5 *se tibi ait* codd. praeter O (*ait se tibi*).
- 338, 7 *pecuniam populo* p O : *pop. pec.* al.
- 338, 14 *frater uxoris* codd. praeter O (*uxoris frater*).
- 338, 15 *impudentissimum tuum* Op : *tuum impud.* al.
- 338, 23 *posse fieri* Vp rell. praeter O (*fieri posse*) : 475, 12.
- 338, 24 *usura publicanos* VO : *publ. us.* p rell.
- 338, 35 *te tuam pecuniam* Vp rell. : *te pecuniam tuam* cO.
- 339, 16 *milia tritici* V : *tritici milia* rell.
- 339, 29 *frumenti esset* codd. praeter V (*esset frumenti*).
- 339, 33 *Volcatio, Timarchidi, scribae* codd. praeter V (*Timarchidi et Volc. scribae*).
- 340, 16 *Thermitanum, Cephaloeditanum* codd. praeter V (*Ceph., Therm.*).
- 341, 35 *quidem tibi* codd. praeter O (*tibi quidem*).
- 341, 37 *pretio cum civitatibus* V rell. praeter O (*cum civit. pretio*).
- 342, 3 *haec ad te* V rell. praeter O (*ad te haec*).
- 342, 26 *paucis post mensibus et exercitum et consulem spoliatum* codd. praeter O (*mensibus post paucis et cons. et exerc. spol.*).
- 342, 37 *ut audaciae* codd. praeter O (*audaciae ut*).
- 343, 2 *mihi videtur* codd. praeter O (*videtur mihi videtur*).
This I take to be an instance of arbitrary transposition on the part of O, detected this time in the process.
- 343, 20 *non omne* codd. praeter O (*omne non*).
- 343, 36 *forte est* codd. praeter O (*est forte*).
- 344, 1 *inquam da mihi* codd. praeter O (*mihi da inquam*).
- 344, 17 *tibi hoc* codd. praeter O (*hoc tibi*) : 332, 19.
- 344, 24 *ita est* codd. praeter O (*est ita* fort. recte) : 100, 3.
- 344, 25 *mercede populi* codd. praeter O (*pop. merc.*).
- 344, 29 *sit aut ullo iure* V rell. praeter O (*aut ullo iure sit*).
Zielinski (p. 196) prefers the reading of V.
- 345, 4 *mihi totum* VO : *totum mihi* p al.
- 345, 7 *ac (et O) non potius mulio* cO : *non mulio plus (om.ac)V*.

- 345, 19 *novam rem* V rell. praeter O (*rem novam*). A reference to the context will show how arbitrary and impossible this transposition is.
- 345, 26 *esse moleste ferunt* codd. praeter V (*moleste ferunt esse*).
- 345, 27 *multos non* V rell. praeter O (*non multos*).
- 345, 29 *pretio licet* VO : *licet pretio* p rell.
- 345, 32 *quemquam ferre* VO : *ferre quemquam* p rell.
- 346, 37 *praefatio tuae donationis* codd. praeter O (*tua praef. don.*).
- 347, 7 *quoniam te* codd. praeter O (*te quoniam re*).
- 347, 21 *quaternis* HS codd. praeter O (·N·S· IIII) : 348, 35.
- 347, 24 *denariis ternis* codd. praeter O (*ternis denariis*).
- 347, 36 *ternos ab aratoribus denarios* codd. praeter O (*den. ternos ab arat.*).
- 348, 4 *civitatium et aratorum* p al. : *arat. et (atque) civit.* pler. codd.
- 348, 18 *ad portandum loca* O : *loca ad portandum* p al. Here *ad portandum* may be a gloss on *difficillima*.
- 348, 29 *nunc abs te* codd. praeter V (*abs te nunc*).
- 348, 35 *ternos denarios* V : *ternos* (om. *denarios*) pr : *denarios iii* O.
- 349, 22 *si vis Hortensi docere* VcO : *si quid Hort. docere vis* p dett.
- 349, 24 *esse factum* V rell. praeter O (*factum esse*).
- 349, 37 *ego hoc* codd. praeter O (*hoc ego*) : 271, 34.
- 350, 33 *modium denario* codd. praeter O (*denario modium*).
- 351, 4 *simul iudices* codd. praeter O (*iudices simul*).
- 351, 14 *denarios a te dari* p al. : *denarios dari* rell. praeter O (*dari denarios*).
- 352, 5 *illi quoque homines sunt* V : *illi homines quoque sunt* O : *illi quoque sunt homines* p. rell. Cp. 261, 5.
- 352, 19 *gratis dare* codd. praeter V (*dare gratis*). Zielinski writes *gratiis* (p. 196).
- 352, 31 *ad aequitatem condicionis* cO : *aequitate condicionis* V : *ad aequitatis condicionem* p rell.
- 353, 13 *modiis tritici* cO : M. TRIT. V : *trit. mod.* p rell.
- 353, 14 *est pecunia* V : *pecunia est* p rell. (om. O).
- 354, 32 *liberi populi* V rell. praeter O (*populi liberi*).
- 355, 11 *haec a me opera* V rell. praeter O (*haec opera a me*—Zielinski p. 196).
- 355, 18 *in causa tanta* V rell. praeter O (*in antea causa*).

- 355, 25 *fecisse idem* V rell. praeter O (*idem fecisse*).
 355, 25 *res mihi* codd. praeter V (*mihi res*).
 356, 26 *ista ipsa* codd. praeter O (*ipsa ista*). Here O at first wrote *ista ipsa*, and afterwards inverted: 262, 9 : 371, 2: 494, 23 : 499, 1. Cp. on 109, 5.
 357, 9 *Antonium imitari* V rell. praeter O (*imitari Antonium*). Here O at first wrote *Anthonium imitari*, and then changed the order: 301, 31.
 357, 13 *contra sociorum salutem* V rell. praeter O (*soc. contra sal.*).
 357, 15 *eius iniuriis* V rell. praeter O (*iniuriis eius*).
 357, 17 *eius omnia facta* V rell. praeter O (*omnia eius facta*).
 357, 35 *iii denariis* codd. praeter O (*denariis iii*) : 359, 27.
 359, 1 *defensionem vestram* codd. praeter O (*vestr. def.*).
 359, 12 *iudices sitis* codd. praeter O (*sitis iudices*).
 359, 25 *sitis hominibus . . . daturi sitis* codd. praeter O (*istis hominibus . . . daturi sitis*).
 359, 27 *ternos denarios* codd. praeter O (*denarios ternos*) : 357, 35.
 360, 9 *qui idem fecerint* V rell. praeter O (*idem qui fecerint*).
 361, 20 *vos id credidissetis* V rell. praeter p (*id vos credidisse*).
 362, 1 *publicis litteris* V rell. praeter O (*litteris publicis*) : 318, 16.
 362, 9 *tota re* codd. praeter O (*re tota*).
 362, 32 *res rusticae eius modi sunt* codd. praeter O (*res huius modi rusticae sunt*).

After this lengthy enumeration, we must endeavor to arrive at some general conclusions for the Second and Third Books, so far as these transposition variants are concerned. The foregoing lists contain 114 instances for Book II, and 208 for Book III, making 322 in all. It will be noted that Book III has been more tampered with than Book II: also that O becomes less reliable towards the end. A review of what may be considered more or less crucial cases reveals the fact that the places in which the authority of O must be allowed to prevail are only about half as numerous as those in which it must be rejected. This is a curious reversal of the judgment which might have been expected in regard to a codex which stands in so near a relation to the Cluniacensis. But on the whole it appears probable that the order of words as now found in O was *not* as a rule, and especially in Book III, the order in which they were originally placed by Cicero.

And yet the extant fragments of the Cluniacensis may be relied on to show that, for these passages, O is on the whole, and with exceptions, a faithful reproduction of C.

With regard to the much larger portions of Books II–III which are no longer extant in C, it is certainly a remarkable phenomenon that so few of the transpositions in O are cited by Nannius, Metellus and Fabricius as having been found in C before its mutilation. In the long lists just given, the formula cO occurs only in the following places: 216, 21 : 228, 1 : 229, 26 : 245, 23 : 246, 16 : 268, 21 : 269, 4 : 272, 15 : 279, 20 : 282, 15 : 285, 25 : 289, 25 : 291, 19 : 297, 13 : 300, 15 : 313, 32 : 328, 37 : 337, 7 : 349, 22 : 352, 31 : 353, 13. If all the cases of discrepant order now found in O had occurred in C, how does it happen that most of them escaped the diligence of the various collators through whose hands this notable codex is now known to have passed ?

On the whole it seems most probable that the majority of inversions in O were made by the copyist of that codex. This view may account for the numerous cases in which, after changing the order, the first hand in O corrects his own work, and restores the generally received tradition. He made more or less arbitrary changes as he went along, which he afterwards wished to recall, either in the light of what he had before him, or on a comparison of the version he had made with some member of the family of the MSS at the head of which stands Par. 7776 (p).¹ The fashion of transposing may have been partly set by the writer of the Cluniacensis : there may even have been transposition marks in the lost portions of that codex to which effect was given by the copyist of O. In any case, it must be made plain that O is an unsafe guide to follow, at least as regards the order of words, in disputed places.

In the first place reference must be made to certain passages in which O is convicted of deliberately changing the order as we

¹ A discrepancy such as at p. 334, 7 (*volunt Vcp* : *volent Op*²) seems to show that what the writer of O had before him, in addition to the Cluni codex, was a MS of the same class as that which furnished the second hand (13th cent.) in p with his additions to and improvements on his original. This hand in p (=p²) is of the 13th cent., and carefully supplies above the line or in the margin words which had been omitted by the writer of p. Such omissions are especially frequent in the last books. The source of p² must have been one of the early dett. : cp. 383, 7 where it gives *avarissimum* instead of *cupidissimum*.

still have it in the Cluni codex. These are 203, 16: 209, 5: 240, 24: 264, 18: 259, 22. It will be obvious that what has happened five times in the comparatively few pages for which it is still possible to compare C with O may very well have happened quite as frequently in the other parts of Books II-III.

Next we must note the following places in which O departs from the order of words as reported by the collators of the Cluniacensis: 218, 29: 253, 32: 255, 35: 280, 32: 282, 37. This is an additional proof of the thesis that O cannot be accepted as giving, in all respects, a faithful reproduction of C.

Again, we have internal evidence, in several passages, that the copyist of O either deliberately sought to change the sequence, or else carelessly allowed a displacement to occur in his text. (Cp. Am. J. Ph. XXVI, p. 423 note). Reference should be made, in the foregoing lists, to 215, 33: 253, 32: 280, 32: 290, 33: 295, 32: 303, 3: 317, 26: 319, 35: 337, 16: 341, 35: 343, 2: 355, 18, 25: 356, 26: 357, 13: 362, 32. To these instances may be added 244, 6, where O first writes *de senatu Scipionis leges coop-tando*, and then corrects the wrong order by transposition marks: 283, 30 where for *et quaestuosissimum* O wanted to write *quaestuosissimumque*, but left his text standing *et quaestuosissimumque*: 344, 15 where O at first gives *sed quasi necesse esset plane*, and then corrects: 345, 5 where we have a curious instance of careless copying and inversion at the same time,—*sulla quā cogitassent et hoc a me postulassent* for *si illi umquam hoc a me postulassent, si umquam omnino cogitassent*: 352, 23 where for *qui ad* O writes *atque*.

In the following places, the authority of O is obviously not to be accepted, in regard to the order of words, as against V and the rest: 278, 20: 279, 9, 37: 281, 3, 15: 288, 8: 296, 28: 322, 32: 342, 3: 345, 27: 349, 24: 357, 9.

On the other hand, the fact must be recalled that there are several cases where—as may be seen from my previous paper (Vol. XXVI, p. 409)—V supports the readings of O, e. g., 286, 9, 18: 287, 34, 35.

As in the earlier portions of the Verrines (which have been dealt with along with IV-V), so also in Books II-III there is a considerable number of instances where transposition has resulted from the omission and subsequent restoration of a word. The following passages may be studied as illustrations: 219, 36: 222, 30: 237, 8: 240, 36: 241, 9: 245, 23: 268, 36: 285, 34: 317, 14:

332, 20: 334, 13: 352, 5. At 340, 34 for *ex tabulis locupletissimorum aratorum* p carelessly wrote *ex tabulis locupletorum*: the second hand restored *aratorum*, and gave rise to the variant *aratorum locupletissimorum*. At 362, 4 π k agree in reading *in cellam ei sumere* : *ei* is omitted by VO, and in the dett. it is found before, instead of after, *in cellam*.

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II.—THE UNREAL CONDITIONAL SENTENCE IN CICERO.

SECOND PAPER.

III. THE FORM SI ESSET—FUISSET.

Of the four possible combinations of *esset* and *fuisset*, the unreal conditional sentence naturally chooses least often the form *si esset—fuisset*. Indeed, at first sight, this combination might seem an illogical one, whereas the reverse arrangement (*si fuisset—esset*) at once commends itself as eminently reasonable, its obvious function being to inform the hearer that, had the *past* been different, the *present* would not be as it is. However, of the 131 examples¹ of the form *si esset—fuisset* found in the works of Cicero, more than one-half yield to very simple treatment.

1. *The normal use.*

In Verr. ii. 2. 52. 130:

Hoc si Romae fieri *posset*, certe aliqua ratione *expugnasset* iste, ut dies xxxv inter binos ludos tollerentur, per quos solos iudicium fieri *posset*.

In this sentence the condition *Hoc si Romae fieri posset* may be said to express a general unreality—just as the corresponding reality would call for expression in a phrase partaking of the nature of a general truth ("This is not possible at Rome"). That the chosen form of a general unreality should be *si esset* is quite as natural as that a general truth should find expression in the present indicative. The sentence in question therefore is strictly logical; for a general unreality does not swerve from the form *si esset* because its particular application is past, any more than a truth of general application swerves from the use of the present indicative under the same circumstances; e. g.,

¹ Such numbers as are given throughout this paper in general exclude cases in which the apodosis is a dependent clause introduced by *ut* or the like. Such dependence seems to be a disturbing factor as regards the tense of the *si*-clause.

"He *was* fined, because that *is* the law covering such cases."¹

Such a sentence is of course perfectly normal, though the cause is expressed in the present tense and the effect in a past.

Other cases of the form *si esset—fuisset* are to be explained in the same way, though the *si*-clause is of far less general application; e. g.,

ad Fam. vii. 16. 2 :

Ego si foris *cenilarem*, Cn. Octavio, familiari tuo, non *defuissem*.

Here the condition refers to a habit into which Cicero has fallen—the fact that he is not dining out much has kept him from accepting the invitation of Octavius. In the following case the pluperfect of the apodosis is worthy of study :

ad Att. vii. 13 a. 3 :

Si *scriberem* ipse, longior epistula *fuisset*; sed dictavi propter lippitudinem.

In this sentence *fuisset* seems to express an unreality of the perfect definite type—the letter would have been (and would now be) longer. The pluperfect so used is a very natural complement for the form *si esset* employed in however narrow a sense.

These three examples may serve to illustrate what is meant by "normal use"—so designated because a satisfactory explanation of the form *si esset—fuisset* is here forthcoming without putting upon the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive any other interpretation than those they commonly bear in Cicero when in other combinations (e. g., *si esset—esset* and *si fuisset—fuisset*). With the three examples cited, 59 other cases of the form *si esset—fuisset* may be included under this heading. It will suffice to give the references merely; Auct. ad Her. iv. 11. 16, de Orat. i. 10. 41, i. 52. 225, ii. 56. 227–28, Brut. 34. 131, Orat. 29. 103, p. Quinct. 14. 46, 16. 53, p. Sex. Rosc. 26. 72, in Verr. i. 2. 5, ii. 1. 44. 113, ii. 1. 53. 139, ii. 2. 1. 3, ii. 2. 24. 58, ii. 2. 40. 99, ii. 3. 92. 215, p. Font. 18. 40, in Cat. i. 12. 29, ii. 2. 3, p. Mur. 4. 8, 23. 46, p. Sulla 12. 35, de Dom. 51. 132, de Har. Resp. 24. 52, p. Balb. 14. 32 (*sicubi*), p. Planc. 17. 43, p. Mil. 29. 79, p. Deio. 9. 25, Phil. ii. 7. 17, ii. 18. 46, ii. 28. 70, v. 1. 1, xiii. 13. 28, ad Fam. iii. 10. 6, v. 20. 2, vi. 10. 4, viii. 5. 3 (Caelius), viii. 6. 4 (Caelius), viii. 10. 1 (Caelius), viii. 16. 4 (Caelius), viii. 17. 2 (Caelius), xi. 24. 1, xii. 22a. 4, xii. 30. 6, xiii. 57. 1, ad Q. Fr. i. 2. 4. 13, ad Att.

¹ The philosophical imperfect in Greek would be an exception to this rule.

iii. 15. 4,¹ vii. 2. 6, viii. 5. 3, ix. 10. 2, x. 8. A. 1 (Antonius), x. 12a. 2, xi. 13. 2, xii. 16, xiii. 47, ad. M. Brut. i. 17. 6 (Brutus), de Fin. ii. 10. 30, Cato M. 3. 8, Facete Dict. G. b. 3.

2. *The indirect inferential use.*

The nature of the indirect inferential use of the unreal conditional sentence in general has already been explained in detail—the apodosis calls attention to a manifest fact, and the protasis impresses the inference to be drawn from it. The indirect inferential use of all forms of the unreal conditional sentence is fairly frequent; e. g., among cases of the forms *si esset—esset* and *si fuisset—fuisset* about one in twelve is an example of that use. With the standard proportion thus established by the forms which occur with the greatest frequency, it is astonishing to find that *si esset—fuisset*, with its small total of 131 cases, is used 50 times as the expression of the indirect inferential. So surprising a phenomenon deserves the most careful scrutiny, and I give the material in full. The 50 examples fall into two well defined groups.

A. *The normal indirect inferential.*

This group is thus designated because, so far as tense use is concerned, the 26 examples which it comprises may be explained on the same basis as the normal cases under the preceding heading; e. g.,

de Invent. i. 48. 90:

Si causam veram non *haberet*, vobis se, iudices, non *commisisset*. In this sentence *si haberet* refers to an unreality of a somewhat general character—the guilt of the prisoner at the bar. In this respect the case is like those of the form *si esset—fuisset* already discussed; but in addition it is used to suggest an argument—the client was willing to stand trial; therefore his case is a good one. The other like examples follow;

p. Rab. Perd. 5. 14:

At vero, si actio ista popularis *esset* et si ullam partem aequitatis *haberet* aut iuris, C. Gracchus eam *reliquisset*?

¹ A curious case in which the pluperfect reenforces the imperfect. The general sense of the passage is so vague that Watson doubts the soundness of the text.

p. Mur. 8. 17:

Quodsi id crimen homini novo esse *deberet*, profecto mihi neque inimici neque invidi *defuissent*.

p. Flacc. 22. 52:

Nonne *esset puditum*, si hanc causam *agerent* severe, non modo legatum, sed Trallianum omnino dici Maeandrium?

p. Cael. 29. 69:

quod profecto numquam hominum sermo atque opinio *comprobasset*, nisi omnia, quae cum turpitudine aliqua dicerentur, in istam quadrare apte *viderentur*.

in Pis. 21. 50:

Hic si mentis *esset* suae, nisi poenas patriae . . . furore atque insania *penderet*, *ausus esset* (provinciam . . . sibi adsciscere)?

Phil. ii. 3. 5:

Quod si *esset* beneficium, numquam, qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant conservati, tantam *essent* gloriam *consecuti*.

Phil. vi. 3. 6:

Non is est Antonius; nam, si *esset*, non *commisisset*, ut ei senatus tamquam Hannibali . . . denuntiaret, ne

ad Att. ii. 17. 1:

numquam huc *venissent*, nisi ad alias res pestíferas aditus sibi *compararent*.

ad Att. iii. 25:

neque enim si ulla spes salutis nostrae *subesset*, tu pro tuo amore in me hoc tempore *discessisses*.

ad Att. xi. 14. 2:

a quibus, si quid *esset* laetius, certior *factus essem*, tecum etiam *essent locuti*.

ad Att. xii. 37. 2:

nisi magnae curae tibi *esset*, numquam ea res tibi tam belle in mentem venire *potuisset*.

Tusc. Disp. i. 22. 52:

Hunc igitur nosse nisi divinum *esset*, non *esset* hoc acrioris cuiusdam animi praeceptum *tributum* deo.

Tusc. Disp. i. 37. 89:

Quae (sc. mors) quidem, si *timeretur*, non L. Brutus . . . in proelio *concidisset*, non . . . *obiecissent*, non *vidisset*.

Tusc. Disp. iii. 8. 16:

Quae (sc. frugalitas) nisi tanta *esset*, et si in iis angustiis, quibus

plerique putant, *teneretur*, numquam *esset* L. Pisonis cognomen tanto opere *laudatum*.

Tusc. Disp. iv. 16. 36:

Quodnisi eo nomine virtutes *continerentur*, numquam ita *per-volgatum esset* "hominem frugi omnia recte facere."

Tusc. Disp. v. 39. 115:

aut, ni ita se res *haberet*, Anaxagoras aut hic ipse Democritus agros et patrimonia sua *reliquissent*, *dedissent*?

de Nat. D. i. 9. 22:

Quae ista potest esse oblectatio deo? quae si *esset*, non ea tam diu carere *potuisset*.

de Nat. D. i. 11. 28:

quo modo porro deus iste, si nihil *esset* nisi animus, aut *infixus* aut *infusus esset* in mundo?

de Nat. D. ii. 2. 4:

Quod ni ita *esset*, qui *potuisset* adsensu omnium dicere Ennius ?

de Nat. D. ii. 2. 5:

Quod nisi cognitum . . . animis *haberemus*, non tam stabilis opinio . . . inveterari *potuisset*.

de Nat. D. ii. 3. 7:

quos tamen augures ne ipsae quidem fabulae *adscivissent*, si res omnino *repudiaret*.

de Nat. D. iii. 31. 76:

Quis enim te *adhibuisset*, dixerit quispiam, si ista non *essent*?

de Div. i. 31. 65:

Neque enim illud verbum temere consuetudo *adprobavisset*, si ea res nulla *esset* omnino.

de Off. iii. 29. 108:

Quod ni ita *esset*, numquam claros viros senatus vinctos hostibus *dedisset*.

Cato M. 6. 19:

Quae nisi *essent* in senibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri *appellassent* senatum.

Since these 26 cases of normal indirect inferential use yield, so far as tense is concerned, to the same treatment accorded the 62 cases of normal use under the preceding heading, the only question that remains to be solved is why, in a total of 88 cases,

there should be 26 examples of indirect inferential use—the standard proportion being about one in twelve. I am inclined to think that the frequency may be simply and satisfactorily explained by the fact that *si esset—fuisset*, without straining the normal sense of its tenses, is particularly fitted to be the expression of an argument in favor of a truth of general application; for the fact from which such truth is inferred often lies in the past; e. g., (de Off. iii. 29. 108) the indirect inferential suggests, as proof that even enemies of the state have rights that must be respected, the fact that the senate surrendered to them Veturius and other worthy men. It is significant that the philosophical works furnish more than half of the 26 examples.

The solution of the first 88 of the 131 cases of the form *si esset—fuisset* seems thus a simple matter, but the same cannot be said of the 43 other occurrences of that form, among which are the remaining 24 cases of indirect inferential use.

B. *The indirect inferential of the past.*

Though *si fuisset—fuisset* was available and in frequent use to express the indirect inferential of the past, the form *si esset—fuisset* is chosen instead 24 times; e. g.,

p. Mil. 17. 45:

Vidit necesse esse Miloni proficisci Lanuvium illo ipso, quo est profectus, die itaque antevertit. At quo die? Quo, ut ante dixi, fuit insanissima contio . . . concitata; quem diem, quam con-tionem, quos clamores, nisi ad cogitatum facinus *adproperaret*, numquam *reliquisset*.¹

There can be no question that the time referred to here is past; for the reference is to Clodius, for whose murder Milo was on trial at the time of speaking. By the use of the unreal conditional sentence Cicero enforces the inference that it was Clodius who set out to kill Milo (and not vice versa), suggesting, as a ground for this inference, the fact that he gave up on that day so congenial a meeting; no less important purpose could account for his hasty departure. The other cases follow;

de Orat. ii. 22. 93:

Non *potuisset* accidere ut unum genus esset omnium, nisi

¹ I must protest emphatically against Dittmar's arbitrary interpretation of this passage in Berl. Phil. Woch. No. 4, 1905, p. 126. The preceding sections show that it is false. Regarding the value of Dittmar's review in general I shall have more to say later in the discussion.

aliquem sibi *proponerent* ad imitandum (Greeks of Pericles' time are here referred to).

Brut. 10. 40:

Neque enim iam Troicis temporibus tantum laudis in dicendo Ulixi *tribuisset* Homerus et Nestori, nisi iam tum *esset* honos eloquentiae.

Brut. 19. 76:

qui (sc. Ennius) si illum (sc. Naevium), ut simulat, *contemneret*, non omnia bella persequens primum illud Punicum acerrimum bellum *reliquisset*.¹

Orat. 9. 29:

qui (sc. Pericles) si tenui genere *uteretur*, numquam ab Aristophane poeta fulgere, tonare . . . *dictus esset*.

in Verr. ii. 1. 57. 150:

remisit D. Bruto HS cx milia. Hoc, si aliena res *esset*, certe facere non *potuisset* (referring to the time of Verres' misrule in Sicily).

in Verr. ii. 3. 20. 51:

quae si rei publicae causa *faceres*, in vendundo *essent pronuntiata* (same circumstances).

in Verr. ii. 3. 39. 89:

Profecto numquam iste tam amens *fuiisset*, ut ex agro populi Romani plus frumenti servo Venerio quam populo Romano tribui pateretur, nisi omnis ea praeda servi nomine ad istum ipsum *perveniret* (same circumstances).

in Verr. ii. 3. 58. 134:

tu Apronium in tanto tuo dedecore profecto <non> ne verbo quidem graviore *appellasses*, neque apud te tam sancta religio societatis *fuiisset*, nisi rem tam notam esse omnibus *videres* (same circumstances).

in Verr. ii. 3. 64. 150:

Deinde ipse Minucius numquam habere *voluisset*, si decumas tu lege Hieronica *venderes* (same circumstances).

¹ Though as a matter of fact the unreality in this case is distinctly of the past, it is quite possible that Cicero is treating past as present—as he often does in quoting the words and sentiments of dead authors. If so, the case really belongs with the preceding group of indirect inferentials; cf. Blase, *Geschichte des Irrealis*, p. 9. Conversely, two cases there included (Tusc. Disp. i. 37. 89 and v. 39. 115) might be so interpreted as to belong to this group.

in Verr. ii. 5. 2. 5:

a quo illi conatu non tanto opere *prohibendi fuissent*, si ulla in Sicilia praesidia ad illorum adventum opposita *putarentur* (events of B. C. 71).

in Verr. ii. 5. 51. 133:

Cleomenes hoc dicit, sese in terram esse egressum, ut . . . milites colligeret, quos in navibus collocaret; quod certe non *fecisset*, si suum numerum naves *haberent* (Verres' misrule again).

p. Clu. 66. 189:

nihil est ab Oppianico sine consilio mulieris cogitatum; quodsi *esset*, certe postea deprehensa re non illa ut a viro improbo *discessisset*, sed *fugisset* domumque *reliquisset* (note *postea* in the apodosis).

p. Rab. Perd. 6. 18:

Numquam, mihi credite, populus Romanus hic, qui silet, consulem me *fecisset*, si vestro clamore perturbatum iri *arbitraretur* (events of B. C. 64).

p. Mur. 14. 32:

quo ille (sc. Cato maior) . . . numquam *esset profectus*, si cum mulierculis bellandum *arbitraretur*.

p. Mur. 14. 32:

Neque vero cum P. Africano senatus *egisset*, ut legatus fratri proficisceretur, . . . nisi illud grave bellum et vehemens *putaretur*.

p. Arch. 7. 16:

qui (sc. Cato maior et alii) profecto si nihil ad percipiendam . . . virtutem litteris *adiuarentur*, numquam se ad earum studium *contulissent*.

p. Cael. 6. 14:

Neque umquam ex illo (sc. Catilina) delendi huius imperii tam sceleratus impetus *extitisset*, nisi tot vitiorum tanta immanitas quibusdam facultatis et patientiae radicibus *niteretur*.

p. Planc. 22. 53:

Neque enim umquam maiores nostri sortitionem *constituissent* aediliciam, nisi *viderent* accidere posse, ut competitores pares suffragiis essent.

p. Mil. 23. 61:

cui (sc. Pompeio) numquam se hic (sc. Milo) profecto *tradidisset*, nisi causae suae *confideret*, praesertim omnia audienti, magna metuenti, etc. (of events antecedent to the trial).

Acad. Prior. ii. 24. 75:

Certe tam multa non *collegisset* (sc. Chrysippus), quae nos fallerent probabilitate magna, nisi *videret* iis resisti non facile posse.

Tusc. Disp. i. 12. 27:

Itaque unum illud erat insitum priscis illis . . . , esse in morte sensum ; idque . . . e caerimoniis supulchrorum intellegi licet; quas maximis ingeniis praediti nec tanta cura *coluissent*, nec . . . *sanxissent*, nisi *haereret* in eorum mentibus mortem non interitum esse.

de Re P. iv. 10. 11:

Numquam comoediae, nisi consuetudo vitae *pateretur*, probare sua theatri flagitia *potuissent*.¹

Lael. 4. 13:

plus apud me antiquorum auctoritas valet, vel nostrorum maiorum, qui mortuis tam religiosa iura tribuerunt, quod non *fecissent* profecto, si nihil ad eos pertinere *arbitrarentur*, vel eorum, qui

It is certainly a curious and interesting circumstance that the indirect inferential of the past should thus often have slipped over into the form *si esset—fuisset* despite the fact that the form *si fuisset—fuisset* was available and frequently so used. The reason for the choice of the imperfect in the *si*-clause I am inclined to seek in the nature of the past indirect inferential use itself. For, it will be remembered, after disposing of the normal and the normal indirect inferential uses (88 cases), there still remained to be treated 43 examples of the form *si esset—fuisset*. This total of 43 includes the 24 cases of indirect inferential of the past now under discussion, and 19 other sentences yet to be treated; for the moment we may concede that in all these 19 cases too *si esset* refers to a past unreality. If now we compare the other form of past unreality (*si fuisset—fuisset*), the figures are as follows; indirect inferential of the past 43, other cases 412. That is to say, when the past unreal conditional sentence is used as the indirect inferential of the past, *si fuisset—fuisset* is chosen 43 times and *si esset—fuisset* 24 times; but when the sentence is not so used, *si fuisset—fuisset* is chosen 412 times and *si esset—fuisset*, at the most, not more than 19 times. In other words, the proportion of *si esset—fuisset* is seven times as great when the sentence is used to express the indirect inferential as when otherwise used. In view of that

¹ This sentence is a fragment; *pateretur* seems however to refer to the past.

fact it is hard to resist the conclusion that there was something in the nature of the indirect inferential use itself which favored the choice of *si esset*.

We may gain a hint as to such favoring circumstance from a study of the behavior of concise and colorless phrases such as *ni ita esset*; e. g.,

de Nat. D. ii. 2. 4:

Quid enim potest esse tam apertum . . . quam esse aliquod numen praestantissimae mentis, quo haec regantur? *Quod ni ita esset*, qui potuisset adsensu omnium dicere Ennius?

In this passage the condition expresses an unreality of the general type.

Tusc. Disp. v. 39. 114-15:

Quid ergo? aut Homero delectationem animi ac voluptatem aut cuiquam docto defuisse umquam abitemur? aut, *ni ita se res haberet*, Anaxagoras aut hic ipse Democritus agros et patrimonium sua reliquisset?

Here the *ni*-clause refers back to *cuiquam defuisse umquam*, which might be considered as analogous to a gnomic perfect. On that basis the condition may be said to express a general unreality, yet this case differs somewhat from the one preceding.

p. Clu. 66. 189:

nihil est ab Oppianico sine consilio mulieris cogitatum; *quodsi esset*, certe postea deprehensa re fugisset domumque reliquisset.

In this passage *quodsi esset* refers back to *est cogitatum*—a case of clear and definite past unreality, as shown by *postea* in the apodosis. The following case is similar;

in Verr. ii. 3. 64. 149:

Primum tuam rem illam et praedam fuisse; nam, *ni ita esset*, cur tu Apronium malebas?¹

These concise and colorless phrases therefore, though at first sight they might seem fitted to express only present or general unreality, are still an adequate expression when the speaker has in mind a clear past unreality, the reason for this being that the context fixes the time beyond a doubt, and all that absolutely needs expression is unreality; this these phrases convey by falling

¹ Cf. also p. Clu. 33. 90, Phil. xi. 12. 27 and Sallust, B. C. 52. 19.

into unreality's most universal and comprehensive form, namely *si esset*. The present indicative has a quite analogous use; e. g.,

p. Rab. Perd. 10. 29:

At, credo, cum obsidione rem publicam liberasset (sc. Marius), omnia sua secum una moritura arbitrabatur. *Non ita est*, Quirites.

Now the indirect inferential use in general is designed to lead the hearer to arrive (by inference) at the *truth* or *falsity* of some proposition; that is, to lead him to the judgment "*ita est*" or "*non ita est*". In other words, the thing that the speaker needs most to impress is the unreality of the condition—on his success in doing this his whole argument depends. Thus, in the case of the indirect inferential of the past, the gist of the sentence is "Things would have been otherwise, *were* it (not) true that". With the thought of unreality thus uppermost, and with the time clearly defined by the context (as it is regularly in the 24 cases now under discussion), it would not be strange if the speaker at times dropped into the form *si esset—fuisset*, choosing unreality's most universal and comprehensive form (cf. *ni ita esset* above). If this be the favoring factor that allowed the free use of the form *si esset—fuisset* as an expression for the indirect inferential of the past, the situation is somewhat analogous to that of *dum* with the present indicative in *past* narration.

How well, on occasion, the apodosis and the context may set the time for the whole of a past unreal conditional sentence is illustrated by a few instances of the indirect inferential of the past whose condition finds expression in a prepositional phrase or the like—forms suggesting unreality, but which, in and for themselves, are absolutely incapable of expressing time relation;

Tusc. Disp. iv. 19. 44:

Philosophiae denique ipsius principes numquam in suis studiis tantos progressus *sine flagranti cupiditate* facere potuissent.

By changing the phrase to *nisi flagrantem cupiditatem haberent* and placing it at the end of the sentence, we should have a case precisely like those under discussion.¹ So the following;

de Div. i. 19. 38:

ut igitur nunc in minore gloria est (sc. oraculum), quia minus oraculorum veritas excellit, sic tum *nisi summa veritate* in tanta gloria non fuisset.²

¹ Also ad Att. iv. 15. 2; cf. Tusc. Disp. i. 25. 63.

² Cf. ad Att. vii. 7. 3, p. Cael. 26. 63.

Some interesting points of difference are brought to light by a comparison of *si esset—fuisset* (24 cases) and *si fuisset—fuisset* (43 cases) as expressions for the indirect inferential of the past.

a) The rule for the order of clauses is not the same. In the case of the form *si esset—fuisset* the condition precedes in only 8 of 24 examples, whereas, when the form *si fuisset—fuisset* is chosen, it precedes in 26 of the 43 cases. To put these figures in another way, when the condition precedes, only 8 of 34 examples choose the form *si esset*; but when it follows, 16 of 33 make that choice. It would seem therefore that the postposition of the condition favored slipping over into the form *si esset—fuisset*. If so, the reason may be that, with this order, the speaker is more free to concentrate on the unreality of the clause, the time having been definitely set by the apodosis which precedes.

b) Both groups show an unusually large percentage of *nisi*. Sentences of the form *si esset—fuisset* have this particle in 12 of 24 cases, while those of the form *si fuisset—fuisset* show it 16 times in a total of 43. The reason is that the indirect inferential is quite as apt to fall into the form "Things would not have been as they were, *unless* my contention were just" as into the form "If your contention were just, things would not have been as they were."

Considering both introductory particle and position of the conditional clause, the most common type of the form *si esset—fuisset* is *fuisset, nisi esset* (10 in a total of 24), while in the case of the pluperfect the stock form *si fuisset—fuisset* is the common type (20 in total of 43).

c) A speaker's tone and manner may easily outweigh mere distinction of form, but so far as formal elements are themselves concerned, *si esset—fuisset* is clearly more assertive and less persuasive than *si fuisset—fuisset*. This is shown in various ways;

1) Asseverative particles (*numquam, umquam, certe, profecto*), accompany *si esset—fuisset* in 17 of 24 cases, while with *si fuisset—fuisset* they are found in but 18 of 43 cases.¹

2) No case of *si esset—fuisset* in the interrogative form is noted, whereas 9 of the 43 cases of *si fuisset—fuisset* are questions.

¹ Or in 21 of 43 cases, if we count one doubtful occurrence of *certe* (ad Att. vii. 7. 1) and two cases in which *umquam* falls within the *si*-clause (p. Planc. 37. 90 and ad Fam. iii. 8. 5). In the totals as given are included cases in which *numquam* and *profecto* reinforce one another (three times with *si esset—fuisset* and twice with *si fuisset—fuisset*).

The interrogative form is manifestly adapted to lead the hearer to an inference rather than to force him to it.

3) The order of clauses perhaps bears on this question. The condition precedes much more often in the case of *si fuisset—fuisset*;¹ this arrangement of clauses lends itself readily to induction.

The indirect inferential use of the unreal conditional sentence in general has not been altogether unnoticed,² but I think no one has anticipated me in observing the great frequency with which the indirect inferential of the past falls into the form *si esset—fuisset*. That there is an inner connection between the two things seems certain, whether I have succeeded in finding that connection or not. Whether we should recognize also other forces not yet mentioned as exerting some influence toward the choice of the form *si esset—fuisset* is a debatable question. If operative, their influence was slight—at least so far as the 24 cases now under discussion are concerned; that they were operative, is by no means proved.

For instance, a case of indirect inferential of the past which takes the form *si esset—fuisset* is most commonly passed with the remark that the imperfect tense is chosen because the *si*-clause expresses continuous or repeated past unreality. But what of the following cases of indirect inferential of the past which take the form *si fuisset—fuisset*?

de Orat. i. 59. 253:

Sed tamen non *fugisset* hoc Graecos homines, si ita necesse esse *arbitrati essent* oratorem ipsum erudire in iure civili.

Part. Orat. 34. 117:

dicendum de vi doloris, de opinione maiorum; qui rem totam nisi *probassent*, certe *repudiassent*.

in Verr. ii. 4. 7. 13:

Numquam, si denariis cccc Cupidinem illum *putasset*, *com-misisset* ut in tantam vituperationem veniret.

p. Clu. 41. 116:

Quae res si rei iudicatae pondus *habuisset*, ille postea reus hac lege ipsa *factus esset*.

¹ The ratio is not affected by the interrogative cases just noted; for, as to order, they are about evenly divided (5 and 4).

² Cf. Goodwin, Greek Moods and Tenses, § 412.

p. Rab. Perd. 10. 29:

tantis in laboribus C. Marius periculisque *vixisset*, si nihil longius, quam vitae termini postulabant, spe atque animo de se et gloria sua *cogitasset*?

p. Mur. 16. 34:

si bellum hoc, si hic hostis, si ille rex *contemnendus fuisset*, neque tanta cura senatus suscipiendum *putasset* neque tot annos *gessisset*

in Pis. 20. 48:

praesidium tu rei publicae . . . inussu populi senatusque *dimisisses*, si tuae mentis compos *fuisses*?

Phil. v. 5. 15:

Hos ille demens iudices *legisset*, si ullam speciem rei publicae *cogitavisset*?

Acad. Prior. ii. 23. 74

Quid dicam de Platone? qui certe tam multis libris haec *persecutus non esset*, nisi *probavisset*.

de Div. i. 19. 37:

Numquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre et tam clarum *fuisset*, . . . nisi omnis aetas oraculorum illorum veritatem *esset experta*.¹

Obviously *si fuisset*, as well as *si esset*, is used freely when a continuous or repeated past unreality is referred to. The advocates of the view that *si esset* is chosen because a continuous or repeated past unreality is to be expressed have therefore their case still to prove. We might ask further what is to be done with a case like the following;

Tusc. Disp. i. 12. 27:

quas (sc. caerimonias) maximis ingeniis praediti non tanta cura *coluissent* nisi *haereret* in eorum mentibus mortem non interitum esse.

¹ These examples are taken somewhat at random. The remaining 33 cases of this form are as follows; Auct. ad Her. iv. 14, 20, de Invent. i. 47. 87, Brut. 14. 53, p. Quinct. 12. 40, p. Q. Rosc. 1. 2, in Verr. i. 7. 18, ii. 1. 14. 37, ii. 3. 58. 133, ii. 4. 12. 29, p. Clu. 54. 148, in Cat. iii. 9. 22, p. Sulla 13. 39, p. Flacc. 37. 92, p. Cael. 7. 15, 19. 47, p. Planc. 37. 90 fin., p. Mil. 6. 15, 10. 27, Phil. iii. 3. 6, xi. 10. 23, xiii. 12. 27, ad Fam. iii. 8. 5, vii. 2. 3, ad Att. vii. 7. 1, de Fin. ii. 19, 61, iii. 22, 75, Tusc. Disp. i. 14. 32, iv. 3. 5, de Nat. D. i. 23. 63, de Div. ii. 22. 49, ii. 46. 97, de Leg. ii. 13. 33 (2 cases).

If continuity or repetition of unreality is the test, why not *colerent* in the apodosis as well as *haereret* in the protasis?¹

Of course there remains the subterfuge (if any have the heart to resort to it after viewing the last example) that the speaker recognized the continuous or repeated character of the past unreality by the use of the form *si esset—fuisset*, but shut his eyes to it when he chose the form *si fuisset—fuisset*. This does very well for assertion, but where is the proof? Furthermore, what is to be said of a passage like the following, where the pluperfect is used in a situation such that one cannot shut his eyes to the continuity of the unreality?

p. Sest. 35. 76:

Quorum ille telis libenter in tanto luctu ac desiderio mei, non repugnandi, sed moriendi causa, corpus *obtulisset* suum, nisi suam vitam ad spem mei reditus *reservasset*.

In this sentence the condition cannot mean anything but "unless he *had been reserving*", the other interpretation would make *reservasset* refer to some previous occasion, and thus destroy the sense of the passage. So again;

de Fin. iii. 22. 75:

rectius dives (sc. sapiens appellabitur) quam Crassus, qui nisi *eguisset*, numquam Euphraten nulla belli causa transire *voluisset*.

As for repeated or customary past unreality, the frequentative verb tells its own story in the following passage;

de Div. ii. 46. 97:

Nam quod aiunt quadringenta septuaginta milia annorum in periclitandis . . . pueris . . . Babylonios posuisse, fallunt; si enim *esset facilitatum*, non *esset desitum*.

Thus, at every point, confirmation is lacking for the thesis that continued or repeated past unreality demands expression through the form *si esset*. Not only is this not a principle of general application, but we might be justified in hesitating to recognize it as even a small contributing factor toward the choice of the form *si esset—fuisset* for the 24 cases of indirect inferential of the past now under discussion—at least until some further proof is offered.²

¹ So p. Arch. 7. 16; cf. in Verr. ii. 3. 58. 134, ii. 3. 64. 150.

² Such proof would naturally be sought, not among the cases where the indirect inferential use is manifestly influencing the choice of tense, but among the cases of survival of the early use of the imperfect subjunctive as an expression for the simple past unreal. Of this survival there seem to be

The doctrine of "Gleichzeitigkeit" also lacks confirmation. Its most attractive interpretation may be illustrated by the use of the following example;

in Verr. ii. 3. 64. 150:

Deinde ipse Minucius numquam habere *voluisset*, si decumas tu lege Hieronica *venderes*.

The commonest type of conditional sentence informs the hearer that one thing (entails or) would entail another. It sometimes happens that the first thing "laps over" on the time of the thing entailed. Thus we have a species of Gleichzeitigkeit, and such is the case with the example in hand—"had you been selling, etc.". It is possible that some useful application may ultimately be found for this interpretation of the doctrine of Gleichzeitigkeit, but for the present it lacks confirmation as applied to the indirect inferentials of the past which take the form *si esset—fuisset*.

For, if the reader will turn back to the cases of *si fuisset—fuisset* quoted in full, it will be seen at once that the action of the protasis there too often laps over upon that of the apodosis; e. g.,

in Verr. ii. 4. 7. 13:

Numquam, si denariis cccc Cupidinem illum *putasset*, *com-misisset* ut in tantam vituperationem veniret.

Of course it may be said that, with the form *si fuisset*, the speaker shuts his eyes to the lapping over; but that again is assertion and not proof. Furthermore, even that way of escape is closed by a case like the following;

p. Sest. 35. 76:

Quorum ille telis libenter in tanto luctu ac desiderio mei, non repugnandi, sed moriendi causa, corpus *obtulisset* suum, nisi suam vitam ad spem mei reditus *reservasset*.

For, as above shown, the condition cannot mean "unless he had reserved"—it must signify "unless he *had been reserving*",

traces here and there in Cicero, especially in the earlier orations, apodosis and protasis alike being affected. In such an investigation, cases of *si fuisset* like those above quoted may not be ignored. That there are such cases should occasion no surprise; for, when the imperfect subjunctive moved up to become the expression of the present unreal, it naturally left to the pluperfect the field of the past unreal (I speak here of independent sentences only)—and a continuous past or a repeated past is a *past* nevertheless. Furthermore, this question should not be in any way prejudiced by the behavior of the imperfect *indicative* in Greek—a wholly distinct problem.

i. e., the lapping over must be recognized in order to make sense of the passage.¹

Despite the fact that these current doctrines thus lack confirmation—so much so that it is problematical whether we should, at present, admit even a slight influence from the forces which they assume—Dittmar has lately made another attempt,² on virtually the old conventional grounds, to dispose of some of the indirect inferentials of the past which take the form *si esset—fuisset*. What is more, in trying to find a justification for applying the old line of explanation, he has fallen into the serious error of denying to the form *si esset—fuisset* the power to act as the expression of the indirect inferential of the past—an error into which he need not have fallen had he examined carefully even the scanty material on which he ventures to build a theory (4 cases of *si esset—fuisset* and 3 of *si fuisset—fuisset*); e. g.,

in Verr. ii. 5. 51. 133:

Cleomenes hoc dicit, sese in terram esse egressum, ut . . . milites colligeret, quos in navibus collocaret; quod certe non *fecisset*, si suum numerum naves *haberent*; ea est ratio instructarum ornatarumque navium, ut non modo plures, sed ne singuli quidem possint accedere.

This, Dittmar says, is not a case of indirect inferential use, because Cicero is not trying to prove that the ships were insufficiently manned (i. e. trying to force the hearer to admit the unreality of *si haberent*); for that point is already settled beyond

¹ Another interpretation of the doctrine of Gleichzeitigkeit perhaps ought to be noticed, namely that *si esset* expresses past unreality contemporaneous with that of the apodosis, in the same way that *cum esset* expresses action contemporaneous with that of its main clause; in other words, that *si esset* is chosen in obedience to the law of sequence of tenses; see Lindskog, *De enuntiatis apud Plautum et Terentium conditionalibus*, Lundae, 1895, p. 91 ff., and cf. Tischer and Sorof on Tusc. Disp. i. 12. 27. Such a view is not merely unconfirmed—it seems in fact to be utterly subversive of all sound doctrine regarding the nature of the conditional sentence in general. For it overlooks the important fact that, in the conditional sentence, it is the *si*-clause that exerts a controlling influence over the apodosis, and not vice versa. While in our grammatical terminology the *si*-clause and the *cum*-clause are both counted “dependent”, their logical relation to the “main” clause is fundamentally different. Here again I speak of independent conditional sentences only.

² Berl. Phil. Woch. No. 4, 1905, p. 123 ff.

a doubt—the real question at issue is whether Verres took a bribe to let the crews go.¹

But the clause following the conditional sentence (which seems to have escaped Dittmar's notice) shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that Cicero *is* demonstrating that the ships were insufficiently manned—there is not a clearer case of indirect inferential use among the examples with which Dittmar is working; in fact Cicero has all but put his thought in the form of a syllogism—"a thing which he would not have done, if the ships had had their full quota; *for ships fully equipped are so arranged that not even individuals may be added, to say nothing of groups.*"² It may seem strange at first sight that Cicero should, in this ponderous way, proceed to prove something that his audience in general might be supposed to have little doubt about; but in this passage he represents himself as addressing Verres face to face, and the latter would not of course be ready to admit anything likely to prejudice his case. A little further along, (§ 135) the question at issue between them in this passage is definitely indicated—*Quapropter, si mihi respondere voles, haec dicito, classem instructam atque ornatam fuisse, nullum propugnatorem afuisse*, etc.

As soon as the indirect inferential use of the form *si esset—fuisset* is admitted, the rest of Dittmar's hastily built structure falls to pieces, and it is not necessary to discuss it further here. However to avoid misconception, I should perhaps add that an indirect inferential is sometimes merely part of a larger context, i. e. that the inference up to which it leads is only one step in a chain of argument. Examples of this sort are frequent, those of the past taking either form (*si esset—fuisset* or *si fuisset—*

¹ To quote his words exactly, Hier steht nicht in Frage, ob die Schiffe des Cleomenes ihre volle Zahl hatten (diese Frage war doch eben durch die Tatsache entschieden, dass Cleomenes erst neue Soldaten sammelte), sondern es steht in Frage, ob Verres um Geld Ruderer und Soldaten entlassen hat (vgl. § 131), und um diese Frage im bejahenden Sinne zu beantworten, weist Cicero auf die Tatsache hin, dass Cleomenes neue Soldaten sammelte, was er eben doch nur deswegen tat, weil seine Schiffe nicht ihre volle Bemannung aufwiesen.

² The added clause supplies the major premise, the apodosis implies the minor premise, and the *si*-clause suggests the inference that must be drawn; Ships fully equipped can not take on even one additional man.

Cleomenes was taking them on by wholesale.

∴ The quota of his ships was not full.

fuisset).¹ But whether standing alone or used as part of a larger context, the inferential nature of the sentence is the same.

3. *The remaining cases of si esset—fuisset.*

There still remain 19 examples of the use of the form *si esset—fuisset* which have not yet been treated. Some of these fall into well defined groups;

a) In a complex passage, a sentence begun with *si fuisset* occasionally continues with *si esset*; e. g.,

p. Flacc. 5. 11:

Hi si Graeci *fuissent*, ac nisi nostri mores ac disciplina plus *valeret*, quam dolor ac simultas, omnes se spoliatos . . . *dixissent*.

de Har. Resp. 22. 47:

An iste nisi primo se *dedisset* iis, quorum . . . , nisi eos in caelum suis laudibus praeclarus auctor *extolleret*, etc., tam crudelis mei vexator esse *potuisset*?

So de Dom. 50. 129, p. Sest. 20. 45: similar are de Orat. i. 57. 245 and p. Mil. 29. 79.²

b) The futurum in praeterito relation is suggested;

p. Mil. 25. 68:

Quae si non *probaret*, si denique Italia a dilectu, urbs ab armis sine Milonis clade numquam *esset conquietura*, ne ista haud dubitans *cessisset* patria.

In the following passages the choice of the imperfect subjunctive in the *si*-clause may have come about through analogy to the futurum in praeterito usage;

in Verr. ii. 1. 55. 143:

At erat et *esset* amplius, si *velles*, populo *cautum* praedibus et praediis.

¹ It was part of Dittmar's theory that the form *si fuisset—fuisset* is not so used. But see de Nat. D. i. 23. 63, de Div. i. 19. 37, de Leg. ii. 13. 33; cf. de Div. ii. 22. 49. The distinction which Dittmar draws in this respect between p. Mur. 14. 32 and 16. 34 is certainly doubtful, and that between p. Mil. 10. 27 and 17. 45 is clearly forced—the context is exactly parallel.

² Reisig, Vorlesungen über lat. Sprach. iii. § 301, assigns the change of tense in such passages to the desire to avoid monotony; cf. Blase, Dissertationes Argentoratenses, Vol. x. p. 73. That the imperfect follows the pluperfect in these cases is a fact worthy of notice. An interesting example in indirect discourse is afforded by de Invent. ii. 45. 130–31. Cf. p. Cael. 7. 16 (*ut*), and de Leg. i. 15. 42.

Phil. ii. 2. 3:

Sed neque fecisti, nec, si *cuperes*, tibi id per C. Caecinam facere *licuisset*.

ad Att. xvi. 5. 2:

Quintus fuit mecum dies complures, et, si ego *cuperem*, ille vel plures *fuisse*t.

In each of these sentences the apodosis is of such a nature that one cannot help feeling the parallel force of cases like the following;

in Cat. iii. 5. 11:

Si quid de his rebus dicere *vellet*, feci potestatem.¹

In fact, for the apodoses above we could substitute expressions of willingness or unwillingness without seriously affecting the sense; e. g. (ad Att. xvi. 5. 2) "and he was willing to have stayed longer, *si ego cuperem*." Possibly I miss here the clue to the choice of tense in the *si*-clause, yet it must be admitted that speech usage is at times influenced by just such subtle connections as this.

c) The remaining 9 cases are somewhat less certain. It is to be expected that odd examples would be found in the works of a writer like Cicero—so extensive and varied, and distributed over so long a period. Rather than lay myself open to the charge of forcing cases into categories already established, I pass without comment de Orat. i. 22. 104, ii. 55. 224 (Crassus), Brut. 67. 238, post red. in sen. 14. 34, ad Att. iii. 10. 2, xiii. 45. 3. In the case of p. Q. Rosc. 17. 50 and Phil. ii. 32. 81 the apodosis may be an independent subjunctive. As for ad Att. iii. 7. 1, *optatum* (in *esset optatum*) is probably an adjective.

IV. THE REALM OF THE FUTURE.

Under this heading I would call attention to a few cases of the unreal conditional sentence in which the unreality runs over into the *speaker's* future. This is a matter quite distinct from the question of the *futurum in praeterito* usage, which has already been noticed in a previous section of this paper. That the unreal conditional sentence should thus invade the realm of the future is a wholly natural proceeding, and a phenomenon perhaps more frequent in English than in Latin. A sentence taken from the speech of the mother of Coriolanus affords a clear illustration;

¹ Cf. in Caecil. 10. 32, in Verr. ii. 3. 31. 73.

Livy ii. 40. 8:

Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera in libera patria *mortua essem*.

Of course the speaker does not mean that she would have died already, but that the *prospect* of a peaceful death is cut off by her son's actions. Even Plautus, with his somewhat restricted use of the secondary tenses of the subjunctive in *si*-clauses, still shows there clear traces of this running over of the unreal into the speaker's future. It is however the Ciceronian use with which we are primarily concerned at the present time. The examples fall under several different heads;

a) The future sense may be marked by the use of the active periphrastic; e. g.,

in Caecil. 13. 43:

Ac si tibi nemo *responsurus esset*, tamen ipsam causam, ut ego arbitror, demonstrare non posses.

Cicero is here speaking of the (coming) trial of Verres. He tells Caecilius that he could not handle the case, even though there *were going to be* no defence. So the following examples;

de Leg. Agr. ii. 31. 85:

Quae, etiamsi ad vos *esset* singulos aliquid ex hoc agro *per-venturum*, qui vobis ostenditur, aliis comparatur, tamen honestius eum vos universi quam singuli possideretis.

Cato M. 23. 82:

An censes . . . me tantos labores diurnos nocternosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si isdem finibus gloriam meam, quibus vitam, *essem terminaturus*?¹

Less often it is the apodosis that contains the periphrastic form;

ad Fam. vi. 9. 2:

Reliquum est ut . . . nihil a te petam, nisi ut ad eam voluntatem, quam tua sponte erga Caecinam *habiturus esses*,² tantus cumulus accedat commendatione mea, quanti me a te fieri intellego.

In this connection might be added the following example, in which *aliquando* gives something of the suggestion of the periphrastic;

¹ So ad Fam. iv. 7. 4, ad Att. x. 8. 2, xi. 15. 2; cf. ad Fam. xiii. i. 5, de Fin. iv. 22. 62.

² The reading *habiturus es* has some support.

p. Sest. 38. 83:

Ac si tum P. Sestius . . . in templo Castoris animam . . . edidisset, non dubito quin, si modo esset in re publica senatus, si maiestas populi Romani revixisset, *aliquando* statua huic ob rem publicam interfecto in foro statueretur.¹

b) The indirect explanatory use of the unreal conditional sentence (described in detail in section II) is often responsible for an encroachment upon the realm of the future. Thus, when a speaker wishes to remind or inform his hearer why he fails to do something that might be expected of him, instead of stating the reason directly, he may imply it by the use of a sentence of the following form "I *would do* so, were it not for the fact that, etc." The unreality is apt to run over into the future in such a case; e. g.,

ad Fam. xvi. 15. 1:

Plura scriberem, si iam putarem lubenter te legere posse.

The purpose of this sentence obviously is to explain to Tiro why Cicero does not proceed to lengthen the letter.² Such examples of the indirect explanatory use are found very frequently in the epistles;

ad Fam. vi. 6. 4:

Dicerem, quae ante futura dixissem, ni vererer, ne ex eventis fingere viderer.

ad Fam. xiii. 24. 3:

Scriberem ad te, qualis vir esset, . . . nisi eum iam per se ipsum tibi satis notum esse arbitrarer.

ad Att. xii. 39. 2:

De tabellariis facerem, quod suades, si essent ullae necessariae litterae, ut erant olim.³

The imperfect is the tense most used, but the pluperfect is also found;

ad Fam. vii. 2. 1:

Quod si mihi permississes, qui meus amor in te est, confecissem cum coheredibus; nunc . . . inlicitatorem potius ponam, quam illud minoris veneat.⁴

¹ De Har. Resp. 8. 17 affords perhaps a similar case.

² So in Plautus; e. g., Most. 843-44; *Eho, istum, puer, circumduce hasce aedis et conclavia. Nam egomet ductarem, nisi mi esset apud forum negotium*; cf. Pers. 45, Ps. 640.

³ So ad Fam. xii. 4. 2, xiv. 7. 2, ad Att. ii. 14. 2, vii. 7. 7 (*diutius*); Brut. 62. 223, Tusc. Disp. v. 14. 42: cf. p. Sulla 23. 64.

⁴ Cf. ad Fam. xiii. 66. 2 and Auct. ad Her. iv. 49. 62.

In this case the future *ponam* touches the same time realm as does *confecissem*. If Marius had put the matter without restrictions into Cicero's hands, the latter would have proceeded to make an arrangement with the coheirs; but now (he says jestingly) he will try to keep the price up.¹

c) It is perhaps worth while to consider separately one or two examples in which the unreality of the *si*-clause centers in some other word (or phrase) than the verb; e. g.,

in Verr. ii. 1. 17. 44:

nihil *dicam* nisi singulare, nisi id, quod si *in alium reum* diceretur, incredibile videretur.

The unreality of the condition here manifestly centers in the phrase *in alium reum*, not in *diceretur*; for Cicero is going to tell the thing, the time being set by *dicam*. That Cicero's thought here fell into the unreal form (instead of the ideal) shows in an interesting way how familiar he must have been with the invasion of the realm of the future on the part of the unreal conditional sentence. Compare the following example;

de Leg. Agr. ii. 25. 67:

"Idcirco" inquit "agros nominare non possum, quia *tangam* nullum ab invito." Hoc, Quirites, multo est quaestuosius, quam si *ab invito* sumeret; *inibitur*² enim ratio quaestus . . . et . . . ager *emetur*³

V. THE CONCESSIVE UNREAL.

The concessive *si*-clause with verb in the subjunctive mood presents a most interesting historical problem in Latin as regards the form of conclusion. With Plautus, concessive *si sit* (often unreal) and *si esset* take an indicative conclusion three times as often as a subjunctive—always so, if my observation is correct, when the verb is one of those we ordinarily class as modal.⁴ In Cicero, on the other hand, the ratio is more than reversed; concessive *si esset*, for instance, is followed by a subjunctive conclusion six times as often as by an indicative, and modal verbs are put

¹ For other cases where the future indicative thus parallels the unreal subjunctive, see de Orat. i. 42. 190, p. Sex. Rosc. 20. 83 fin., p. Rab. Perd. 6. 19, p. Sulla i. 2. 3. 10, 16. 47, p. Flacc. 16. 38, ad Att. ii. 14. 2; cf. p. Caec. 32. 93, ad Fam. iii. 10. 2, de Leg. ii. 7. 18.

² This one future (of the three in the passage) rests on conjecture.

³ Cf. perhaps p. Q. Rosc. 15. 45.

⁴ The facts are given in detail in the University of California Publications, Classical Philology, Vol. I. p. 66 ff.

in the subjunctive with the greatest freedom. This marked intrusion of the subjunctive into the conclusion of the concessive unreal was doubtless due, in part at least, to a growing appreciation of symmetry and balance in verbal expression and a more definite conception of *si esset—esset, si fuisset—fuisset*, etc., as normal combinations—a conception that could not but be fostered by the great masses of pure conditional sentences which naturally fall into those forms.¹

The reason for Plautus' preference for the indicative in the conclusion is not far to seek. For the conclusion of a concessive sentence of the type under discussion has, so to speak, a double rôle to play; thus, when the *si*-clause is unreal, it is the function of the conclusion to inform the hearer that what *is* still *would be*, even though circumstances were other than they are. Now Plautus prefers to express what *is*, allowing the hearer to gather that it still *would be*; e. g.,

Ps. 291:

Atque adeo, si facere possim, pietas *prohibet*.

We (with Cicero) prefer the other alternative of stating what *would be*, leaving it to the hearer to gather that it likewise *is*—“And, what's more, even though I could, my sense of duty *would check me*”. Though Plautus' choice produces a form of sentence that may seem to us rough, nevertheless its logic is sound; indeed, he might perhaps sit in judgment on us (and Cicero) who prefer the other alternative—a choice which means that we use the form of present unreality in reference to something that actually *is*.

A study of the few cases in Plautus in which a concessive *si*-clause containing the subjunctive is followed by a subjunctive conclusion brings to light at least one of the factors that favored the intrusion of that mood into the conclusion; e. g.,

Aul. 555 ff.:

Quos si Argus servet, qui oculus totus fuit,
Is numquam servet.

Euclio is distressed for fear the cooks will steal something, and means to say that, if even Argus were watching them, they could not be kept from pilfering. Had he been content to say just this, the conclusion would without doubt have been *possunt*. But the

¹ According to Dittmar, I am wholly mistaken on this point; see *Philologische Rundschau*, No. 8, 1906, p. 174 ff.

emphasis upon *Argus* in the *si*-clause is so great that it tempts the speaker to resume with *is* in the conclusion, and he finds himself committed by this choice of subject to a paraphrase of the thought "the cooks can and could not be kept from pilfering". Choosing *servare* as his verb, he may not make his conclusion a statement of fact ("even he by no means keeps them in check"), for *Argus* has nothing to do with the actual situation; all he can say is "even he by no means *would* keep them in check." So *Bacch.* 697, *Men.* 238 ff.¹

Aside from these examples, there seem to be in *Plautus* only four other cases where a concessive *si*-clause containing the subjunctive is followed by a subjunctive conclusion. These additional sentences have, in common with the three already treated, a strongly stressed word or phrase in the *si*-clause, but here there is no resumptive word in the conclusion. Yet the phrasing of the conclusion in each case is such as would exactly fit a resumptive element; e. g.,

Truc. 527-28:

† *Sih plane ex medio mari*

*savium petere tuom iubeas, petere hau pigeat, mel meum.*²

In this sentence the speaker proceeds with the conclusion just as though he had resumed *ex medio mari* by *illinc* or the like, and had thus committed himself to a statement of what *would be*; for *illinc* (cf. *is* in *Aul.* 555 ff.), would necessarily confine his remark to the supposed case, thus precluding a simple statement of the present situation (e. g. "I am ready"). Apparently *Plautus* felt some resumptive force in such a case, though it does not find direct expression in the text. If so, the explanation of the presence of the subjunctive in the conclusion would be the same here as for the three sentences first taken up.

We might say therefore that the subjunctive in the conclusion of concessive *si*-clauses of the forms *si sit* and *si esset* was on sufferance with *Plautus*. At any rate his recourse to this choice of mood seems to be limited to cases in which he becomes involved in a particular kind of sentence where the customary

¹ In view of *Dittmar's* quite unfounded inference (l. c. p. 176) I should perhaps state that my argument here does not rest on a belief in the old ontological theory of mood meaning. Though one does not subscribe to that theory, he need not blind himself to the fact that *bonum est* is the recognized form to express what *is*, whereas *bonum sit* and *bonum esset* are typical expressions of what *would be*.

² So *Tri.* 885 ff., *Truc.* 315 ff., *Most.* 241 ff.

indicative is almost perforce excluded; when left to his own devices he consistently prefers to state what *is*, leaving it to the hearer to infer that the same thing still *would be*. Even in some cases where he goes so far as to commit himself by the use of a resumptive word in the conclusion to a statement of what *would be*, the use of the subjunctive seems to have been escaped through the choice of a modal verb; see, for instance, Amph. 450 ff.

In Cicero a very general levelling has taken place—even modal verbs and expressions have for the most part yielded to the pressure. For instance, *si esset* is used in the concessive sense approximately 160 times, but out of this total the indicative appears in conclusion in only 22 cases. Even when the modal expressions are singled out and considered separately, the preponderance of the subjunctive is still decisive (39 subjunctive, 12 indicative).

In the 22 cases of indicative conclusion with *si esset* the tense is regularly past. This, as Blase has explained,¹ may be a consequence of the shift of the present unreal from the form *si sit* to *si esset*; thus, Plautus can very well say *Qui si decem habeas linguas, mutum esse addecet* (Bacch. 128), but as soon as the shift is made to *Qui si decem haberes linguas*, it becomes hard to retain the present *addecet*. However Cicero does this very thing once or twice; e. g., de Har. Resp. 1. 2. A clearer case is found with the concessive clause in the form *si fuisset*;

Lael. 27. 104:

si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen adfert mihi aetas ipsa solacium.

In closing the discussion it may be worth while to emphasize the large concessive use of the *si*-clause. Thus, of about 750 cases of *si esset*—*esset*, almost exactly 140 are concessive sentences. In this total of 140 are included 18 examples in which *si* is reenforced by *etiam*; 78 more have *tamen* in the conclusion, and 9 others have some formal mark of the concessive sentence (e. g. *ne si quidem*, "not even if"); the remaining cases are defined by the context merely.

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¹ *Dissertationes Argentoratenses*, Vol. x. p. 95 ff.; he here credits Foth with the original suggestion.

III.—EPIGRAPHICAL PROBLEMS IN THE HISTORY OF ATTIC COMEDY.

It so happens that the extant fragments of the four sets of parallel records which, in their original form, gave a complete history of the comic contests at Athens do not supplement each other at any point in such a manner as to fill out the most serious gaps in our knowledge. The Victors'-lists IG. II 971 defg (Dionysia) and iklmn (Lenaea) give us practically continuous records for considerable periods of time. If we could satisfactorily interpret them they would give us a solid basis for the chronology of Attic comedy during the fifth and fourth centuries. The names are arranged in the chronological order of first victories, but unless we know the precise dates of the first victories of representative poets here and there we must remain content with a general knowledge of relations. The documents which might have furnished these precise dates fail us at critical points; neither the didascalic notices extant in the hypotheses to Aristophanes, nor the Roman didascalic inscription IG. XIV 1098 a, 1097, 1098, nor the Fasti IG. II 971, supply the date of a single important first victory. The notices of first appearances and first victories found in various literary sources give material help, but generally not where help is most needed, as for example in the period covered by the career of Aristophanes. At this point the uncertainty as to whether the poet himself or the didascalus who trained the chorus for him was officially recognized as victor adds to our perplexity. Is the name of Aristophanes to be supplied in the Victors'-lists, or was he supplanted by Callistratus and Philonides in the honor roll except when he brought out a play himself?

The failure of conclusive direct testimony on these and similar problems forces us to resort to indirect methods, to combinations of various kinds which may lead to the determination, in the first instance, of facts which in themselves may be of little consequence, but always in the hope that through them we may reach conclusions of a higher order of importance for literary history. Thus the minor problems which are first discussed in this paper lead up to the larger question just mentioned, whether the poet or his

didascalus was officially recognized as competitor in the dramatic contests, and the solution of this question involves in turn the whole problem of the reconstruction of the Roman didascaliae and the determination of at least the larger chronological relations of the two comic Victors'-lists. The principal conclusions which are here reached were summarily indicated in the last number of this Journal (p. 85) in a review of Wilhelm's remarkable book, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen*; it is the aim of this paper to supply the considerations by which the writer was led to these conclusions.

The Duration of the Synchoregia.

"In the archonship of this Callias Aristotle says that it was decreed that two persons together should serve as choregi for tragedy and comedy at the Dionysia". The scholiast to Arist. Ran. 404 who thus quotes Aristotle clearly meant the Callias of 406/5 (*ἐπὶ τοῦτου τοῦ Καλλίου*), in whose year the Frogs were produced, and not the archon of 412/11. In A. J. P. XVII (1896), 319 ff., I endeavored to show that the verses in the Frogs on which this comment was written contain a direct, though covert, reference to this innovation (cf. *σὺ γὰρ κατ' ἐσχίσω . . . κάξευρες ὄντ' ἀζημίους παίζειν τε καὶ χορεύειν*) and tend to confirm the scholiast's assertion as to the date of the new arrangement; and also that the phrase *τὰ Διονύσια* must be strictly interpreted as referring to the City Dionysia alone. As regards the duration of the synchoregia, which was evidently an emergency arrangement, no definite evidence was then available. Such as there was, however, seemed to me to point to about a decade for tragedy and perhaps a half-century for comedy. Accordingly the victory of Aristophanes with two choregi (p. 184, below) could only be dated 405-388, and that of Cephisodotus (p. 322; cf. A. J. P. XXI, p. 51) in 402 with a single choregus (Lys. 21. 4) seemed probably a Lenaeon victory. The latter date has since been used as a fixed point in the chronology of the Lenaeon Victors'-list,¹ with unfortunate results, as will shortly appear.

It is now possible to determine to the year the duration of the synchoregia through the fortunate discovery by Wilhelm (Ber. d. Wien. Akad., Sitzung d. 4. Juli, 1906) of the original stone from which Pittakis made the strange set of notes reproduced by

¹ By me in A. J. P. XXI, p. 53, and elsewhere; by Wilhelm Urk. pp. 123, 125.

Köhler IG. II 971 c. and Wilhelm Urk. p. 22. The uncertain items which these two scholars were able to extract from the hopeless tangle were a poor substitute for the fragment of the great Fasti of the City Dionysia which Pittakis had seen, though the discovery of the stone itself shows that their divinatory skill was of no mean order. The fragment is of such capital importance that for the convenience of those who have not access to the original publication it is here reproduced from the reprint which I owe to the courtesy of Dr. Wilhelm; the restorations are his except the two that are queried.¹

As Wilhelm shows, the relative position of the items in the three columns presupposes columns of 141 lines: following the 11 (or possibly 12)² lines of the list for 398 in col. i. we have

Col. ii.	Col. iii.
1 l. of the list for 398	6 ll. of the list for 386
132 ll. of the list for 397-387	132 ll. of the list for 385-375
8 ll. of the list for 386	3 ll. of the list for 374
<hr/> 141 lines.	<hr/> 141 lines.

Now from what is already known about the disposition of this great document on the wall on which it was inscribed (Wilhelm, Urk. p. 9 f.), the events recorded in this fragment must have been on the topmost block. And the lower margin of this block is preserved a little below the last line of col. ii. Frag. c, which has a lower and a right-hand margin, was in a corresponding position on the top block just to the left of the block containing this new fragment, d. Between c, which was in col. v of the Fasti (counting the first column of frag. a as col. i) and the first column

¹ Wilhelm reports in col. i l. 8 E: EXOPH. Could the first letter be Γ? If so, the choregus was Meneteles, son of Menes of Anagyrus (IG. II 1249), who was choregus for Erechtheis for a chorus of men in the early part of the fourth century. From the remains of the date-line Dittenberger Syl.¹ 721 proposed to restore the archon Aristocrates; but cf. Syl.² 713. The restorations precisely suit the space. So does that of Archippus in l. 10, which is tentatively proposed; see below, p. 199.

² Wilhelm, in a letter of Nov. 1, 1906, kindly informed me that the N in the last line of col. ii is visible in the photograph (which he expects to publish in the next Jahresheft), and that there is "the possibility (not more than that) of some lines more in the space of 0.047 m. under the line that I thought to be the last", i. e., Ἰασος, etc. The first report is to be corrected accordingly. It is quite unlikely (p. 184, below) that there was another line between [καμινιδῶ]ν and the lower margin.

of d, one column intervened. The writing in this portion of the Fasti is perfectly regular and the lines "run through" the columns, i. e., are exactly opposite each other in adjoining columns.¹ Consequently, since the normal number of lines in each year-list was 12, we can determine precisely what irregularities occurred in the lists during the years between 422/1, 399/8, 387/6, and 375/4, the dates preserved in the four columns of these two fragments. The addition of an extra line in any year-list will be revealed by the displacement by one line of the entries in the following columns. Using the numbers 1 to 12 to represent the usual twelve items of a year-list, we see from the following table what the last items on the top block, i. e., the items contained in the 31st line² of the columns, actually are in the four columns of c and d, what they would have been if the succession of 12-line year-lists had continued without interruption from 421 to 374, and the amount of displacement:

Column	v	vi	vii	viii	ix
Actual	421, 9th l.		398, 11th l.	386, 6th l.	374, 3d l.
Normal		409, 6th l.	397, 3d l.	386, 12th l.	374, 9th l.
Displacement			4 lines	6 lines	6 lines

The displacement of two lines between col. vii and col. viii is explained by the extra entry *παλαιὸν δράμα*, etc., in 386. That of four lines between cols. v and vii, which embrace the period of the synchoregia, must be due to this innovation, and these four extra lines were all in the year-lists contained in col. vi. While the synchoregia lasted two choregi, each with his demoticon, had to be entered in the Fasti instead of one. Both tragedy and comedy were affected by the synchoregia; the number of extra lines used was therefore bound to be an even number. For the additional two names in any year certainly two extra lines would be needed. Hence the synchoregia was maintained only two years, 406/5 and 405/4.³

¹ H. Schenkl in Berl. Phil. Woch. 1907, 446, is not justified in assuming that the columns varied in length between 140, 141, and 142 lines in the first part of the Fasti. His calculations regarding the number of columns lost at the beginning, so far as they assume such variation, are valueless. They perhaps prove, however, that all calculations back of 486 are a waste of time.

² Assuming, with Wilhelm, p. 21, that in c there is room for two lines (*Εὐπολὺς ἐδίδασκεν*, and *τραγωιδῶν*) between l. 13 and the lower margin, and that in d col. ii [*κωμωιδῶν*] is the last line on the block. According to this the top block contained 31 lines; Wilhelm p. 9 reckoned 32.

³ Consequently, the victory of Cephisodotus in 402 need no longer be assigned to the Lenaea. That it was a City victory is shown below, pp. 187, 199.

That this result is correct can be shown by testing the possibility indicated by Wilhelm (above, p. 181, n. 2), that one or two additional lines may have intervened between [καμωιδῶ]ν in l. 14 and the lower margin. If there were one line more the displacements would be an odd number of lines (3, 5, and 5)—an improbable supposition, for two extra names would hardly fill three lines, and four extra names could scarcely be brought into less than four lines. If there were two more lines, the displacements would be 2, 4, and 4 lines, allowing for but one year (405) of the synchoregia.¹ But the inscription IG. II 4, 1280 b, p. 254, records two victories for Gnathis and Anaxandrides acting conjointly as choregi, once for the poet Aristophanes and again (ἐτέρᾳ νίκῃ) for Sophocles. It is improbable that these public-spirited men assumed both a tragic and a comic choregia in the same year, and indeed somewhat surprising to learn that they accepted this liturgy in two successive years. We conclude, therefore, that Aristophanes was victorious at the City Dionysia in 405, Sophocles in 404.²

It is now clear that the metrical synchoregic inscription found at Lamptrae IG. III 1285, which formerly induced me to extend the synchoregia for comedy down to the middle of the fourth century, is to be regarded as a record of a demotic exhibition, as in fact Brinck Dis. Hal. 1886, p. 139, maintained. The union of two or more persons in the choregia at the local festivals is attested by IG. II 5, 1282, p. 254 (Icaria). The three victories of the obscure tragic poets, Dicaeogenes, Aripbron, and Polychares, IG. III 1285, with two men as choregi, is to be explained in the same way, although this inscription was found at Athens; but both choregi were Acharnians. IG. III 1282, in which three choregi from Aegilia are named, was also found at Athens, but cannot refer to the Athenian contests. The important record of the victories of Aristophanes and Sophocles was found at Eleusis, but the contents are evidently Athenian.

¹ The possibilities are more numerous if we assume three lines in c between l. 13 and the margin; but they are easily reckoned and do not materially affect the result.

² Wilhelm, p. 177, n. 1., assures us that the lettering of this inscription is not of the early fourth century, as reported, but is precisely like that of IG. I 338, of the year 408/7. It is entirely possible that this Sophocles was the great poet, and not his grandson, who began to exhibit his own plays in 397/6 (Diod. XIV 53. 6). In that case the Fasti probably recorded that fact of his death by τεθνηκώς. See below, p. 190.

The Heading of the Fasti.

It will never be possible to determine exactly the phrasing of the heading of the Fasti unless some portion of the lost part of it is discovered, although there is now essential agreement as to the principal elements which it contained. The first three extant columns contained 140 lines each, and we have just seen that cols. v, vi, vii, viii, and ix contained 141 lines. The increase of one line is doubtless to be explained by the discontinuance of the heading and the use of a portion of the space for the record. Now the actual position of the items in the frag. c, as compared with what it would have been if the first five columns had all contained 140 lines, shows a displacement of two lines. Col. iv was therefore the first one which contained 141 lines, and the heading extended over only the first three extant columns. I would suggest: οἷδε νενικήκασιν . . . ἀφ' (or ἐφ') οὗ πρώτων κῶμοι ἦσαν τῶ[ι Διο-
νύσωι Ἐλευθερεῖ.

The first items in the columns covered by the extant fragments may be given here for convenience, as showing the arrangement by columns of the whole document from frag. a to the end:

Col.	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	
Line	7	4	10	6	3	12	
Year	473/2	460/9	448/7	436/5	424/3	413/2	
Lines	140	140	140	141	141	141	

Col.	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii
Line	5	2	9	6	3	12	1
Year	401/0	388/7	378/7	366/5	354/3	342/1	330/9
Lines	141	141	141	141	153?	135?	?

In the lower part of col. xi the lines are crowded so as to admit probably 12 or 13 extra lines.¹ Col. xii may have begun with the first line of the year 341/0, leaving 154 lines to col. xi. There seems to have been a vacant space of a few lines at the end of col. xii, so that we cannot know precisely where the record ended here, nor the beginning of col. xiii.

¹ The crowding was apparently confined to the lowest block, for the spacing on frag. e (g Kōh.), which was at the top of the third block, is normal. Wilhelm assures us (p. 241) that the upper margin observed by Köhler in e is original, and not due, as I reported, to a later use of the stone. The first line on the third block was the 70th in the column. Hence, since the top block contained 31 lines, the second contained 38.

The Establishment of the Comic Contest at the Lenaea.

Now that Wilhelm has proved beyond a doubt that the headings over the several sections of the Victors'-lists extended over only a single column, it becomes necessary to revise our former opinion (Introd. of Com. into City Dion., p. 25) that the comic contest was instituted at the Lenaea in the same period as at the Dionysia. We have only the evidence of the list itself (Wilhelm, p. 123) to guide us. Accepting my former view that the victory of Cephisodotus in 402 was Lenaeian and restoring his name in col. ii, l. 13, Wilhelm (p. 125) concludes that the list begins soon after the middle of the fifth century, and finds confirmation for this view in the position of the name of Eupolis in col. i. Kaibel on the other hand (p. 168) regards the notice of Anon. π. κωμ. II Kaib. concerning Pherecrates, that he won ἐπὶ Θεοδώρου 438/7 (Dobree's correction for ἐπὶ Θεάρρου), as a reference to this poet's first Lenaeian victory, and thus reaches the date ca. 445 for the victory of Xenophilus, who heads the list. But Wilhelm is undoubtedly right in his contention that all notices of this kind refer to the Dionysia (see below, p. 189); nor is Dobree's correction at all certain. We have learned above that the festival at which Cephisodotus was victorious in 402 was not necessarily the Lenaea. We must no longer, therefore, use him as a starting point, but must attack the problem in a different way. It is possible, I think, to arrive at a close approximation to the truth.

We begin with the victory of Aristophanes with the Acharnians in 425; either his name or, as Wilhelm contends, that of his didascalus Callistratus, followed that of Eupolis, the ninth name. 434 is accordingly the latest possible date for the beginning of the list. The first victory of Eupolis cannot be dated later than 426; but since he began to exhibit in 429, in the same year as Phrynichus (Anon. π. κωμ. II), or in 427 (Eusebius Vers. Arm.), and both Phrynichus and Myrtilus won before Eupolis, the first victory of Eupolis is confined to 427 or 426. How many of the 20 victories of his predecessors were won before 426? The activity of Telecleides seems not to have extended beyond the period of Pericles (Meineke, Hist. crit. p. 89). The second victory of Aristomenes was won in 394, as I believe (Class. Phil. I, p. 219). We can safely assign two of Cratinus' three to this period and perhaps two of Hermippus' four. The second victories of Pherecrates and Phrynichus it would be wise to reserve for the time

after 426. This gives us about 14 victories prior to the first of Eupolis, and the year 440 or 441 as the approximate date of the first comic contest at the Lenaea. The year 442 is entirely possible, but any earlier date increasingly improbable; while 440 may safely be regarded as the lower limit.

According to Wilhelm's view (pp. 111 ff.) of the relation of the *didascalus* to the state, which will be discussed later on, the three names after Eupolis would be Callistratus (425), Aristophanes (424), and Philonides (422). I believe, however, that the next two were Aristophanes and Philonides (below, p. 199). Kaibel (p. 177) and Körte (Rh. Mus. LX, p. 436) propose to restore in the last line of the column Lysippus (410 or 409). What is the latest possible date indicated for this position? If we assume that all the victories of the first nine poets, except the second of Aristomenes, were won before the fifteenth poet gained his first—an extremely improbable assumption—and add the two of Aristophanes and one for each of the next three poets, we reach the year 413 or 412 (according as the list began in 441 or 440). The year 410, and the possibility of Lysippus, can be reached only by the further assumption that three or two extra victories were won before 410 by one of the unknown poets; or, to state the whole case in another way, we should be forced to assume that between Philonides (423) and Lysippus (410) only three new poets gained a place, leaving 10 years to be occupied by second or subsequent victories. The probable date indicated by the position is rather ca. 414.

The following table will exhibit the approximate chronological distribution of the names in the four columns of the Lenaeian list. It will be seen that the name of Cephisodotus can only be restored in col. ii, l. 13, on the very improbable assumption that the period ca. 414-402 was occupied by a new poet in every year but two, or else that the beginning of the list goes back some years beyond 442.

Was the Poet or his Didascalus Victor?

We are now prepared to discuss the question: When a poet did not himself perform the duties of *didascalus* in bringing out a play, was his authorship of the play officially recognized in the award, or was his representative, who was selected and doubtless paid by the poet to do this work, alone mentioned in the decision of the judges? Should we expect to find in the *Fasti* Ἀριστοφάνης

VICTORIOUS COMIC POETS, LENAÆA.

COL. I.	COL. II.	COL. III.	COL. IV.
442 I [E] ενόρμος I	411 I	379 I	389 I
441 I	410 I	378 I	388 I
440 II	409 II	377 II	387 II
439 III	408 III	376 III	386 III
438 IV	407 IV	375 III	385 III
437 II [T] ηλευσίδης I	406	374	384 IV
436 III 'Αριστομένης I	405	373	383 V
435 IV Κρατίδος III	404	372	382
434 V Φερεκράτης II	403	371	381
433 VI 'Ερμύππος III	402 V	370 IV	380 VI
432	401 VI	369 V	379 VII
431	400 VII	368 VI	378 VIII
430	399 VIII	367	377
429	398 IX	366	376
428 VII Φρόνυχος II	397	365	375
427 VIII Μενυτιάδης I	396	364	374
426 IX [E] πόλις III	395	363	373
425 X [Αριστοφάνης III] —	394	362 IX	372
424 Aristophanes	393	361	371
423	392 X	360	370
422 XI [E] λωιδής —	391 XI	359	369
421	390 XII	358	368
420 XII	389	357	367
419 XIII	388	356	366
418 XIV	387	355	365
417 XV	386	354	364
416	385	353	363
415	384	352	362
414	383	351	361
413	382	350	360
412	381	349	359
31 years	9 poets = 23	40 years	32 years
6 " = 6 +	9 poets = 14	8 poets = 32 +	10 poets = 16 +
Victories 29 +	8 " = 8 +	9 " = 9 +	7 " = 7 +
	Victories 22 +	Victories 41 +	Victories 22 +

ἰδίδασκεν when Callistratus had been in fact the *διδάσκαλος*? Was Aristophanes or Callistratus named in the Victors'-lists for the victory with the Acharnians? Have we the right to assume that the formula which is attested for ca. 348 *τέταρτος Ἀναξανδρίδης* (play) *διὰ Ἀναξίππου* (IG. XIV 1098, l. 8), was employed in the official records during the period of the Old Comedy also? The question has been vigorously debated, most recently by Wilhelm Urkunden pp. 111 ff., who supports the view of Reisch and others, against that of Kaibel and others, that down to ca. 380 the actual didascalus and not the author was officially recognized; and he finds in his latest discovery (p. 182 above) a confirmation of his opinion, for in 971 d Araros is entered as victor in 387, although Suidas expressly states that he exhibited first in Ol. 101, 376-73. It would certainly seem at first glance that Wilhelm has given the right explanation of this apparent contradiction, viz., that Suidas records the date of the first exhibition of Araros with his own plays, while the victory of 387 was won by him as didascalus for his father Aristophanes. But the question at once arises, How could the source of Suidas distinguish between the author and the *ὑποδιδάσκαλος*? The notices of first appearances and of first victories preserved in Suidas, Diodorus, the chronographers, etc., were certainly derived from the official records of the contests at the City Dionysia, and these records, according to Wilhelm, did not mention the real author before ca. 380. Clearly the problem goes deeper. It would be well to have before us the literary evidence before we seek the solution in the inscriptional documents.

In the discussion of this subject¹ passages have frequently been used as evidence which in fact have no bearing on the question. We must carefully eliminate from consideration one class of instances in which plays were brought out by persons who were not their real authors, viz., 1) cases of real or alleged plagiarism, with or without the consent of the author. Here the poet who appropriated another's play desired to be known as the author, and, if he was not in fact the author, obtained his chorus under false pretenses. He of course might either bring out the play himself or employ a didascalus to represent him. There remain two classes of instances which it would be well to distinguish from each other, 2) the production of a play after the poet's death by

¹ Wilhelm, p. 112, refers to the principal writers on the question.

an authorized didascalus, and 3) cases like that of Aristophanes, in which the poet, desiring to be relieved of the duties of stage management, arranged with a didascalus to take charge of the production. From the point of view of the judges the principle involved in 2) is the same as in 3). If the actual didascalus in the former case was recognized in the award, we should expect him to be in the latter also, and vice versa. For convenience we will discuss 2) first, for it is not always easy to classify the other notices.

If a play was produced for the first time (i. e., not as *παλαιόν*), after the author's death, it seems that care was taken at all periods to indicate its real author as well as its didascalus. Cf. Schol. Arist. Ran. 67: *διδασκαλίας φέρουσι, τελετήσαντος Εὐριπίδου τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ δεδιδασθῆναι ὁμώνυμον ἐν ᾧσται Ἰφιγένειαν*, etc.; Suidas s. Euripides: *νίκας ἀνέλειτο ιε',¹ τὰς μὲν ιδ'¹ περιών, τὴν δὲ μίαν μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ἐπιδειξαμένου τὸ δράμα τοῦ ἀδελφίδου αὐτοῦ Εὐριπίδου*; cf. also the Vita. The Didascaliae evidently reported: *Εὐριπίδης πρεσβύτερος τεθνηκώς Ἰφιγενεία διὰ Εὐριπίδου*; the Fasti probably gave simply *Εὐριπίδης (τεθνηκώς?) ἐδίδασκεν*. Victories were accorded to Aeschylus after his death: Vita, Philostr. Vit. Apoll. 6.10. Arist. Ach. 10 and Ran. 868 also alludes to the reproduction of plays in his name.² The Oedipus Coloneus was brought out (in 402) by Sophocles the grandson as didascalus, but as the dead poet's play, Hyp. O. C.: *ἐπὶ τετελετηκότι τῷ πάππῳ Σοφοκλῆς ὁ υἱοῦς ἐδίδασκεν*. The victory of Sophocles in 404 recorded in the synchoregic inscription was probably a victory by the dead poet (above, p. 184, n. 2), for Diodorus XIV. 53 fin. states on didascalical authority that Sophocles, the grandson, began to exhibit plays in 396. The inference from these facts clearly is that the elder Sophocles, though dead, *ἐδίδασκε διὰ Σοφοκλέους* in 404 and in 402, just as two centuries afterward we find in the Didascaliae the entry (*πρώτος*) *Παράμονος τεθνηκώς* (IG. II 975, 167 B. C.). The case of Aristias probably belongs in this category, Hyp. Aesch. Sept.: *δύετος Ἀριστίας Περσεῖ Ταντάλῳ* [—] *Παλαισταῖς σατυρικοῖς τοῖς τοῦ*

¹Codd. ε' and δ', but the cod. Vat. of the Vita and Thomas Magister give ιε', which is inherently more probable, for the former numeral. Suidas regularly records the totals for both festivals.

²There is nothing improbable in the simple statement of the Vita and of Philostratus, and the large number of victories recorded by Suidas (28) can hardly be reconciled otherwise with the number in the Vita (13, i. e., City victories); for the tragic contest at the Lenaea was not established until after his death, cf. Victors'-list rs, Wilh. p. 145. Quint. 10. 1. 66 states that later poets revised the plays of Aeschylus and won victories with them.

Πατρίου πατρός. Though the credit for the tetralogy as a whole belonged to Aristias, the authorship of the satyr-drama was carefully recorded in the Didascaliae.¹

Tragedies reproduced after the author's death—evidently an unusual honor during the fifth century—seem to have been entered in the regular contests διὰ τοῦ δεινός until the year 386. If this is true, they had the same status in the Fasti as the unexhibited plays such as the Iphigeneia or Oedipus Coloneus, and in the choregic inscriptions ἐδίδασκεν was used of the dead poet, while the Didascaliae recorded also the actual didascalus. After 386, when old tragedies were outside of the contest, the poet's name was still attached to the play, and in the Didascaliae the name of the τραγῳδός who acted as didascalus is given (II 973), though the Fasti give only οἱ τραγῳδοί. What is true of old tragedies before and after 386 is true of old comedies before and after 339.

Of an entirely different character are the instances of the first class: a poet entered in the competition as his own a play which was in fact, or according to malicious gossip, composed by another. He alone was recognized officially as the author, although he may have employed another to serve as didascalus. The state could not concern itself with charges of plagiarism which became current after the exhibition. Euphorion was officially credited with victories with plays which gossip, whose source we can readily surmise, reported to have been written by his father: τοῖς Αἰσχύλου τοῦ πατρός, οἷς μήπω ἦν ἐπιδειζόμενος, τετράκις ἐνίκησεν· ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ οἰκεία, Suidas. Arist. Ran. 78 strongly intimates that Iophon had had too much help from Sophocles. The scholiast is doubtless right in suggesting that a brilliant victory, won during his father's lifetime, was responsible for such talk. We need not rehearse such insinuations of plagiarism except to express the belief that the statements of Schol. Plat. Apol. 19 c, that Philippus, the son of Aristophanes, "contested with the plays of Eubulus", and that Araros "contested with his own and with his father's plays", do not at all mean, as Wilhelm Urk. p. 114 and Sitzungsber. p. 4 thinks, that Philippus and Araros were

¹Anon. π. κωμ. II Kaib. says, under Antiphanes, τῶν κωμῶδων αὐτοῦ τινὰς καὶ ὁ <νῶς αὐτοῦ Kaib.> Στέφανος ἐδίδαξεν. Here is a possible explanation of the late date (not before 306) of the Περικδομένη,—slightly revised and brought out by the son after his father's death, but as his father's play. This is better than to assume a second Antiphanes with Wilhelm p. 55.

formally commissioned by Eubulus and Aristophanes respectively to act as didascali for them. The scholist's motive is clearly to retail gossip; he passes from the gibes in which Aristophanes' contemporaries indulged against him to those aimed at his sons.

The fact seems well attested that Araros, before trying his fortune with plays of his own, brought out plays written by his father, but whether openly as his father's didascalus, as Wilhelm assumes, or with intent to deceive the public into regarding him as the poet, we cannot decide without further consideration. Hyp. Plut. IV states that the Plutus was the last play brought out by Aristophanes "in his own name", and that τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ συστήσαι Ἀραρότα δι' αὐτῆς τοῖς θεαταῖς βουλόμενος, τὰ ὑπόλοιπα δύο δι' ἐκείνου καθῆκαι, Κώκαλον καὶ Αἰολοσί-κωνα. The Vita states the same fact and imputes the same motive, but adds that the Plutus itself was brought out δι' Ἀραρότος. Now the phrases ἐπ' ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι and διὰ τοῦ δεινός are not of themselves conclusive, as the divergent opinions of modern scholars show; they may be interpreted as meaning either the poet as opposed to his acknowledged representative, his didascalus, or the actual author as opposed to the person who was parading under false colors. If it was in fact the desire of the aged Aristophanes, who had had his fill of honors, to establish his son in the favor of the public before he died, this result was certainly best accomplished by giving him a comedy to bring out as his very own, as Sophocles was suspected of doing for Iophon. This is the idea of Anonymous when he says of Aristophanes ἔπειτα τῷ υἱῷ ἐδίδου τὰ δράματα. As didascalus for his father, on a par with Callistratus and Philonides, Araros would indeed have gained experience, but not public favor as a poet, whatever his official status as a competitor may have been. One might reasonably, therefore, on the basis of all these considerations, regard the case of Araros as like that of Iophon—that he brought out his father's plays as his own—and when we find his name entered in the Fasti as victor in 387, the year after the Plutus, the official record would seem to be entirely in accord with the literary tradition—except for the notice of Suidas above referred to.

The presence of the name of Araros, therefore, in the Fasti as victor in 387 cannot yet be regarded as settling the main question before us, viz., whether the poet or his didascalus received the official award, for he may have brought out his play either as its actual author or as his father's representative. We must accordingly look for some other evidence or leave the problem unsolved.

There is no question as to the usage in the middle of the fourth century and thereafter. Aphareus was twice victorious with the plays brought out διὰ Διονυσίου, Vit. X Orat. 839 c, and he is duly credited with them in the Victors'-lists. We have already (p. 189) alluded to the case of Anaxandrides. It is not likely that the tyrant Dionysius himself trained his choruses when he competed in Athens. Was the practice of the fifth century different from that of the fourth, as Wilhelm thinks? There is no a priori reason why it should have been. Aristophanes and his didascali are the only persons with whom we are concerned, and the Victors'-lists the only court of appeal. As we have seen (p. 188), there is a lacuna of six lines in the Lenaeon list where the names of the victors of 425—ca. 414 once stood. We shall have to depend upon the City list alone. If we find the name of Aristophanes there in a position which indicates a first victory before that of 405, we can safely conclude that the poet and not his didascalus was recognized as the competitor in the fifth as in the fourth century.

But before we consider the Dionysian Victors'-list we should not overlook the fact that the very headings that stood at the beginning of the lists of victorious poets give testimony on the point at issue: [νίκαι] ἀστικάι (ἀθηναίαι) ποιητῶν κωμικῶν (τραγικῶν). Does not this indicate that the persons who compiled these lists from the didascalie archives of the archons assumed that the victors were always the actual poets? All the extant fragments of the Didascalie (IG. II 973, 974, 975) except 972 also begin the yearly record with ποιηταί. The Fasti and the choregic inscriptions give ἐδίδασκεν. Are we to believe, with Reisch, Pauly-Wissowa V, 405, and Wilhelm that in the fifth century ἐδίδασκεν indicated the actual didascalus, whether he was the real poet or not, and that the third-century compiler of the Victors'-lists ignorantly assumed the identity of didascalus and poet? It seems to me much more reasonable to assume that the official archives always gave all the pertinent facts, using the formal ἐδίδασκεν for the competitor, with the addition of διὰ τοῦ δεινός if a hypodidascalus was employed, just as, when a play by a deceased poet was brought out for the first time or reproduced as an old play, both the didascalus and the poet were mentioned. The compiler of the Victors'-lists, according to this view, had full information and entered in the category of victorious ποιηταί only the actual poets.

The Victors at the City Dionysia.

In the Dionysian Victors'-list, between the names of Hermippus and Eupolis, we find the name 'Αρι-, which Kaibel (Urkunden p. 176) unhesitatingly restores as Aristophanes. Wilhelm, however, restores Aristomenes, advancing the following arguments against Kaibel, in addition to the argument that the didascalus received the prize: (1) We know of no City victory of Aristophanes of so early a date, (2) the position of 'Αρι- indicates a date ca. 430, rather before than after, (3) the names of Callistratus and Philonides can be restored in the list in positions that correspond well with the time when they were winning victories with their own and with Aristophanes' plays.

We may pass over the first argument, for we have little information about the success of the plays of Aristophanes that are not preserved; and also the third, for Callistratus and Philonides may have won victories with plays of their own, and, besides, their names do not need to be restored. But the second argument is a serious one. If the position of 'Αρι- is in fact incompatible with a first victory between 427, the year of Aristophanes' first appearance, and 424, the latest date permitted by the position of Eupolis, the justice of Wilhelm's contention must be conceded.

In my opinion Wilhelm assumes too early a date for both Pherecrates and for the fifth name in col. iii, and, therefore, for 'Αρι- also. The date 437 which he takes for Pherecrates depends upon Dobree's conjecture ἐπὶ Θεοδώρου for ἐπὶ θεάτρου in Anon. π. κωμ. This is too uncertain to depend upon. In col. iii he proposes [Ἄρχι]ππος, who won a single victory in Ol. 91 (415-412) according to our text of Suidas, or [Ἀύστ]ππος, by whom a victory was won in 410 or 409 according to IG. XIV 1097, [Ἀύστ]ππος ἐνίκα μὲν [. . . ἐπὶ Θεοπομ- or Γλαυκίπ]που. Whether it was a first victory or not depends upon the extent of the lacuna. If it was a first victory, we have seen above (p. 187) that it could hardly have been Lenaeae; the name would therefore have stood in this list somewhere in col. iii. If we can show that any position below Cephisodotus would be incompatible with a first victory won as early as 409, it would follow that at least one other victory, recorded in the lacuna of 1097, had been won by Lysippus previously to 409 and that his name must be restored in the upper part of col. ii. The interpretation of 1097 on the basis of ca. 56 letters to each line will necessarily result, according to my attempt

VICTORIOUS COMIC POETS, DIONYSIA.

COL. I.		COL. II.		COL. III.			
486	I [Χιονίδης—]	445	I [Τηλεκλεί]δης III II [.]ς I III — — — — IV Δ[ύσιππος II] V Φερ[εκράτης—] VI *Ερμ[ιππος II—] VII 'Αρι[στοφάνης II—] VIII Εὐπ[ολις III] IX Κα- X Φρύ[νιχος—] XI 'Αμ[ειψίας—] XII Πλά[των—] XIII Φιλ— XIV Λύσιππος XV Δρύ[κων—]	406	I Νικοφῶ[ν—]		
485		444		405	Aristophanes		
484		443		404	II Θεόπομπ[ος—]		
483		442		403			
482		441		402	III [Κη]φισό[δοτος—]		
481		440		401			
480		439		400			
479		438		399	IV [Δρχ]ι[ππος I]		
478		437		398			
477		436		397			
476	II — — — —	435		396			
475	III — — — —	434		395			
474	IV [.]ς I	433	394				
473	V — — — —	432	393				
472	VI Μάγνη]ς Δ I	431	392				
471	VII [.]ς I	430	391				
470	VIII 'Αλκιμέ]νη]ς I	429	390				
469	IX [.]ς I	428	389				
468		427	388				
467		426	VII 'Αρι[στοφάνης II—]	387	['Αραρώς—]		
466	(Poets I, II, III	425	VIII Εὐπ[ολις III]	386			
465	and V together	424		385			
464	won 14 + victories)	423	Cratinus	384			
463		422	Hermippus	383			
462		421	Eupolis	382			
461		420		381			
460		419		380			
459		418	IX Κα-	379			
458	X [Εὐφρόν]ιος I	417	X Φρύ[νιχος—]	378			
457		416		377			
456		415		376	['Αναξανδρίδης Γ II] Anaxandrides		
455	XI ['Εκφάν]τιδης IIII	414	XI 'Αμ[ειψίας—]	375			
454		413		etc.			
453		412	XII Πλά[των—]				
452	XII [Κρατῖ]νος Γ I	411	XIII Φιλ—				
451	XIII [Διοπ]εῖδης II	410					
450	XIV [Κρά]της III	409	Lysippus				
449		408	XIV Δρύκ[ις—]				
448		407	XV Δρύ[κων—]				
447							
446	XV [Καλλία]ς II						
41 years	11 poets=33	39 years	6 poets=14+				
	4 " =14+		9 " = 9+				
	Victories 47+		Victories 28+				

in *Class. Phil.* I, p. 219, and this in turn will altogether exclude Aristomenes from the list of the City victors. The restoration of 'Αρι[στοφάνης] will follow as a natural corollary. This is the definite task before us.

The only poet in col. ii the date of whose first victory is approximately known is Eupolis; he was first in 421 (*Hyp. Pax*). Hermippus occupied 422 (*II* 971 c), Cratinus 423 (*Hyp. Nub.*). Eupolis began to exhibit in 429 (*Anon.*) or in 427 (*Hieron.*). Hermippus' victory in 422 obviously cannot have been his first. It is possible that Eupolis' victory in 421 was his first, though it is more likely to have been his second. In any event we must admit for the present the possibility that his first victory may have fallen in any of the years between 429 and 421 except 423 and 422. He won four¹ City victories and died before 410. Now if the victory of 421 was his first victory, and each of the ten poets following won each only one victory before the eleventh poet, hypothetically Lysippus, won his first, and if the predecessors of Eupolis won no victories at all in this interval, even so the first victory of the eleventh poet could not fall before 407 (421—[11+3]). And by assuming these extreme conditions we are forced to assign to Ameipsias an earlier victory than that of 414 (*Hyp. Av.*); this brings the date down to 406. By assigning to Eupolis 424 instead of 421 we reach 407 for the poet after Cephisodotus. To reach 409, the latest date for Lysippus, the first victory of Eupolis must be pushed back to 426. Since he first competed at the age of 17, in 429 or in 427, we have a margin of at most three years in the period 429–409 for victories by earlier poets other than the two (423, 422) already known to us.

Now it is inconceivable that for twenty years of the great period of the Old Comedy all but five of the victories were won by new poets, and that these, with the exception of Eupolis and Ameipsias, gained only one each before 409. So low an average of victories to the poet as this assumption implies can be paralleled in no other section of the Victors'-lists where the number of victories is recorded. In col. i, for example, 33 victories are recorded for 11 poets, and the four poets whose victories are broken away must have won at least 14.² But the average in col. i is of course exceptionally high.

¹Suidas gives 7 as the total and 3 were Lenaeon.

²Between Chionides (486) and Cratinus (452) 20 victories are recorded for 7 poets; the other four must have won at least 14, supposing that none of the

By assigning to Eupolis the earliest and least probable date in order to make the name of Lysippus barely possible in col. iii, we are distorting the relations implied by the facts furnished by the preceding poets of the list, and are forced to assume a situation exactly the opposite of that which Körte's hypothesis would force us to assume in the Lenaeon list if Lysippus' name were to be brought into col. i there (above, p. 187). While there the interval of 15 years with four new poets had to be filled out with eleven victories by the poets before Eupolis, here the interval of 20 years with ten new poets will admit of but six victories by the earlier poets. While it cannot be maintained that either of these alternatives is impossible, both are intrinsically improbable. On general grounds it is safe to assert, I think, that the probable date implied by the position proposed for Lysippus in the City list is ca. 400, in the Lenaeon list ca. 414.

We are certainly justified, therefore, in looking for an earlier position for Lysippus in the City list. In the line above Pherecrates Wilhelm (p. 110) reports traces of the lower limbs of an Α or Λ followed by the lower stroke of either ρ, γ, or φ. The position of this stroke seems to me to favor γ or φ rather than ρ (Wilhelm suggests the possibility of *Αρ- here also), and, with the preceding letter, to point, as Wilhelm observes, to Αγ-, 'Αφ-, or Αγ-.¹ A poet Autocrates, of uncertain date, is once cited (Kock I, p. 806). There is no known poet Aph-. The restoration of Lysippus here is the most probable on simply epigraphical grounds. Besides, he is thus restored to the group of poets to which he properly belongs. His predecessor in IG. XIV 1097 I believe to be Callias, his successor Aristomenes, whose name is near the head of the Lenaeon list. The chronological relations of the entire list now become intelligible and natural: Callias 446, Lysippus ca. 435, Aristophanes and Eupolis 427-424, Ameipsias 414, Cephisodotus 402. As for the date of Pherecrates' first victory, it now seems probable that Dobree's conjecture is incorrect; a later date is desirable. I would suggest ἐν Πυθοδαῶρον 431

predecessors of Cratinus was victorious after 452, which is extremely unlikely. Wilhelm's assertion, p. 111, that none of the predecessors of Euphronius is likely to have won the prize after 458 is obviously wrong; Ecphantides could have occupied only four years of the interval 457-452, and that only by winning four times in succession.

¹It was the presence of what I took to be Λ on the stone that led to my remark *Class. Phil.* I, p. 201, n. 4. My calculations on p. 210 were inexact, since I assumed a lacuna too large by one line.

for ἐνὶ θεάτρῳ, which is about as easy palaeographically as Dobree's ἐνὶ θεοδώρῳ.

We can no longer reasonably doubt, as it seems to me, that Aristophanes won a City victory early in his career (A. J. P. XX, p. 396), as well as the City victory of 405.¹ Was the first victory won through the agency of a hypodidascalus or did Aristophanes act here, as in the Knights, as his own didascalus? The question cannot be answered with absolute certainty, for if the first victory of Eupolis was that of 421, the first of Aristophanes may have been won in 424. Since he himself brought out the Knights at the Lenaea of 424, he may have dispensed with a didascalus also at the Dionysia two months later. And yet this possibility is by no means a probability, as a glance at my grouping of the victors will show. It is advisable to place Aristophanes and Eupolis as high in the column as possible. Between 427, the earliest possible date for a first victory by Aristophanes, and 446, a period of 18 years, six years are occupied by the first victories of Telecleides to Hermippus. A minimum of 6 victories by the poets of col. i is carried over to col. ii and one of these was won in 423 (Cratinus). This leaves seven further victories to be accounted for, of which two could have been contributed by Telecleides and one each by Pherecrates and Hermippus and the remaining three by the poets of col. i. This is entirely reasonable, but the situation becomes increasingly difficult as the first victory of Aristophanes is given a later date. Since before the Knights he brought out no play himself but employed a didascalus, it must be regarded as all but mathematically demonstrated that the entry in the Victors'-list represents a victory won through the agency of another—'Ἀριστοφάνης ἰδίδασκεν διὰ τοῦ δεινὸς καὶ ἐνίκᾳ probably at the Dionysia of 425.

What then shall we do with the statement of Suidas that Araros first exhibited in Ol. 101, 376–373, while the Fasti record a victory by him in 386? The source of the date in Suidas was obviously the Didascaliae, and this document gave no intimation that the plays which Araros first exhibited under his own name were not composed by him. That the Cocalus and Aeolosikon were written by Aristophanes and not by Araros was known to contemporaries through current gossip or the insinuation of rival comic poets, and the Alexandrian tradition definitely ascribed

¹The further argument might be employed that the fifth place in col. iii would be too late for Aristophanes' victory in 405.

these plays to the father. The only solution of the difficulty seems to be that here, as often, the numeral in Suidas has been corrupted in transmission—that for *ρᾶ* we should read *qη*.

For the general chronological relations of the poets in the Dionysian list reference is made to the table on p. 195. For *κα*—the restoration *Κά[ϑαρος]* is not improbable instead of Wilhelm's Callistratus. Plato's *συμμαχία* was attributed by some to him, whence Meineke rightly inferred that he was a contemporary of Plato. *Φιλ[ύλλιος]* is quite as probable as Philonides and is accepted by Kaibel; cf. the Lenaeae list. The position of the name points to a date ca. 411. We do not know whether Philonides ever won a City victory or not; but he was victor at the Lenaea in 422 with the Proagon, according to the simplest interpretation of Hyp. Vesp. [**Αρχ*]*ι[ππος]*, proposed by Wilhelm as the alternative to Lysippus, is the most plausible restoration of the name following Cephisodotus on the basis of Wilhelm's report . . . |[—], although there may have been other poets . . . *ιππος* of whom we have no knowledge. If Archippus is to be restored the numeral in Suidas is again corrupt. His *qa'* 415-412 would have to be changed to *qδ'*, 403-400; *a* and *δ* are easily confounded. We must recognize the possibility, however, that the single victory reported by Suidas may have been Lenaeae. The lacuna at the end of col. i of the Lenaeae list would admit the name of Archippus for a victory in the first years of the ninety-first Olympiad. Finally, the victory of Cephisodotus in 402 referred to in Lysias XXI, 4 may well have been his first, determining the position of this poet in the list just after Theopompus.

EDWARD CAPPS.

IV.—BOCCACCIO, *Fiammetta*, CHAP. I, AND SENECA,
Hippolytus, ACT I.

That Boccaccio quotes several lines from the 'Seneca poeta', 'Seneca tragicus', whom he carefully distinguishes from Seneca the moralist, has been shown by Hortis (*Studj Sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 405). Among the tragedies, the *Hippolytus* (*Phaedra*) was one of his favorites: from it he quotes three times in the *De Genealogia Deorum* (4. 10; 9. 4 (Hortis wrongly has 16); 10. 50), and once in the *Commentary on Dante* (*Lez.* 20: ed. Milanesi 1. 480). Twice (*Gen. Deor.* 9. 4; *Com.*, as above) he quotes from the chorus at the end of Act I (*Hipp.* 293-301). In the *Genealogia*, the quotation occurs in a chapter devoted to Cupid; in the *Commentary* it forms part of a discussion on the nature of love, based upon *Inf.* 5. 100, in the story of Paolo and Francesca; the two contexts having much in common.

In view of these facts, it is not surprising that Boccaccio has drawn upon the *Hippolytus* for one of his Italian works. In the first chapter of the *Fiammetta*, Venus appears to the heroine to overcome the scruples awakened by the nurse, and it is here that Boccaccio has imitated a large part of the chorus mentioned above, including the lines which he elsewhere quotes twice; besides, he is clearly indebted to certain verses of the last long speech of *Phaedra* in the preceding scene (177-194). To facilitate comparison, I have subjoined to each Italian passage the corresponding Senecan lines. The order is that of the Italian, it being understood that these passages are not continuous in the Italian, but are connected by expansions of the thought, and variations on the topics introduced. Thus, after the illustration from Jupiter (V, below), Boccaccio adds: 'Quello che per Semele nella propria forma facesse; quello che per Alcmena mutato in Anfitrione; quello che per Calisto mutato in Diana, o per Danae divenuto oro già fece, non diciamo, che sarebbe troppo lungo.' In such cases, as in the extract just quoted, he seems to owe much to Ovid.

In the first quotation below, the mention of the Ganges is evidently due to Dante (*Purg.* 2. 5; 27. 4 *Par.* 11. 51; later

imitators are Politian 2. 38; Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 19. 106; Tasso 1. *Canz.* 4.).

The Italian quotations are given from Moutier's text (*Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio* 6. 22-25), the Latin ones from Leo's edition¹ (with occasional change of punctuation).

I.

'Quantunque Febo surgente co' chiari raggi di Gange insino all' ora che nell' onde d'Esperia² si tuffa colli lassi carri, alle sue fatiche dare requie, vede nel chiaro giorno; e ciò che tra 'l freddo arturo e 'l rovente polo si chiude, signoreggia il nostro volante figliuolo senza alcuno niego.'

Hipp. 285-290:

Quaeque nascentem videt ora solem,
Quaeque ad Hesperias iacet ora metas,
Si qua ferventi subiecta Cancro,
Si qua Parrhasiae glacialis Ursae
Semper errantes patitur colonos,
Novit hos aestus.

II.

'Egli commuove le ferocissime fiamme de' giovani, e negli stanchi vecchi richiama gli spenti calori, e con non conosciuto fuoco delle vergini infiamma i casti petti.'

Hipp. 290-3:

Iuvenum feroces
Concitat flammās, senibusque fessis
Rursus extinctos revocat calores;
Virginum ignoto ferit igne pectus.

III.

'Questi colle sue fiaccole riscaldati gl' Iddii, comandò per addietro che essi, lasciati i cieli, con falsi visi abitassono le terre.'

Hipp. 294-5:

Et iubet caelo superos relicto
Vultibus falsis habitare terras.

IV.

'Or non fu Febo . . . più volte da costui soggiogato? . . . Certo sì; e ultimamente rinchiusa la sua gran luce sotto la vile

¹ The vulgate editions, with their interpolated text (cf. Leo, pp. 1 ff.), sometimes resemble Boccaccio more closely.

² Cf. also Ovid, *F.* 2. 73.

forma d'un picciolo pastore, innamorato guardò gli armenti d'Ameto.'

Hipp. 296-8:

Thessali Phoebus pecoris magister
Egit armentum, positoque plectro
Impari tauros calamo vocavit.

Cf. Hipp. 192-3:

Ipsumque Phoebum, tela qui nervo regit,
Figit sagitta certior missa puer.

V.

'Giove medesimo, il quale regge il cielo, costringendolo costui si vestì minor forma di sè: egli alcuna volta in forma di candido uccello movendo l'ali diè voci più dolci che il moriente cigno, e altra volta divenuto giovenco, e poste alla sua fronte corna, mugghiò per li campi, e li suoi dossi umiliò alli gioghi virginei, e per li fraterni regni, colle fesse unghie imitando ufficio di remo, con forte petto vietando il profondo, godè della sua rapina'.

Hipp. 299-308:

Induit formas quoties minores
Ipse qui caelum nebulasque fecit:¹
Candidas ales modo movit alas,
Dulcior vocem moriente cygnoi
Fronte nunc torva petulans iuvenus
Virginum stravit sua terga ludo,
Perque fraternos, nova regna, fluctus,
Ungula lentos imitante remos,
Pectore adverso domuit profundum,
Pro sua vector timidus rapina.

Cf. Hipp. 186-7:

Hic volucer omni pollet in terra impotens,²
Laesumque flammis torret indomitis Iovem.

VI.

'E il fiero Iddio dell' armi, la cui rossezza ancora spaventa i giganti, sotto la sua potenza temperò i suoi aspri effetti, e divenne amante'.

Hipp. 188:

Gradivus istas belliger sensit faces.

¹ Vulg. ducit.

² Heins. potens.

VII.

'E il costumato al fuoco fabbro di Giove, e facitore delle trisulche folgori, da quelle di costui più possenti fu tocco.'

Hipp. 189-191:

Opifex trisulci fulminis sensit deus,
Et qui furentes semper Aetnaeis iugis
Versat caminos igne tam parvo calet.

VIII.

'Rimirisi primamente al fortissimo figliuolo d'Alcmena, il quale, poste giù le saette e la minaccevole pelle del gran leone, sostenne d'acconciarsi alle dita i verdi smeraldi, e di dar legge ai rozzi capelli, e con quella mano colla quale poco innanzi portata avea la dura mazza . . . trasse le fila della lana data da Iole dietro al pendente fuso; e gli omeri sopra i quali l'alto cielo s'era passato . . . furono . . . coperti . . . di sottili vestimenti di porpora.'

Hipp. 317-320, 323-4, 327-9:

Natus Alcmena posuit pharetras,
Et minax vasti spolium leonis,
Passus aptari digitis smaragdos,
Et dari legem rudibus capillis. . .
Et manu, clavam modo qua gerebat
Fila deduxit properante fuso. . .
Umerisque quibus sederat alti
Regia caeli tenuem Tyrio
Stamine pallam.

VIII.

'Santo e questo fuoco è molto potente, credimi. . . Per costui la tortola il suo maschio seguita, e le nostre colombe ai suoi colombi vanno dietro con caldissima affezione, nè nessuno altro n'è che dalla maniera di questi fugga alcuna volta; e ne' boschi i timidi cervi, fatti fra sè feroci quando costui gli tocca, per le disiderate cervie combattendo e muggiando¹ delli costui caldi mostrano segnali. E i pessimi cinghiari, divenendo per ardore spumosi, aguzzano gli eburnei denti; e i leoni africani, da amore tocchi,² vibrano i colli'.

Hipp. 330-1, 339-342, 345-350:

Sacer est ignis (credite laesis)
Nimiumque potens. . .

¹ The position of this clause shows that Boccaccio is following the vulgate, which places after *cervi* the line and a half now following *leones*.

² Boccaccio evidently construes 'cum movit amor' with what precedes.

Venere instinctus suscipit audax
 Grege pro toto bella iuventus;
 Si coniugio timuere suo,
 Poscunt timidi proelia cervi.
 Tunc vulnificos
 Acuit dentes aper, et toto est
 Spumeus ore;
 Poeni quatiunt colla leones,
 Et mugitu dant concepti
 Signa furoris: cum movit amor,
 Tum silva gemit murmure saevo.

IX.

‘I dardi del nostro figliuolo ancora nelle fredde acque sentono le greggi dei marinai Iddii e de’ correnti fiumi. Nè crediamo che occulto ti sia quale testimonianza già Nettuno, Glauco, e Alfeo, e altri assai, n’abbiano renduta, non potendo colle loro umide acque, non che spegnere, ma solamente alleviare la costui fiamma.’

Hipp. 331-8:

Qua terra salo
 Cingitur alto, quaque per ipsum
 Candida mundum sidera currunt,
 Haec regna tenet puer immitis,
 Spicula cuius sentit in imis
 Pervius undis rex¹ Nereidum,
 Flammamque nequit relevare mari.

X.

‘Ogni cosa alla Natura soggiace, e da lei niuna potenza è libera, ed essa medesima è sotto Amore’.

Hipp. 352-3:

Vindicat omnem
 Sibi naturam; nihil immune est.

XI.

‘Quando costui il comanda, gli antichi odii periscono, e le vecchie ire e le novelle danno luogo alli suoi fuochi; e ultimamente tanto si stende il suo potere che alcuna volta le matrigne fa graziose a’ figliastri, che è non piccola maraviglia.’

Hipp. 354-7:

Odiūque perit cum iussit Amor;
 Veteres cedunt ignibus irae.
 Quid plura canam? vincit saevas
 Cura novercas.

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¹ The vulgate reading, *grex*, perhaps appears in Boccaccio's *greggi* (cf. Leo, p. 2).

NOTE.

PLAUTINA.

There are in Plautus many plays on words, some of which it may be impossible to discover; but some seem hardly to have been detected. The following from that amusing play the *Pseudolus* may prove of some interest.

Act I, Scene I 33 (36). Calidorus is in love with a lady, Phoenicium: She has written him a love-letter, which he asks his confidential slave Pseudolus to read. The confidential slave, who was intending to get his master out of a scrape, liked to indulge in a little preliminary banter, not always of the most refined kind. So, in this case, he says to his young master, "I see your lady love." "Where?" says Calidorus. Ps. *Eccam in tabellis porrectam: in cera cubat*. This of course means in the first place "there she is on the wax tablets: she is couched in wax": but Plautus must also have meant, "She is lying stretched out on boards: she is lying *on her face*". Such authorities as Körting assert that there is no Latin word known which can be proved to be the origin of *chiere*, but he assumes a word **cara*; but it seems that in this case we have the very word wanted. It is evident that Calidorus must have understood that Pseudolus had said something very insulting, which he strongly resents: and if this interpretation of the passage is right, the word '*cera*' will stand as the origin of our word '*cheer*', and as a by-form of **cara*.

Act I, Scene I 84, 85 (88). Ca. *Restim volo mihi emere*. Ps. *Quam ob rem?* Ca. *Qui me faciam pensilem*. "I want a rope". "Why?" "That I may hang myself". This is the obvious meaning, but the words imply also "to make myself solvent. The construction with '*facere*' puts us in mind of the French use of '*faire*'.

Act I, Scene II 26 (158). *Ballio loquitur*. *Te cum securi, caudicali praeicio provinciae*. Ballio says to the Lorarius, I set you in charge of the 'wooden province': i. e. to chop wood. But as *caudex* also means a blockhead, the Lorarius answers as if

he had said, "the province of blockheads". "But that is dull referring to the axe; and "that is dull" referring to the wits of the provincials who are called 'caudicales'; though the latter word is an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον."

Act II, Scene II 33 (629). Harpax says to Pseudolus "If you were to be the custodian of the treasurer of Jove I would never trust you with a copper. Pseudolus replies Dum tu strenuas, (al. dum tu sternuas) res erit soluta. In 'strenuas' may there be a cynical allusion to 'strenae' which P insinuates is the last thing that he expects from that quarter, 'the matter will be settled': the words also mean 'the money will be paid', and 'the object will be freed'. In line 45 there is another pun on solutum. 'It will be a looser transaction' and 'more will be paid'.

The reading 'strenuas' is, however, superseded in the latest editions of Plautus by 'sternuas' as collated from the Ambrosian palimpsest by Studemund, and rendered accessible to the world by the edition published after his death by his friend Seyffert. This work is commonly and rightly regarded as the most authoritative of existing collections. (See Sonnenschein's 'Rudens', p. xvii).

The authority of the Palatine MS cannot be held to be paramount as against the palimpsest unless the reading in the latter were unintelligible or plainly erroneous. In the case before us it seems that the maxim "difficilior lectio est potior" seems at first sight to apply to the reading of the palimpsest, but that a little consideration will shew it to be more probable, more Latin, more Plautine. I believe the meaning to be "If you only sneeze, the obstacle will be cleared away—the words res erit soluta will likewise mean 'the money will be paid': an expression à double entente, more Plautine. I believe that Pseudolus means 'If you could only clear your head you would see it was best to pay over the money at once'. 'Sternutamenta' were thought to clear the head, and mustard is recommended to produce sneezing (cf. Plin. N. H. XX. 87. 2. Cf. also Celsus VIII. 1) sub his enim crustae resolvuntur, quae tum per sternutamenta elidi debent. The syntax of the words seems against taking them in the sense of 'The money shall be paid as quickly as you sneeze'.

Act III, Scene II 1 (790). Forum coquinum qui vocant stulte vocant; nam non coquinum est, verum furinum est forum. Does not this line suggest that 'coquin' in French may come from 'cocus' and not, as commonly assumed, from coq? It is

evident that Ballio means to speak of the Forum as a haunt of *rascals*, and I take the meaning of coquinum here to be 'rascally'.

In Captivi IV 111, 7 ius dicam larido seems to be a pun on *ius*. I'll dictate the sauce for the bacon; and in line 8 et quae *pendent* indemnatae pernae a reference to such expressions as 'pendente lite'.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Pour mieux connaître Homère. Par MICHEL BRÉAL, Paris, Hachette, 1906.

In M. Bréal's 'Pour mieux connaître Homère' the reader will recognize the various articles he has written for the 'Revue de Paris' on the subject of Homer and the Homeric Question, and not a few of the etymologies that he has published elsewhere from time to time. The first part of the volume is given up to Homer and the Homeric Question, the second is a *Lexilogus*. The book is alive with cleverness and it was this cleverness that seduced me into making a summary of the first chapter 'Un problème de l'histoire littéraire' (A. J. P. XXIV 353), a non-committal abstract in which I tried to be as fair as possible; and the readers of the Journal may recall my statement of M. Bréal's main contentions. To him the Homeric epos is an epopee. It is a supreme work of art, not an evolution, not an exhalation, and it is to be judged as more recent epopees are to be judged. 'Parmi les épopées des différents âges, des différents peuples, l'Iliade est la première et la plus belle : mais elle n'est pas d'une autre espèce'. Now, as I frankly said in my review of M. Terret's Homère (A. J. P. XX 90) for a first acquaintance with Homer, I am on the side of the Unitarians. To know Homer better is to get into the Homeric swing, and nowadays schoolboys read three books, six books, at most twelve books. Why disillusion them in advance, as is regularly done at the beginning of each book? Why vilipend the Eighth Book of the Iliad with its famous close? Why consider Kalypso a feeble replica of Kirke, or the flirtatious Penelope a graft on the true heroine? Every right-minded Homerist resents the reflection that the Agamemnon of Stephen Phillips's Ulysses casts on the consort of the much-enduring, and wonders how he dares to contradict the Agamemnon of the *Nékuia*; and it is not consonant with the reverence due the wife of Odysseus to rake up the scandals of her early married life or to quote Ovid's malicious version of the Trial of the Bow:

Qui latus argueret, corneus arcus erat.

But even a touch of the *esprit gaulois* were better than dead-alive interpretation or perpetual dissection, and while M. Bréal is by no means a Unitarian, still, as we have seen, he tries to save large stretches of the Iliad, which no one can keep from admiring, though we are solemnly told by the commentators that they are so many *dulcissima vitia*. But no matter what the theory may

be, French perspicuity and French point are more than welcome in this range of studies. In a domain that the Germans have made peculiarly their own for more than a century, a foreign voice is actually a relief, and M. Bréal's patriotism is a welcome note. He has a good word to say for Madame Dacier's conception of Homeric characters (A. J. P. XXIV 355), and in this volume he tries to annex Buttmann. The ancestral Buttmann, it appears, was a French Boudemont and the great grammarian and lexicologist had a bloodright to the Gallic clearness and brightness that distinguish him in his writings as they distinguished him, I believe, in social intercourse. Fortunately for some of us, *la voix du sang* may also serve as an excuse when it becomes frivolously vocal in a later generation. M. Bréal himself, needless to say, stands for a certain lightness and airiness in the treatment of Homeric problems, and as there are some who seem to think that the sunshine of Homer has caused too many readers to overlook the sombreness of the background, the 'Melancholy of the Greeks' (A. J. P. XII 521), who could not have been so joyous, if they had not been so sad, so M. Bréal, on the other hand, in spite of all that has been written about the wit and humor of Homer, seems to think that the gay, not to say frivolous, side has been too much neglected. <One must know the face of Homer well to catch his dimpling smile, and commentators are prone to chase elusive protasis and apodosis in Homer's feminine syntax, which is intended to be feminine syntax (Il. 14, 331-6) and fail to sympathize with the returning hero when he lies to Penelope, as if he had been a modern traveller, recounting his exploits to his wife. At any rate the redactor, who wrote—we can say 'wrote' now—ὡς πρῶτον Κίκωνας δάμας' was as genuine a humorist as Mr. Dooley.>

I cannot undertake to summarize the rest of the volume on the same scale as my résumé of the first chapter, but the subject is one of perennial interest, and I hope the eminent author will forgive my parenthetic remarks and illustrations. The reader will readily pull out the coarse basting-threads of my adaptations even where I have not clearly indicated them.

What is the Iliad? asks M. Bréal in the chapter following the one already summarized. Not a gigantic game of patience played by a commission under Peisistratos, not a collection of popular ballads. For what has popular poetry to do with a composition that presents the triple character of a consecutive story, a uniform language, an invariable metre? No. The famous commission had to deal with manuscripts, with rolls of papyrus such as we have in our museums, not written for general circulation but an archetype, possessed by a community, stored up for the celebration of some great solemnity, stored up and augmented from time to time; and such was the use to which it was put at the Panathenaia. The Iliad is a collective work—nearly to the same degree and in the same sense

as our mediaeval cathedrals. There have been additions to the original stock. But as the language and the prosody are kept up without great change for centuries, how can we distinguish the new matter? Not in those elements in which divergence is sedulously avoided, but in unconscious anachronisms. Single combats, comparable to the duels of the paladins of the Middle Ages, are followed by the movements of armies. The heroes are transformed. They have the same names, sport the same epithets but they are no longer the same. Once demigods, they have become mortal; once paladins, they have become generals. They have armies to command. Their soldiers are drilled, march in rank and file; bivouac in order, attack in column. Fines await the delinquents and surgeons attend the wounded. These anachronisms run through the entire poem; they are not massed at the end. The state is organized. The momentous word *πολις* is pronounced. There is a senate, an assembly of the people. There are orators in Homer, men who have made reputations as public speakers; and these speeches have a more modern cast than the rest of the poems because the poet had no model as he had for the narrative. The same dualism shews itself in the portions that pertain to the divine. The *Iliad* might be expected to take its gods seriously; but the gods are, as a rule, far inferior to men in morality. Kronos is a crooked soul, Apollo a traitor, Athene a cheat. Helen has a better character than her mistress, Aphrodite. The moral code for mortals is not very exalted, according to M. Bréal, who evidently scorns Horace's dictum as to Homer's ethical doctrines. It is a rather *terre à terre* morality but it will serve. The discrepancy becomes flagrant when the two conceptions meet in the same personage, as in the case of Zeus, the Zeus who is the supreme god of the Indo-European races, all-powerful, just, the enemy of falsehood, the helper of the weak and the unhappy, and Zeus the capricious and feeble despot, the malicious breed-bate, the peevish, fretful monarch, tricked by his wife and over-persuaded by his old flame, Thetis, whom M. Bréal by an odd lapse calls his daughter. The *Iliad* unites and confounds the two images, that of the Aryan deity and the Zeus of the poems of adventure that have preceded the *Iliad*.

In a recent number of the new Greek periodical *Ἡ Μελέτη* Mr. Tsountas discusses the question when the Greeks began to wash their hands and faces the first thing in the morning, and considers his Homeric ancestors half-civilized because the early ablution was to them a religious rite and not a regular function of the daily toilet. 'Half-civilized' is not the word that M. Bréal would suffer to be used in connection with Homer. The time of the *Iliad* is a time of wealth and luxury, as is attested by the poem itself, and M. Bréal rejects, as we have seen, the usual explanation that all such proof-texts are later additaments (A. J. P. XXIV 355). He has evidently no sympathy with the seductive

method of Robert (A. J. P. XXII 467). The ignorance of geography, scandalous ignorance, shewn in some parts is offset by the exact details of other parts. Homer's knowledge of such subjects is like that of Vergil and Dante, now precise and true <let us say, as precise and true as M. Bérard would have us to believe> now confused and fantastic, <let us say, as Pindar's, P. 4, 201>. Everything depends on the source of information; and the haziness of American geography in European eyes is proverbial. I have just read an English novel in which Colorado figures as a town. One thing is certain, we are in no rudimentary world. <Homer is discreetly silent as to his own time. The sigh *οἱ τοὶ βροτοὶ εἰσιν* is mere sentimentality, but as man makes God in his own image> the constitution of Olympus may help us, and the Olympian court is modelled on an Asiatic original, and that Oriental monarchy is the Lydian. <Lydia, I am glad to see, has been coming to its rights again, for the world was growing just a little weary of the Hittites when the great ghost of Kroisos rose again in the verse of Bakchylides.—To be sure, the Hittites have had a revival since M. Bréal's book was published.—Lydia was in a sense the France of Greece. When we read Archilochos, when we read Sappho, we feel both the shadow and the light of Lydia.> Be that as it may, the society of the Iliad is a feudal society, made up of semi-independent chiefs, princes and lords of high degree, determined genealogists, claimants of divine descent. <As everybody is honorable to a Japanese> so Alexandros is 'divine' to Menelaos. As for the idyllic scenes of the poems, as for Nausikaa, the divine washerwoman and Odysseus, the divine joiner—well, in every age and in every country the eclogue is a product of over-civilization, and M. Bréal refuses to take Nausikaa on the seashore any more seriously than history takes Marie Antoinette at the Trianon. Achilles prepares a meal with the help of his companion Patroklos. But this is regarded by M. Bréal as a trait of a legendary past. Else he thinks we should not have had the scene, <which recalls King Alfred and the cakes, Marion and the potatoes, as well as Abraham and his angelic visitor. And yet it may be asked: Are there no beefsteak clubs now in luxurious America, no oyster roasts, no terrapin stews, no chafing-dish suppers from which professionals are excluded?> The Homeric world is a refined world, and M. Bréal repeats with approval the observation that in forty-eight cantos there is no low idea, no coarse word.

Of this Homeric refinement one illustration has recently crossed the track of my studies. Among my many schemes is or was a collection of translations of the story of Eumaios in the Odyssey. The Lay of the Swineherd seems to me the handiest episode in the two poems for the illustration of the different methods of translating Homer in different periods, in different nationalities and incidentally for the demolition of the ballad business, which hardly needs demolishing now. Essential to my catena was the

version in Latin hexameters by the XVIth century scholar, Simon Lemnius, and after a long time I succeeded in getting a copy through the kindness of my friend and colleague, Professor Kirby Flower Smith, who transcribed the episode with his own hand. In this story the princeling's nurse falls a victim to the smooth tongue of a Phoenician trader as she was washing clothes by the seaside. I need not go through the long list of seductive and seduced washerwomen; the situation is familiar to every student of literature. It was doubtless familiar to Homer. The daughter of Arybas was, perhaps, as nobly born as Nausikaa. Whether she had a worse fate or not depends on one's conception of the character of Telemachos. The language is the conventional language of the epos and there is no harm, no real indelicacy in *μίγη . . . εὐνῇ καὶ φιλότῳ*. *μίγη* has a very different stamp from the English 'mix', and I have suggested a number of renderings for it in Pindar as also for *κεράννυμι*, to the displeasure of Dr. Fennell (O. I, 22). To be sure, there is a moral reflexion on the bad effects of such an amour on a working-woman, but the thought is quite in keeping with the homely strain of Eumaios. But when we turn to our modern scholar we find that he has drawn on his Horatian vocabulary for one of the coarsest words in the Latin language to express the harmless *ἐμίσγετο λάθρῃ*; and was not mindful of the οὐδὲ δοικε which M. Bréal emphasizes as the mark of the conventionality of the Homeric world. 'Es ziemt sich nicht!' as a German 'Hofdame' would say.

One would fain place, says M. Bréal, this flowering of politeness and poetry in one of the Greek colonies of Ionia. History tells us of commercial republics that could hold their own with the most elegant courts. But the cast of the poem is monarchical, and in the King of the Phaeacians and his 'incomparable wife', we have an idealized portrait of royalty. That is M. Bréal's impression. <Another impression, for which something might be said, puts the whole Phaeacian episode in the realm of what used to be called 'genteel comedy'. The emptiness of Alkinoos is as conspicuous as his good manners. One can imagine an irreverent but kindly American giving an account of the court life of a small German principality in the good old days. Needless to say, such a *motif* is quite alive in the fiction of to-day.> But M. Bréal clings to the idea of a Greek poet living at the Lydian court, which, we know, was haunted by Greek adventurers, a poet who was a sound monarchist—οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη—and yet true to the memories of his own country, the home of his poetical creations—εἰς οἰωνὸς ἀριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης. <I wish M. Bréal had commented on the professorial exchange, which brought Alkman from Lydia to Sparta. Nothing could have been more twentieth century.>

The events of the Greek epopee, continues M. Bréal, belong to mythology but it is a mythology that has gone through a chemical process of purification. It is, as far as possible, reasonable and human. Grant the intervention of the gods, and all the action

follows the laws of logic. There are traces of the old 'zoological mythology' but they are faint and far away. The hardworking gods of popular invention would be astonished at the *ῥαία ζῶοντες* of Homer. There is no Saturnus to protect the seed, no Ceres to watch the growth of the crops, though we have a number of Usener's transparent gods (A. J. P. XVII 358), Justice (*Θέμις*), Supplications (*Αἶραι*), Graces (*Χάριτες*), Discord (*Ἔρις*). True, there are remnants of a crude age, but we must not lay too much stress on the death of Iphigeneia, on the immolation of the twelve young Trojans by Achilles. The moral standard had risen above the cult. The opposition between Agamemnon and Kalchas typifies the conflict, <shall we say, between intellect and faith?> More twentieth century.

Theoretical evolutionists of the epos, continues M. Bréal, love to connect it with a great historical event, but this is true only of the learned epos (*l'épopée savante*). Vergil makes Turnus the representative of the old indigenous populations of Italy. Tasso sings the victory of Christendom over the infidels. The Chanson de Roland has already passed out of the first phase in which the army of Rama makes war on Hanuman, King of the Apes, and the Finns go forth for the conquest of 'sampo'—'a metallic object not yet determined' <how different from 'La secchia rapita' of Tassoni.> With his view of the Iliad M. Bréal is willing enough to concede that there is something true in the familiar hypothesis that the Iliad has for its subject the struggle between two civilizations, but he thinks that the Asiatic origin of the Iliad makes the matter obscure.

But the date? Well may M. Bréal say that he feels the danger of a date. The time at which he puts what he is careful to call 'l'ensemble des oeuvres placées sous le nom d'Homère' is the time of the last kings of Lydia, of Alyattes, or Croesus himself. The Herodotean date he waves away. It is a personal opinion that amounts to nothing, in view of the way in which the historian was fooled by spurious inscriptions. One shivers at the audacity of M. Bréal, but it is not a *nouveau frisson* when one remembers Paley, who brings the redactor of Homer into the historical blaze of the fifth century. Herodotos thus disposed of, M. Bréal declines to linger on the popular theme of Mycenaean antiquities. The Mycenaean antiquities existed for Homer as they exist for us—only better preserved. The poet could not ignore them. He had to stage his heroes in that ancient setting. 'Hero', according to M. Bréal, means 'ancestor', literally, the 'early one', from the radical we find in *ἔαρ* and *ἡπρυδνεια*, and these 'early birds' were decked out in a plumage that M. Bréal parallels with the Scottish kilt.

As to the personality of the poet M. Bréal has nothing more to say except that one of the *δοδοί*, who bore the name, achieved a certain popularity and effaced the others. In any case he was not the only one. The name sums up an epoch. But all the pro-

ductivity of that epoch was not confined to the epos, and the hexameter was not the only artistic form. It is as if the Louvre had disappeared with all its pictures except one room.

The language of Homer is the subject of the fifth chapter. It is neither pure Ionic nor Aeolic nor Boeotian nor Cypriote. It is not, as Otfried Müller said, a precious and fine web that has been torn to pieces and mended at haphazard. The web was spun and woven in the heads of the rhapsodes. According to M. Bréal a perfectly pure language is a chimæra of the schools to be distrusted everywhere, how much more in poems that have been produced under circumstances favorable to a composite language (A. J. P. XXIV 357). We have not to do with a primitive population and a meagre vocabulary. We have in the Iliad and Odyssey the richest thesaurus ever presented to the service of poetry with a wealth of synonyms and an extraordinary variety of inflexions; and yet these inflexions are all authentic, all justified by inscriptions, by etymological analysis, by comparison with sister languages. The singers are heirs of a long tradition; their memories are stored with verses and hemistichs (A. J. P. VI 399). They are familiar with all the keys of their instrument. See what they have made of that arid theme, the catalogue of the ships. They play so readily with the hexameter that they are often carried beyond their theme for the mere fun of the thing. <We can say of them as was said of Ovid: *ninium amatores ingenii sui.*> To reduce them to the paradigms of a rigid grammar, to an inflexible phonetic, would be to misunderstand these gifted singers, their age, their environment'. M. Bréal refuses to follow the lead of those who see in the history of Smyrna, an Aeolic colony afterwards conquered by the Ionians, the secret of this mixed language, nor does he attribute the absence of certain forms, Doric forms, to a feeling of antipathy. The language is regulated as it is later by the order of literature. Of course, M. Bréal admits the fascination of the transfer of the Homeric poems to the supposed original Aeolic (A. J. P. VII 232), but it is just the fascination of the linguist's daily work, his daily teaching; and the popularity of the poems in their Ionic garb in every part of Greece, whether Aeolian or Dorian, seems to him conclusive against the hypothesis of a deliberate transfer from one dialect to another <and he does not stop to recognize the muffled hostility of Pindar (A. J. P. XXVII 484)>. Similar mixtures, similar doublets abound in every language. Only in many instances the irregularities are disguised by a rigid orthography, whereas the Homeric spelling is phonographic. As to the evidence drawn from the existence of very old forms such as the genitive in *-οιο* side by side with the genitive in *-ου*, that proves nothing as to the long duration of the period of elaboration. Even in our modern idioms, consecrated and fixed by writing, there are variants quite as startling as *ἡμεῖς* and *ἄμμες*, *εἶνεκα* and *ἐνεκα*, *μέμνησαι*, *μέμνηαι* and *μέμνηη*. The mixture of the ancient and the modern is no proof of the length of time necessary

for the elaboration of these poems, for we are not dealing with popular poetry, and in no period, among no people, have poets been denied the privilege of reproducing old formulas, either for the verse's sake or to give their language more weight, more color. Inflections do not disappear at once. They are preserved in ritual and in law. <The old *-th* was still used by our grandfathers when they wished to be impressive. Nothing can be deader than *-st*, than *thou*, than *ye*, and yet they still have a use in certain spheres. In fact *thou* is so dead that the phonetists of to-day are quarrelling about the pronunciation. The Friends say *thee* (A. J. P. IV 285)>.

It is true, continues M. Bréal, that the Homeric language has its own grammar and its own lexicon, but no essential feature differentiates it from the following period. What Classic Greek has lost, is already lost in Homeric Greek, e. g. the ablative. What Classic Greek has acquired, has been acquired in Homeric Greek, e. g. the aorist λύσας, τύψας, and the conditional particle *άν*. Homer has very nearly the same wealth of suffixes as the ages that followed. There is no lack of abstracts. The *-σύνη* forms are distinctly conspicuous, and the process of 'concretion' which M. Bréal in his *Sémantique* calls 'épaississement' is there. *ιπποσύνη* is 'riding' (*équitation*), but in *λελασμένος ιπποσυνάων* we have to do with 'rides' (*chevauchées*). <But the whole subject of abstracts is a large one from which I must turn resolutely, lest I be betrayed into divagations on the silences of Homer (A. J. P. XXIV 353)>.

Of course, no one can write about Homer without touching on the *epitheta ornantia*, which constitute so marked a feature of the Homeric poems. They remind M. Bréal of 'le brave Dunois' and 'le grand Corneille'. A great resource were they for the rhapsode, as is sufficiently obvious. They were welcome tags. But M. Bréal goes on to say that they were not only a resource for the rhapsode, they were a rest for the hearer. This is the reason why fifty verses of the *Iliad* are easier to read than twenty of the *Aeneid*. These *epitheta ornantia* are real lubricants of discourse. They are found not only in the descriptions but in the speeches. Agamemnon does not omit them in his wrath nor Dolon in his terror.

Another mark of an advanced art of composition is the use of comparisons which M. Bréal considers as quite opposed to the spirit of popular poetry—another large subject about which much might be said (A. J. P. II 108)—and there is finally the comic note, which he fancies has not been sufficiently elaborated on account of the respect inspired by the epic genus. His chief sample is Nestor, <and no wonder, for in the case of Nestor, Homer has sacrificed the interest of his hearers to the truthfulness of dramatic representation. οὐχ ἔδος ἐστί, γεραίε διοτρεφές, says Patroklos (Il. 11, 647), and we all sympathize with him, but the Γερήνιος ἱππόδρα jogs on the footpath way, regardless of his impatient hearer.> As to the composition of the *Iliad*, criticism has ceased

to admit that an epopee can spring entire from popular inspiration. The difficulty is to reconcile spontaneous origin with artistic elaboration. According to the prevalent view, the material is furnished by a number of lays on the same subject, called forth by some great event, rising spontaneously at different points, spreading and multiplying until some one poet is roused to unite them, put them in order, and make of them one grand composition. But to deserve the name of epos there must be not only a popular, a national basis; the epos must come from the heart of the people. A lofty conception, says M. Bréal. It may apply for all he knows to the *Chanson de Roland* and to the *Nibelungen*. Does it apply to the *Iliad*?

The one thing that is lacking in the *Iliad* is popular passion. Between Greeks and Trojans there is perfect impartiality. The most sympathetic personage in the poems is Hektor; the inimitable model of a wife, is Andromache. The Trojans are *μεγάθυμοι, μεγαλίστορες*. The allies of the Trojans are *ἀντίθες*. Think how the Spanish *Romancero* treats the Saracens, how the Servian singers speak of the Turks. The only passage in which the poet departs from his impartiality is the *ἔσσεται ἡμῶν*, which he puts in the mouth of the Trojan hero. In the absence of national passion, in the absence of some Alphonso II of Ferrara to order a poem, of some scholar to collect these legends and fuse them—the period is too remote for that—M. Bréal assumes a college, a corporation charged with the programmes of games and festivals in the land of Lydia, just as in the Middle Ages religious orders devoted themselves to the glorification of a saint or the accomplishment of a great work. In this way we can explain the successive production and the preservation of the work, the unity of the language and of the metre, and at the same time catch a glimpse of the cause of certain inequalities, the introduction of cantos that do not harmonize with the rest, however great their independent merit, the *Λιταί*, the *Δολώνεια*, the episode of Sarpedon, and others in which inspiration flags, the bizarre *Μάχη παραποτάμιος*, and what M. Bréal calls the heroï-comic canto of the *Θεομαχία*. In this way, too, we can account for the doublets, the working in of two accounts of the same events. The inexplicable *πείρα* of the second book is a misplacement of the quite explicable *πείρα* of the fourteenth. Admitting, as M. Bréal does, the value of the services of the school which used to engage in comparison of people with people, he thinks that by the dexterous employment of abstract terms these scholars have discolored the facts and volatilized history, have dulled the keenness of vision for differences, and have veiled with their generalizations the antiquity of different epochs. *Iliad* and *Nibelungen* do not belong to the same class. The conclusions obtained from the *Chanson de Roland* do not serve for the *Kalevala*, which the researches of Comparetti have put in the true light. 'Poema creato dal popolo' says Comparetti, 'non

esiste nè può aspettarsi' in direct polarity to F. A. Wolf's 'carmina prope sponte nascuntur'. Ossian may have been responsible for Wolf as the Nibelungen may have been responsible for Lachmann. Grote's Ilias proper and Achilleis find no favor in M. Bréal's eyes nor any of the dissections of the *Kleinliederjäger*. The theory of an Ur-Ilias has no charm for him. It is necessary to discard so much—the *Τειχοσκοπία*, the *Πρεσβεία*, the *Ἐκτορος καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης ὁμιλία*, the *Διομήδους ἀριστεία*, the *Μενελάου ἀριστεία*, all that follows the death of Hektor, even the interview between Achilles and Priam—one of the most beautiful scenes in all literature, says Gottfried Hermann. The Iliad under this treatment 'resembles a French tragedy under the Empire', and it would be the first time in the history of literature that all the beauties of a work had come from the interpolators. This growth from within is not compatible with the hypothesis of a popular origin. It is true that poets have seized upon a legend and enlarged its proportions so as to make of it a drama or an epopee. But it has always been the genius of an individual that has wrought this prodigy. The inevitable conclusion would be a return to the one Homer. But M. Bréal is satisfied with his guild and his *δοιδός*, whose name has been associated with the great poems; and he winds up this half of the book with some specimens of the minute analysis that has characterized recent Homeric research, and with the admission of the probability that writing served as an aid and as a guide to the *δοιδός*, a singer at least in name.

The *Lexilogus* half of the volume lies beyond my competence, and for that matter the review as far as it has gone is only a *Brief Mention* that has outgrown its limits, and must not be taken more seriously than the other bits of cork with which I try to float my trimestrial net. In this department of the Journal I cannot always command the help that I crave.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

The Higher Study of English. By ALBERT S. COOK, Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906. Pp. 145.

Professor Cook's volume is timely. Never, perhaps, since English became a recognized academic study have its teachers manifested greater divergence regarding their function. On its literary side, we are asked, can English be taught at all? Or, a larger question, can any literature be taught? If so, how? Apart from language?—apart from the body in which it is incarnate? Such questions rest, of course, upon a problem still more fundamental, though one that has not in general been sharply defined

or patiently meditated: *why* should we study literature, and, notably, *why* our own? Without making any pretense at being a systematic treatise on the pedagogics of English, the present book does, directly or indirectly, contain well matured answers to these and similar questions; and coming from one who is not merely a scholar of international authority, and not merely a gifted writer and delicate critic, but a powerful and philosophic teacher as well, the answers may be profitably taken to heart and pondered. For he does not speak as the scribes.

The volume is made up of four 'occasional' papers: (1) The Province of English Philology, a presidential address delivered before the Modern Language Association in 1897, and pleading for a larger interpretation (the German) of a much abused term; (2) The Teaching of English, an historical sketch, reprinted from the Atlantic for May, 1901; (3) The Relation of Words to Literature, from an address given at Vassar in February, 1906; and (4) Aims in the Graduate Study of English, a paper read at Princeton the month before. The several essays now come before a wider public without essential change; no attempt has been made to give them artificial correlation. They 'overlap' somewhat, as their author says. They do not in the ordinary sense repeat. However, underlying all their variety of argument and illustration, or rather animating it, there is a philosophy of teaching that is at one with itself, as well as consistent with experience. It is not, like an abstract pedagogy, separable from a knowledge of the subject to be taught, or from the personality of the teacher, or from that of the pupil, or from the concrete practice of great historic teachers; it is at once eclectic and individual.

And what sort of answers will this philosophy afford to the simple questions we have outlined above?

Literature can be taught because it must be; the impulse to orderly and thorough knowledge is inherent in our better natures. It can be taught because it has been; because those who have produced the best literature, above all, the ancients, believed that it ought to be studied. What can be studied can be taught. What the ancients, and the wisest of their followers, taught and learned, Americans can yet learn and teach, if they are trained approximately after the fashion of Milton, Dante, and the Greeks. The answer here is optimistic, though it does not point to the path of least resistance.

Again, *how* is literature to be taught? Apart from the language wherein it is enfolded? Apart from the national soul that has made and is making the language? The answer is obvious. Yet the obvious answer implies that in order to understand Milton or Shakespeare as either deserves to be understood, we must have among other things a substantial acquaintance with history and historical grammar. But once more: in order to teach literature, must we really teach *litteras*? Does not the letter kill? No, the letter is also alive, has its share of the spirit that informs the whole organism; *spiritus intus alit*. 'Soule is forme, and

doth the bodie make'—even to the minutest cell. The teacher and the student of the humanities must count nothing that is human as beneath notice. Every jot and tittle of the law is instinct with life. Those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary; and those parts of the body which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor.

On the other hand, shall we study language apart from literature, that is, apart from passion, thought, and sentiment? In the final analysis we cannot. Woe to us if we blindly persist in an effort so unnatural! Nevertheless, for most persons at some time, and by a few specialists much of the time, stress must be laid upon the linguistic side of philology (the only proper term to embrace both linguistics and *belles-lettres*). Such stress is necessary either for the individual or for the general progress in discovering, communicating, and perpetuating what is best in the life of the past and the present.

In the last sentence lies the solution of that more deeply seated yet simple question mooted at the beginning. We study literature through language, we study the past in all its manifestations, in order to discover, to communicate, and to perpetuate what is best in humanity. We study English in order to do this for people of our own blood; the love of letters is patriotic and begins at home. We study English in order that we may have racial life and have it more abundantly.

But what is life? No one can define it. Yet all of us know it. We can at least classify it. First, then, and most important, there is what Wordsworth calls moral life. As the ancients demanded of a poet that he be first of all a good man, so as not to miss the beauty which is inherent in the moral order, similarly the teacher of English must be, however indirectly, a moral teacher. However indirectly, it is the nature of teaching to be didactic. To say that we must teach either truth or beauty by indirection is merely to say that no end can be attained without means. The point is, to keep the end in view.

To summarize as we have done, in our own words, is doubtless to confine Professor Cook's thought within unduly narrow limits, and to rob it of its concreteness—certainly to suppress the specific adaptations it undergoes in the several essays with reference to different aspects and needs of American education. However, instead of marring any of his illustrations by taking them out of their context (where every teacher of English ought to read them), we prefer to cite one or two illustrations which Professor Cook himself might have used, drawing them from sources similar to those on which the best part of his theory and practice is based, that is, from the best poets and critics.

When, for example, it is urged, as in some quarters it has been lately, that literature cannot be taught, or at least that the teacher of English cannot in general propose to himself as his chief and final aim to impart a sense of literary values, we may urge in return the conviction of Wordsworth that literature ought to be

studied, and the belief of Coleridge that it can be taught, and taught according to a conscious method suitable to schools.

Thus Wordsworth, dividing all readers into five main classes, credits only the fifth, composed of students, with any sureness of appreciation: "And, lastly, there are many, who, having been enamoured of this art in their youth, have found leisure, after youth was spent, to cultivate general literature; in which poetry has continued to be comprehended *as a study*." That his conception of study included inquiry into things small as well as great, and into technical matters which some of our wiseacres nowadays would exclude from the class-room incontinently, is evident; for, having in mind the equipment of the poet and the properly trained reader of poetry, he says of the rest: "There can be no presumption in saying of most readers, that it is not probable they will be so well acquainted with the various stages through which words have passed." This seems exactly in the tenor of the essay on *The Relation of Words to Literature*.

And the following, from Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, is even more striking in its harmony with the method advocated by Professor Cook throughout; it contains implicitly more than one weighty principle which space has forbidden us to mention.

"At school (Christ's Hospital)", says Coleridge, "I enjoyed the inestimable advantage of a very sensible, though at the same time, a very severe master, the Reverend James Bowyer. He early moulded my taste to the preference of Demosthenes to Cicero, of Homer and Theocritus to Virgil, and again of Virgil to Ovid. He habituated me to compare Lucretius (in such extracts as I then read), Terence, and above all the chaster poems of Catullus, not only with the Roman poets of the, so-called, silver and brazen ages; but with even those of the Augustan era: and on grounds of plain sense and universal logic to see and assert the superiority of the former in the truth and nativeness both of their thoughts and diction. At the same time that we were studying the Greek tragic poets, he made us read Shakspeare and Milton as lessons: and they were the lessons too, which required most time and trouble to *bring up*, so as to escape his censure. I learned from him, that poetry, even that of the loftiest and, seemingly, that of the wildest odes, had a logic of its own, as severe as that of science; and more difficult, because more subtle, more complex, and dependent on more, and more fugitive causes. In the truly great poets, he would say, there is a reason assignable, not only for every word, but for the position of every word. . . . He sent us to the University excellent Latin and Greek scholars, and tolerable Hebraists. Yet our classical knowledge was the least of the good gifts, which we derived from his zealous and conscientious tutorage."

Unfortunately, these have not been the "usual courses of learning," or anything like them, perhaps since the days of Saint Augustine. Were they general now, the author of *The Higher Study of English* might, finally, be supported by the authority of Augustine's mother: "because she accounted that those usual courses of learning would not only be no hindrance, but even some help towards attaining Thee in time to come."

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REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK, VOL. IX. First Half.

Pp. 1-2. E. Wölfflin, Vorwort. An announcement of the continuation of the Archiv, but not quarterly as heretofore.

3-16. E. Wölfflin, Die alten und die neuen Aufgaben des Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. Discussion of forms, such as *besta*, *meletrix*, etc.; of inflectional peculiarities, such as the infin. in *-uiri*; of points in prosody, *temerē*, *rēfert* and *rēfert*; of etymology, semasiology and syntax, most of which have been elucidated in Vols. I-VIII of the ALL.

16. E. Wölfflin, *Tresviri*, *Treviri*. Originally both parts of *tresviri* were declined, then *triumviri* and similar forms arose by analogy and through the influence of abbreviations in inscriptions. That the vulgar form was *treviri* is shown by Cicero's pun in *Fam.* 7. 13. 2 on the geographical name *Treviri*. The first syllable of the latter is long (see *Lucan* I, 441).

17-45. H. Blase, Der Konjunktiv des Präsens im Bedingungsatze. After a criticism of the classifications of Ellendt, Kühner, and others, the forms *si sit . . . sit* and *si sit . . . est (erit)* are examined in detail. A table showing the usage of representative writers from Plautus to Avitus is given. The general conclusion is that the form *si sit . . . sit* gradually disappeared, in the popular speech perhaps in the classical period, while *si sit . . . est* and *si sit . . . erit* were in general use down to and during the sixth century.

45-46. E. Wölfflin, Genetiv, Accusativ und Nominativ absolutus. The gen. abs. in Latin is a Grecism, which is common in the ecclesiastical translation literature. It occurs first in the letters of Clement and in Irenaeus. It is most frequent with the pres. part. and in the singular. The example in *Ulp. Dig.* 36. 1. 4 is an interpolation. The perf. pass. part. is occasionally found, an isolated example in *Bell. Hisp.* 14. 1. The acc. abs. arose through the addition of a parasitic *-m* to the abl. of *a*-stems and was extended to other stems. It appears in the literature in the second half of the fourth century. The nominative absolute, as in Romance, was a transition from the accusative. It is found in the *Act. Martyrum* and in *Silvia, Peregr.* fol. 71 cod.

47-51. G. Landgraf, Die Anfänge des selbständigen Gebrauches des Particip. futuri activi. This is rare before Livy and falls

into three classes: 1) the part. has the force of an adj.; 2) it is a pure participle; 3) it expresses purpose and is equivalent to a supine or to a relative clause with *ut* or *qui*. To 1) belongs strictly only *futurus*, which occurs only once in Caesar, but is frequent in Cicero and especially in Sallust. Cicero also uses synonyms of *futurus*, but consciously avoids *moriturus*, which is found in poetry (Ennius and Verg.). 2) appears first in Cic., ad Att. 8. 9. 2 and is frequent in Sall. 3) is also first general in Sall. The earliest instance is in C. Gracch. ap. Gell. 11. 10. 4 with a verb of motion. The origin of the construction is from the first periphrastic conjugation, as is suggested by an example in Cic. Verr. 1. 56, *adest . . . laturus*, which is almost equivalent to *est . . . laturus*. Between Sall. and Liv. it is found only in the Bell. Afr., the author of which uses it like Liv. with verbs not implying motion. In the abl. abs. first in Pollio, then in Liv. and silver Latin. The extension of the independent use of the part. is due to Sall. through Greek influence, though the origin, as suggested, may be independent of Greek influence.

52. C. Weyman, *Itoria* (see ALL. VIII. 139 f., A. J. P. XXVII. 464). Another example from Optatius I. 1, p. 3. 7 f., cod. Petropolitanus. *Vernum Tempus*. Occurs with the force of *ver* in an enumeration of the seasons in Aug. de Gen. ad lit. imperf. 13, p. 487. 20 f. Zycha. *Zum Corpus Glossariorum*. In IV. 491. 43, *cautus: prudens vel accutus*, for *cautus* read *catus*, and cf. Aug. de Genesi ad lit. 12. 18, p. 467. 4 f. Whether the gloss is derived from Augustine, or Augustine took the definition from the gloss, is uncertain.

53-80. A. Sonny, *Zu den Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*. Additions to the collections of Otto and others.

80. E. Wölfflin, *Satrapicus*. Discussion, on the whole unfavorable, of the proposition of Heidenhain to read this for *parasitica* in the letter of Augustus to Maecenas offering Horace the post of private secretary.

81-100. E. Wölfflin, *Die lateinische Uebersetzung des Briefes des Clemens an die Korinther* (dedicated to P. Odilo Rottmanner, O. S. B., Dr. Theol.). Since in the case of such works the form is important as well as the subject matter, the translation is for the most part scrupulously exact. In some cases Greek words are avoided, but not always. In many cases an effort is made to translate the Greek words by Latin words of the same stem: e. g. *γινώσκω* by *cognosco*. In doing this errors are sometimes made. Numerous Greek constructions are found: the gen. of exclamation and of comparison; gen. abs.; final clause with *qualiter* = *πως*, etc. The difficulty of translating compound words is met in some cases by periphrases, in others by translating only a part of the word. Occasionally new Latin compounds are coined, such as *longanimitas*. The use of hendiadys and the devices for trans-

lating compounds with *a*-privative, the verbal in *-tos*, and the aor. act. part. are also discussed. It is clear from occasional misunderstanding of the Greek that the mother tongue of the translator was Latin, as well as from his free use of alliteration. The vulgar character of the Latin is also made clear. The date of the translation is assigned to a later time than was assumed by Morin, namely to that of Tertullian. The place where it was written cannot be determined, nor whether the citations from the Bible were translated from the Greek or taken from a Latin version.

101-105. E. Wölfflin, *Der Genetiv des Wertes und der Ablativ des Preises*. The genitive is originally an instrumental abl., the means by which a thing is purchased. It is then extended by analogy to verbs of selling and valuing. Special varieties are *carus* and *dignus* with an abl., and *care* (*-ius*, *-issime*) and *vilissime emere*. The abl. is found in early Latin but is rare in the classical period. The genitive of value was originally one of quality, at first used attributively and later in the predicate. The abl. and the gen. constructions were soon confused and the original distinction lost sight of.

109-115. E. Wölfflin, *Der Telo incessens des Polyklet*. An examination from the lexical standpoint of *nudum talo incessentem* in Plin. NH. 34. 55. As it stands, the phrase can only mean one who throws an *astragalos* at someone. W. favors the conjecture of Benndorf, *nudum telo incessentem*, in the sense of a javelin thrower.

116-125. M. Hölzl—E. Wölfflin, *Actio*. *Lexicon* article (first part).

126-131. E. Wölfflin, *Accessa-accessum*. *Lexicon* articles.

131. M. Bonnett, *Obversatio*. Would read this word, not found elsewhere, in Sen. Epist. 88. 26, instead of *observatio*.

132-141. *Miscellen*. W. Heraeus, *Obsidium = Praesidium, subsidium?* The gloss in Festus, 193^a. 19, *obsidium tamquam praesidium, subsidium recte dicitur*, does not refer to the meaning but to the form of *obsidium*. The usual form is *obsidio*. *Colligere = tollere*. Several instances of this usage (see ALL. VIII. 140 and 482, A. J. P. XXVII. 464). In *pseud-Vict. de Vir. Ill. 1. 3*, *mox Faustulus pastor collectos Accae Laurentiae coniugi educandos dedit*, Wigja wrongly marks *collectos* as corrupt.

L. Havet, *LL in corcodillus*. This spelling is not necessarily confined to late Latin, as the *lexx.* assert. Notes on the phonology of *l* in Latin.

C. Weyman, *Procedere = proferri* (see ALL. VIII. 157). The usage is liturgical. *Addenda lexicis*. From *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ed. M. R. James, Cambridge, 1893.

W. Schmitz, *Supervacuaneus* (see ALL. VIII. 562). Occurs in the Commentary on the Tironian notes in an etymological group

E. Wölfflin, *Die Perfektformen amai und venui*. Testimony to the former in the Dacian wax-tablets (Bruns, *Fontes Iur. Rom. Ant.* ed. 5. p. 261) and in Probus, *Gr. Lat.* IV. 182. 11. Regards the latter as formed with u for differentiation from the present (*venit, venuit*) rather than by analogy with *tenui*, etc. The earliest example is in CIL. VIII. 2532 (oration of Hadrian). *Zum Betacismus* (Sall. Cat. 51. 27). *In omnia mala exempla ex bonis orta sunt* would read *novis* for *bonis* (through *nobis*). *Rebus*, which is given by the best MSS, is an interpolation.

142-160. Review of the Literature for 1894.

161-167. F. Leo, *Zum plautischen Lexikon*. *Arvina*, Poen. 1016; *calones*, Poen. 1168; *conspicitur* for *conspuitur*, *Curc.* 503; *Hedytium* for *Hedylium*, *Pseud.* 188; *inertia* for *inhaeret etiam*, *Merc.* 29 (not *Plautine*); *populo* for *pipulo*, *Mil.* 584; *probe* for *prope*, *Bacch.* 1160; *prostibilest* (= *prostibilis est*) for *prostibiles*, *Stich.* 765; *bellum* for *vallum*, *Cas.* 851.

167-168. L. Havet, *Emere af*. Would read *af quaestoribus* for *de* and *a quaestoribus* in *Plaut. Capt.* 34, 111 and 453.

169-176. G. Landgraf, *Naevius, Apuleius, Ciceroscholien in Glossaren*. Since a number of the glosses in vol. V of the *Corpus Glossariorum* correspond more or less exactly with the excerpts of *Festus* from *Paulus*, a comparison with the latter throws light on the text-criticism of both. In some cases too the glosses correspond with the text of *Festus* or with an intermediary stage between *Festus* and *Paulus*. Such a comparison also throws light on the correct reading of the citations from ancient writers. Several of these from *Naevius* and *Ennius* and *Apuleius*, from whose *de Deo Socratis* 20 glosses are taken, are discussed. Light is also thrown on the *Scholiasta Gronovianus* on *Cicero*.

177-192. E. Wölfflin, *Sescenti, mille, centum, trecenti als unbestimmte und runde Zahlen*. The use of *sescenti* is connected with the old-Italic importance of the number six, of which examples are cited. The instances of its use are comparatively few outside of the *sermo vulgaris* of comedy and of letters. As early as the time of *Cicero* it began to give way to *mille* through Greek influence. The use of *mille* was especially common in the Augustan poets. It begins, however, in *Terence* and continues until late times. The adverb *miliens* is also found. *Quingenti*, the half of *mille*, is occasionally used. So also *milia*. *Centum* is extensively used as a round number, especially in poetry and in ecclesiastical Latin. *Ducenti*, the double of *centum*, is found to some extent in poetry. More frequent, as would be expected from the well-known use of the number three, is *trecenti*. These

numbers show the influence of the duodecimal as well as of the decimal system. A lexicon article on *sescenti* follows, of the scope and kind proposed for the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

192. J. L. de Vasconcellos, *Aedeolum*. This word, found in an inscription now at Lisbon, is a by-form of *aediculum*. **Aedilolum* and **aedeculum* may have been intermediate forms.

193-230. O. Hey, *Die Semasiologie*. A thoughtful and stimulating article, in which the literature of the subject is examined and an attempt made to define its "Prinzipien". It cannot well be reduced to an abstract.

231-245. F. Ruess, *Ergänzung des lateinischen Wörterbuches durch die tironischen Noten*. An examination of the edition of W. Schmitz, with a number of independent observations, is followed by a list of words not found in the Latin lexicons, arranged according to their form. Words are included which are cited by Georges in his *Handlexikon* or in his *Wortformen* as occurring only in the Tironian Notes, designated by G or G W.

245. M. Ihm, *Iurgia, iuria*. Testimony to the vulgar pronunciation of *iurgium* as *iurjum* in an African inscription.

246. E. Hauler, *Ala (scuti)*. In Livy, IX. 41. 18 and in XXX. 34. 2 would take *ala* in the sense of the rim of the shield.

247-284. Ph. Thielmann, *Die europäischen Bestandteile des lateinischen Sirach*. In the Latin translation of the book of Sirach (see ALL. VIII. 501 fol., A. J. P. XXVII. 471) chapters 44-50 are not by the same hand as chapters 1-43 and 51. The former bear the separate title of *Laus Patrum*. The Prologue is by still a different translator. The *Laus Patrum* shows none of the signs of African Latin which were observed in chapters 1-43, and is of European origin. The same thing is true of the Prologue. These theses are supported by a careful examination of the Latinity of these parts of the work, including a comparison with the Greek original and an examination of the citations from the Bible.

285-291. E. Wölfflin, *Die Ellipse von Navis*. After a discussion of the general subject, the use of adjectives as substantives with the ellipsis of *navis* is examined. The conclusion is reached that this form of ellipsis originated in the language of everyday life and only gradually made its way into literature.

292-297. E. Wölfflin, *Actio*. Conclusion of the lexicon article on pp. 116 fol.

297. E. Wölfflin, *Carduus, cardus, cardo*. Though *carduus* did not pass into the Romance languages, it is found in late Latin as a learned word. Examples of *cardus* and *cardo*, which are marked as non-existent in Körting (1891) are given.

298-308. Miscellen. P. Geyer, Zu Silviae peregrinatio ad loca sancta. Further testimony to the Gallic origin of this work, mainly from linguistic evidence. *Orum der Rand*. An example of this word in the Itinerarium of Antoninus of Placentia (570 A. D.) p. 15. 6 Gildermeister.

J. Hausleiter, ἔσθίω. τρώγω. As edere gave place to manducare, so ἔσθίω gave place to τρώγω in Biblical Greek.

J. v. d. Vliet, Notulae ad Glossas nominum.

A. Funck, Praemiscuus = promiscuus und Aehnliches. Examples from later Latin of the confusion of prae- and pro- in compound words.

R. Ehwald, Ablativisches d bei Livius. In XXII. 10. 4 fol., quod fieri oportebit, would take quod as an ablative. Nequiquam mit Negation. Another example of this usage (cf. ALL. II. 11 and II. 615) in Verg. Aen. VI. 118. Gallaria. This word in the poem against Nicomachus Flavianus, 46, is not to be amended, but is equivalent to gallica, the sandal of the priests of Cybele, a word possibly coined in jest. Auriga. Would derive from auri-rēga, with loss of a syllable by dissimilation and compensatory lengthening.

C. Goetz, Constitutus = καθεστώς, ἔν bei Cyprian. A number of examples of this usage from Cyprian's genuine works (cf. ALL. VII. 481).

W. Schmitz, Effulcit. Effulsit. An example in C. N. T. tab. 72, 1^b from the Leyden Vossianus O. 94, fol. 36^v.

L. Havet, LL dans culleus. Culleus is to be added to the examples of ll for λ (ALL. IX. 135). Coleus perhaps belongs to an earlier period.

309-330. Review of the Literature for 1894.

330-332. Necrology. Henry Nettleship by Robinson Ellis, with a note by the Editor. Heinrich Keil by the Editor.

333-353. E. Wölfflin, Zur Zahlensymbolik (mit Probeartikel Septem und Novem). Beside the system of reckoning by decades we have combinations based upon three (3, 9, 27, 81). Seven took the place of nine in later times; thus the nine artes liberales of Varro became seven in Martianus Capella. This use of seven, which was of Greek origin, came into Roman literature at least as early as Sulla, and was taken up by the Church. Lexicon articles on septem and novem are appended, of the scope proposed for the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

ROMANIA, Vol. XXXIII (1904).

Janvier.

P. Meyer. Notice du ms. Med.-Pal. 141 de la Laurentienne (Vies de Saints). 49 pages. This manuscript is a large folio volume of 330 leaves containing various lives of saints in Old French prose. At the end it bears the date 1399, having been copied by Jehans li Escobiers at Arras. Most of the legends were derived from the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, but others come from sources that have not as yet been identified.

P. E. Guarnerio. Postille sul Lessico sardo: Terza Serie. 21 pages. The etymology of some 19 words or groups of words is discussed at some length. They represent for the most part the Pre-Classical stage of Latin, and show many interesting developments.

O. Densusianu. Notes de Lexicologie roumaine. 16 pages. The etymology of some 25 words is here investigated by the author of the well-known *Histoire de la Langue roumaine*.

Mélanges. Gédéon Huet, La Parabole des faux amis. A. Thomas, Encore l'anc franç. Gers. Auguste Longnon, Estourmi de Bourges. Louis Brandin, Un Fragment de la Vie de Saint Gilles en vers français (this fragment is intercalated in a Latin prose life of the saint).

Comptes rendus. P. Meyer, Die Aussprache des c und t im klassischen Latein (Ov. Densusianu). François Béthune, Les écoles historiques de Saint-Denis et Saint-Germain-des-Prés (P. Meyer). A. C. White, A Translation of the *Quæstio de Aqua et Terra* with a Discussion of its Authenticity (Paget Toynbee). Henri Hauvette, De Laurentio de Primofato qui primus Joannis Boccacii opera quædam gallice transtulit ineunte seculo XV (A. Thomas). Joseph Nève, Antoine de La Salle, sa vie et ses ouvrages d'après des documents inédits (Gaston Raynaud). E. Langlois, Recueil d'Arts de seconde rhétorique (Émile Picot). Henri Hauvette, Un exilé Florentin à la cour de France au XVI^e siècle: Luigi Alamanni (Émile Picot). P. Papahagi, Megleno-Romîni (Ov. Densusianu). G. Weigand, Praktische Grammatik der rumänischen Sprache (Ov. Densusianu). Miscellanea di Studi critici edita in onore di Arturo Graf (Cesare de Lollis). Società filologica romana (P. Meyer).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXVII. 3, 4, 5, 6 (Mario Roques). Neunter Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig, VIII (Mario Roques). Studi Romanzi, I (P. Meyer).

Chronique. Obituary notice of Alexandre Héron. Purchase of the Romance portion of the library of Gaston Paris for the École des Hautes-Études. Founding of the Société amicale G. Paris. Announcements of books soon to be published. Notes by Em. Walberg.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 9 titles. The *Espurgatoire saint Patriz* of Marie de France, with a text of the Latin original, by T. Atkinson Jenkins. *Bruchstücke altfranzösischer Dichtung aus den in der Kubbet, in Damaskus, gefundenen Handschriften*, von A. Tobler.

Avril.

F. Lot. *Notes Historiques sur Aye d'Avignon*. 18 pages. The author of this article endeavors to identify with historical personages two of the heroes mentioned in the above poem. Aleran de Troiesin was a French baron of the ninth century, while Aubouin was a French count of the same epoch who fell under the royal displeasure, and hence was considered a traitor.

P. Meyer. *L'Enfant voué au Diable: Rédaction en vers*. 16 pages. This is a *Miracle* of the Virgin found in an Arsenal manuscript, but also frequently met with elsewhere. "La rédaction du ms. de l'Arsenal présente des traits particuliers qui m'ont décidé à la publier, d'autant plus que l'écriture étant difficile à lire, ce petit poème n'est pas à la portée des jeunes étudiants étrangers qui viennent chercher dans nos bibliothèques les éléments de faciles publications."

A. Piaget. *La Belle Dame sans Merci et ses Imitations: V. Les Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans Merci; VI. La Belle Dame qui eut Merci; VII. Dialogue d'un Amoureux et de sa Dame*. 30 pages. The first of these poems is preserved in two manuscripts, the second in fifteen manuscripts, the third in four manuscripts. The first poem is published in a critical edition, while the others are merely described and commented upon.

A. Thomas. *Étymologies lyonnaises*. 21 pages. The etymology of fifty words is discussed more or less at length by the author of this article, whose studies in this field are so favorably known to the scholarly world.

Silvio Pieri. *Il Tipo avverbiale di Carpone -i*. 9 pages. This article first enumerates the adverbs belonging to this class, then discusses the theory of Prof. Meyer-Lübke, proposes a new explanation, and examines typical examples.

Mélanges. P. Meyer, *Les Trois Maries: Mystère liturgique de Reims*. John Taggart Clark, ND and MB protoniques en Italien. R. - J. Cuervo, *Mana y Maná*. R. - J. Cuervo, ¿Maguer ó Magüer? P. E. Guarnerio, *Ancora di ti-(zi-) Elemento ascitizio in parecchi Appellativi d'animale nei Dialetti sardi*. Ant. Thomas, *Prov. amenla*. Ant. Thomas, *Prov. conobre*. Ant. Thomas, *Franc. cerneau*. Ant. Thomas, *Franc. noyau*.

Comptes rendus. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual elemental de Gramática histórica española* (Alfred Morel-Fatio). Gustav Körting, *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch, Zweite Ausgabe*

(Ov. Densusianu). Clemente Merlo, I nomi romanzi delle stazioni e dei mesi (Ant. Thomas).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXVIII. 1 (M. Roques, with discussion of etymologies). Revue des langues romanes, XLIV-XLV (P. Meyer). Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur, XXIV-XXV (A. Jeanroy). Bulletin de la société des anciens textes français, 1903.

Chronique. Burning of the National Library of Turin. Various literary notices.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 26 titles. De la littérature didactique du moyen âge s'adressant spécialement aux femmes par Alice A. Hentsch. The Mediæval Stage, by E. K. Chambers. The Song of Roland translated into English Prose, by Isabel Butler. Les origines de la Poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge, par Alfred Jeanroy (Deuxième édition).

Juillet.

G. Paris. Le Mode et les Étapes de l'Altération du C en Gallo-Roman. 12 pages. This article was written in 1892, but had never been published. It was found among the author's papers after his death, and has been published by the editors with a note stating the circumstances of the case.

Jessie L. Weston. Wauchier de Denain as a Continuator of Perceval and the Prologue of the Mons MS. 11 pages. This article contains interesting studies on the Grail legend based on various manuscripts, especially the one mentioned in the title. Several early editions bearing on the subject in hand have also been drawn upon.

A. Delboulle. Mots Obscurs et Rares de l'ancienne langue française (suite). 24 pages. This article is in continuation of several similar articles previously published, and is lexicographical in its nature. It is based upon an extensive reading in Mediæval manuscripts and documents which have not come under the eyes of the dictionary-makers.

Giacomo de Gregorio. Notizia di un Trattato di Mascalcia in dialetto siciliano del secolo XIV. 19 pages with a facsimile of mediæval bits from a manuscript in a private library. The author of the article shows that Giordano Ruffo was the source of Lorenzo Rusio in his treatise on the subject.

A. Thomas. Alain Chartier Chanoine de Paris, d'après des documents inédits. 16 pages. There are here published several legal documents bearing on the relations of Alain Chartier to Notre-Dame de Paris, and upon the death of the celebrated Old French author.

Mélanges. G. Huet, *La Parabole des Faux Amis: une nouvelle version.* E. Langlois, *Anc. franç. vizele.* A. Delboulle, *Anc. fr. coupee.* Georges Millardet, *Béarnais talaraque "toile d'araignée".* A. Thomas, *Anc. franç. entrecor.* Ad. Mussafia, *Per il Tristano di Thomas,* ed. Bédier.

Comptes rendus. Maurice Wilmotte, *L'évolution du roman français aux environs de 1150* (A. Jeanroy). P. Zarifopol, *Kritischer Text der Lieder Richards de Fournival*; R. Schmidt, *Die Lieder des Andrieu Contredit d'Arras* (A. Jeanroy). H. Jarník, *Studie über die Komposition der Fierabrasdichtungen* (M. Roques). Dr. Bernhard Dimand, *Zur rumänischen Moduslehre* (M. Roques). *Atti del Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche*, Vol. IV. *Atti della sezione III: Storia delle letterature* (P. Meyer). Edward Moore, *Studies in Dante, Third Series; Miscellaneous Essays* (Paget Toynbee). *Une énigme d'histoire littéraire: L'auteur des XV Joyes de Mariage* (Joseph Bédier). Mildred K. Pope, *Étude sur la langue de frère Angier* (A. Thomas).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXVIII. 2 (M. Roques). *Zehnter Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache* (M. Roques). *Studi medievali*, I. 1 (P. Meyer). *Annales du Midi*, III-XV (A. Jeanroy et A. Thomas). *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1901-1903 (P. Meyer).

Chronique. Obituary notice of Édouard Koschwitz. Various literary notices, especially referring to the Old French manuscripts of the late Rev. Walter Sneyd.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 6 titles. *Die Entwicklung des lateinischen aqua in den romanischen Sprachen, im besondern in den französischen, francoprovenzalischen, italienischen und rätischen Dialekten*, von Clara Hürlimann. *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Vol. I, 2d. edition. *Die Laute und Formen der Apocalypse en français*, von W. Schmiel.

Octobre.

A. G. Van Hamel. *Cligès et Tristan.* 25 pages. It has long been a mooted question among scholars as to whether Chrétien de Troyes was influenced by antecedent tradition in writing his *Cligès*, or whether his novel points of view were his own solution of the problem of illegitimate love which lies at the bottom of the *Tristan romances*. The author of the article thinks that *Cligès* is "une œuvre de controverse et d'émulation littéraire."

Léopold Constans. *Le Songe vert.* 50 pp. This curious Old French poem is preserved in only two manuscripts, one of which is extremely difficult to decipher. Though it is in places wearisome and weak in style, it nevertheless possesses a real interest for the

study of courtly love in the fourteenth century, while certain passages denote an ingenious and observing turn of mind on the part of the author. The opening lines of the poem appear to refer to the Black Death of 1347 and 1348, and thus serve to date it.

A. Thomas. Notes et Documents inédits pour servir à la biographie de Pierre de Nesson. 16 pages. Pierre de Nesson was an Old French poet attached to the retinue of the Duc de Berry and to that of the Duc de Bourbon at various periods in his life, which was cast in the stormy times of the Hundred Years' War. He came of a draper's family of Aigueperse in the province of Basse Auvergne, and nearly lost his life in the insurrection of the populace in 1413.

A. Delboulle. Mots Obscurs et Rares de l'ancienne langue française (suite). 45 pages. This instalment is accompanied by numerous footnotes due to a number of scholars who seek to throw additional light on obscure meanings and derivations.

Mélanges. A. Jeanroy, Anc. franç. frengier. A. Jeanroy, Anc. franç. aengier, ongier, franç. mod. enger. A. Thomas, Anc. franç. chalemie, ital. giallamina. A. Thomas, La Date de la mort de Thomas de Saint-Pierre.

Comptes-rendus. Dr. Giulio Bertoni, I trovatori minori di Genova (A. Jeanroy). Dr. Wilhelm Bohns, Abrils issi' e mays intrava: Lehergedicht von Raimon Vidal von Bezaudun (A. Jeanroy). A. Restori, La Gaité de la tor (A. Jeanroy). Max Richter, Die Lieder des altfranzösischen Lyrikers Jehan de Nuevile (A. Jeanroy). Edgar Ewing Brandon, Robert Estienne et le Dictionnaire français au XVI^e siècle (A. Thomas).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXVIII. 3. 4 (M. Roques, with discussion of etymologies). Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris, Nos. 37-49 (A. Thomas). Annales du Midi, XIV (A. Thomas).

Chronique. Obituary notice of George Mohl. Literary notes.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 10 titles. Poema de Fernan Gonzalez, texto critico con introducción, notas y glosario, por C. Carroll Marden (Note by A. Morel-Fatio). Two Old Spanish Versions of the Disticha Catonis, by Karl Pietsch (Note by A. Morel-Fatio). La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos par Gonzalo de Berceo, édition critique publiée par John D. Fitz-Gerald (Note by A. Morel-Fatio). Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre celtique, par A. Le Braz. Études sur l'Espagne, Troisième série, par A. Morel-Fatio.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

BRIEF MENTION.

The 'Wissenschaftliche Beilage' of the 'Index Lectionum' and the 'Gymnasialprogramm' is an old German institution, as it is a perpetual plague to those who have the mania, the divine mania for completeness (A. J. P. XXIV 482). I turn over the pages of those that I had bound up during my novitiate in 1850-1853, and the keen boyish interest comes back and with it the once familiar figures of the various *professores eloquentiae*, whose special business it was to prepare the official salutations and the official salaams. It was in the Bonn Indices of my time that Ritschl first published specimens of his memorable work in Latin Inscriptions, his *Columna rostrata* and his *Miliarium Popillianum* and it was from one of these Indices that I learned to write Attius. Needless to say, I have gone back to Accius. But it was in Berlin that the office of the indicist, so to speak, was taken most seriously. The 'Altmeister' Boeckh, who led the procession, was in dead earnest about his academic performances. The familiar lines of Schiller, 'Den schlechten Mann muss man verachten der nie bedacht was er vollbringt', always come back to my mind when I think of him, for he taught us to despise thoughtlessness and served by precept and example as a quickener of the philological conscience. Time has reversed many of his decisions, *χρόνος γὰρ εὐμαρῆς θεός*, and, as I have pointed out elsewhere (cf. also A. J. P. VII 274), the illustrations of his 'Encyclopaedie u. Methodologie' are often tragically ironical, but the lesson of his life abides and the memory of the large pattern he set the beginners of fifty years ago. To him the Latin form was no trifle, and Grecian as he was, he paid the Latin language a memorable tribute, which it may be well to recall in these American days of easy divorce (A. J. P. XXV 480): 'Mascula potissimum Romanorum oratio, quae virium robore etiam Graecam superat, etiamnunc mihi videtur optima stili dilucidi, elegantis, exacti, gravis magistra esse et q. s. (Kl. Schr. I 328). Of course, Latin is 'Zopf', in fact, was fast becoming 'Zopf' in Boeckh's day (Encycl. u. Method. S. 306), but for all that, the abandonment of Latin as a means of intercommunication seems to be a sad mistake; and in certain moods, I regret that Latin is not compulsory. Latin, any kind of Latin, would check the hypertrophy of psychological syntax and make the antics of *Brief Mention* next to impossible.

Boeckh was not averse to spacious themes for the Index Lectionum, but after all a man is at his best in his own sphere;

and it is a happy sign in this country that our academic authorities when they invite a man of distinction to discourse on festal occasions are showing more and more preference that the guest of honour should speak on a subject of which he has proved his mastery rather than on topics of national or world-wide significance, and so the Berlin indices have had to do these many years with the domain of classical studies. In this office Boeckh was succeeded by Lachmann, who held it only for a short time. Lachmann was followed by Moriz Haupt, upon whose death in 1874 VAHLEN began the memorable service which came to an end in 1906. The demand on the prooemiast is much more severe than the uninitiated might suppose. To be ready every six months with a paper that shall be a true *ζῆλον*, that shall present a philological theme of real importance, at all events, of real significance, a definite addition to the sum of that which is known, an exemplification of scientific method, and a model of academic form as well, that is no easy task, and to have carried on the work with unfaltering courage and unflinching spirit as well as unvarying success for all these years must be counted among the memorable achievements of a rare man. Such work necessarily diminishes the output in other directions, and, although VAHLEN has enough to his credit in book-form to insure him a commanding position among the classical leaders of the last half-century, there has been a certain loss to the scholarly world. But if he only knew—he can only divine—how these leaves for the healing of philological diseases have been sought and treasured and consulted in other than German circles, he would have no regrets, if indeed he has regrets. But why should he not have committed the results that are incorporated in the *Index Lectionum* to some of the many philological journals of Germany, where they would have been readily accessible? In the *Index Lectionum* the learning seems to be as water spilt on the ground. Even so. But the water spilt on the ground, while it may not be gathered up again, fertilizes after all, and this is the point that VAHLEN emphasizes in the preface to his *Opuscula Academica* (Teubner). These *prooemia* are not mere contributions to knowledge, they are lessons in the art of advancing knowledge. They constitute a school for those who are entering on the philological career. They are so many *contiones ad clerum*, so to speak, delivered by one who has a right to an utterance. Such lessons might be regarded as impertinences in a philological journal, all the contributors to which are supposed to be trained observers, and not to need the lessons that VAHLEN has to impress. And yet when I take up, for instance, some new edition of an Aristophanic play, cobbled together to meet a supposed demand or to show off a few fanciful interpretations, a few hit or miss illustrations, I cannot help wishing that the editor had pondered the warning of VAHLEN: *Itaque iis si qui in Aristophane cognoscendo operam collaturi*

sint, auctores simus, primum ut centies repetita lectione in familiaritatem quandam poetae sese insinuent, deinde interpretatione grammatica vires exerceant ita ut verborum vim et usum impensa cura perspiciant, sententiarum motus, orationis formas, sermonum naturam et itinera, poetae in hoc omni genere consuetudinem ac libidinem subtili ac minuta observatione persequantur. An edition that can be rent in sunder by the milkteeth of a Greek seminarian has no right to exist.

It is very natural that the illustrious scholar should have felt a desire to gather up these documents of a long and varied activity into some permanent form, but collections of occasional Latin essays are not looked on with favor by the fraternity of the Sosii, and the matter had been dismissed from the author's mind when former hearers came forward and insured the publication of the series. They could have rendered no better service. The first volume embraces the *prooemia* (I-XXXIII) from the summer semester of 1875 to the summer semester of 1891. The second volume will complete the record of this part of a high career, the initial steps of which it was my privilege to witness (A. J. P. XXII 229, XXIV 483).

Time was when we were all sun-struck (A. J. P. XXVII 359). Every myth was a sun-myth. The Nibelungen was a sun-myth. The barge of Arthur, the *δέπας χρύσεον* of Stesichoros is still, for aught I know, a sun-myth (A. J. P. XX 213), and so is the Holy Grail, unless the Baconians have made of it a cipher for the *trivium*, GRL standing for Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic. True, there were some unscientific persons who took a human interest in such a hero as Odysseus and, mindful of the proverbial sailor's port ('any port in a storm'), and of the familiar use of *λιμὴν* in Greek poetry, sacred and profane (A. J. P. X 89), measured his voyage by his loves as one measures the voyage of Goethe's life by the incarnations of the Eternal Feminine that marked his career, if they did not make it (A. J. P. XXIII 111). Well might one say from this point of view that Odysseus' life was but a sleep and a forgetting. But Kirke with her black magic, and Kalypso with her white magic, and Penelope, the beginning and the provisional end, were all volatilized by these heliolaters into vague personifications. Odysseus, the setting sun, passed from the couch of Kirke, the daughter of Helios, to the couch of Kalypso, the concealer, to the couch of Penelope, the mantle-weaver, the cloud-weaver. But the rest of the acts of Odysseus which he did and his might and how he fought with the Nebulones, are they not written in the chronicles of Paley and the other kings of the solar theory? However, the human interest would not down, and people began to ask whether after all the sun was everything,

whether the life of that 'naked and shivering' flower, the ἄνθρωπος-ἄθεός we call man, might not have something to do with mythogony; and for a number of years anthropology has been claiming more and more space; and as I take up M. DE LA GRASSERIE'S new book I begin to understand the fear entertained by some that anthropology is going to invade the sacrosanct realm of syntax, which belongs, strictly speaking, to the microtomists and the statisticians—otherwise known as Dead Sea Apes. The title of M. DE LA GRASSERIE'S book is a long one and tells the whole story: *Particularités linguistiques des noms subjectifs (Parties du corps, armes et outils, animaux domestiques, noms propres, pronoms)*, Paris, Leroux. It is an entertaining book and a suggestive book, as any anthropological treatise must be, and, if it were not disfigured by typographical and other errors it would be a still more welcome repertory of facts. The abridgment of Fick's Griechische Personennamen is marred by *apocoristique*; which is used throughout the section for *hypocoristique*, although *hypocoristique* does emerge toward the end of the book; and a summary of Mommsen on Latin names shews everywhere *proenomen* for *praenomen*, so that one becomes a little distrustful about the spelling of the examples drawn from Nahuatl, Kalingo, Chibcha, Yaruro and Guarani. The chapter that trenches on syntax—syntax in the wider sense—is the third, *Du lieu subjectif dans l'espace et dans le temps aboutissant au pronomen*, in which stress is laid on the relativity of the demonstrative and the subject. That εἰς is the pronoun of the first person, οὗτος of the second, ἐκεῖνος of the third is an old story, and it was nothing but whimsicality or the itch of criticism that made Dr. Fennell object to my note on Pindar, O. 1, 115. He must have known better. The phenomenon is widespread, but M. DE LA GRASSERIE touches it lightly and refers us to another work of his on the subject. There are some interesting remarks on the subjectivity of some of the outlying languages, which insist on the expression of personal possession in the inflexion of the noun, as other idioms insist on personality in the inflexion of the verb, languages in which there is no simple 'head' but always 'my head', 'thy head', 'his head'. This insistence on the possessive, this jealousy of *meum* and *tuum*, this sense of justice crystallized in *suum cuique*, comes out very curiously in Homeric Greek. ἑ has to answer for a reflexive, as in old-fashioned English *me*, *thee*, *him*, *her* and *us* have to answer for the reflexive. But the possessive εἰς is always reflexive and asserts itself where it would seem to be unnecessary, as in δὲ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ πό. In stress of emotion smiting one's self, one's thighs is a natural action. For unnatural action the standard language employs regularly the reflexive pronoun, and it is a mannerism of Euripides to employ it where it is not needed. It introduces an element of conflict. It reminds one of the Frenchman's standing excuse 'c'est plus fort que moi'. This Euripidean finesse crops out in many passages, nowhere more strikingly than in B. 613: αὐτὸς

ἐξίσωσ' ἑμαυτόν. σωθῆναι is the form commonly used for 'escape', τῶσαι ἑαυτόν is employed only in circumstances of especial difficulty, and therefore Dionysos adds in the triumphant consciousness of his divine power—ῥαδίως ἀνευ πόνου. If the reflexive had been further developed in Homeric times it would doubtless have been used in the same way, and there is at least one passage in which the contrast is brought out as clearly as in post-Homeric Greek, Il. 20, 170: οὐρῇ δὲ πλευρὰς τε καὶ ἰσχία | ἀμφοτέρωθεν μαστίεται, ἐῖ δ' αὐτὸν ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι.

But while M. DE LA GRASSERIE has not treated of the reflexive in his chapter on the pronouns, he has not failed to notice the concrete expression for the first person in 'the Mande negro-languages, Arabic, Provençal, the Germanic languages and Jenessei-Ostiaka (p. 24)', 'my soul', 'my body', 'my head', 'my insides', and out of this we can get a primitive reflexive, which often survives as a popular reflexive. 'Fret not thyself' (μὴδ' οὕτως σεαυτὸν ἔσθιε Ar. Vesp. 286) becomes 'Fret not thy gizzard', and 'Bestir thyself' becomes 'Stir your stumps' (κίνησον πόδα); cf. Eur. Bacch. 765. Nothing is more familiar in Greek poetry than this species of synecdoché, and nobody needs to be told of the frequent use of ψυχῇ, δέμας (later σῶμα), φρήν, θυμός, and all the parts of the body involved in the action, though the extent of this form of the reflexive is not always recognized (Pindar, P. 4, 173). εὐφραине θυμόν is not the same as εὐφραίνου. We must add 'for a' that and a' that', as in Mimnermos, τὴν σεαυτοῦ φρένα τέρπε.

Of course, it could not be expected of M. DE LA GRASSERIE that he should go into a detailed discussion of the syntactical construction of the parts of the body in the many languages that pass before his vision (A. J. P. XXIII 233), and yet the subject is not without interest. So, for instance, we find that in Latin and Greek the genitive and the dative, as it were, Michael and the devil, dispute about the parts of the body. On the whole, it would seem, the genitive is dominant in Greek (A. J. P. XXVII 359), whereas in long stretches of Latin, as in Plautus, the dative seems to have the upper hand. In Greek of the earlier period there might be some dispute as to the conception of the genitive, whether it is possessive or partitive, but when the article is fully established the partitive notion becomes clear with the partitive position; and this partitive feeling thrusts itself upon us when we find the ordinary laws of position violated. So the rule is τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ γαστέρα, τὴν σεαυτοῦ φρένα, but even here the partitive asserts itself at times, not only in the Aristophanic Pax 880, cf. Fr. 579 (2, 1178 M.): τῇ κεφαλῇ σεαυτοῦ but also in the Demosthenic ἐμοῦ μὲν ὕβρισε τὸ σῶμα

(XXI 18), which we feel almost as acutely as Demosthenes felt the buffet dealt him by Meidias.

But this reminds me of the contention that *oi* is a virtual genitive (A. J. P. XXIII 20), and if this is admitted, havoc would be made of any statistics as to the use of the genitive and dative with parts of the body. The argument from concord adduced by the advocates of the genitiveness of *oi* (Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.*³ p. 248), is not convincing (A. J. P. XXVII 359), and those who reject the adjectiveness of the genitive as proved by *Γοργεῖη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου* ought not to cite such examples as *Il.* 16, 531: *γῆθησέν τε | ὅτι οἱ δὲ ἤκουσε μέγας θεὸς εὐξαμένοιο*. Surely *σφίσιν* is not exposed to confusion with the genitive form, and yet we find *Od.* 6, 155: *μάλα πού σφισι θυμὸς . . . λαίνεται, λευσσόντων κτέ.* Cp. also *Od.* 14, 527 and the other examples in Monro *H. G.*, § 243, 3 (*d*). But not to make a grammatical treatise out of a passing notice of M. DE LA GRASSERIE's book, I will allow myself to mention just three points that might find a place in a syntactical treatise on the parts of the body, (1) the so-called dative of the instrument, (2) the accusative of extent (part affected) and (3) the predicative position. All tools are extensions of the parts of the body, and the conception is comitative rather than instrumental. *σύν* is in my judgment a precious document of the primal state of things (A. J. P. XVIII 220). Homer does not refine on the difference between dative and *διά* c. gen. as the philosopher does, simply because he has no *διά* c. gen. in this sense; and the old *δοιδός* would not have understood the question of Sokrates in *Theaet.* 184 C: *σκόπει γάρ, ἀπόκρισις ποτέρα ὀρθοτέρα, φ' ὀρώμεν τοῦτο εἶναι ὀφθαλμούς, ἢ δι' οὗ ὀρώμεν κτέ.* In my Pindar I have called attention to the fact that the accusatives of the part affected in that concrete poet refer chiefly to the body and its parts (I. E. LXXXIX); a significant survival of the rude 'temporary compound' accusative, which is at the bottom of all the accusative uses. And finally when Homer says *ποῖον τὸν μῦθον εἶπες*; trained by our familiarity with prose we recognize the predicative position but as the article is not fully established in Homer, we are left largely to our own devices as to the interpretation, just as in Latin there is no external sign of attributive and predicative. But when the article is established and takes on the un-Homeric possessive connotation, then the predicative position has the parts of the body for its most familiar sphere, just as we say, 'with open hands', 'with hands open', 'with his open hands', 'with his hands open'. Outside the parts of the body, outside a limited phraseological range, the predicative position in Greek is a conscious pose, and must be counted as a mark of a reflective, not to say, affected style. See MILDEN, *The Limita-*

tions of the Predicative Position (J. H. U. Diss.). Another proof, if proof were needed, of the importance of the sphere in every line of syntactical research, and this sphere is at all events no nebulous sphere of will and wish with its outlines at the mercy of every breath of fancy.

'Aretalogie des weiblichen Geschlechts' (A. J. P. XXVII 200 footnote) is a stray characteristic of Krüger's Syntax that lodged in my memory many years ago, but whoever coined it, used the word 'Aretalogie' in its etymological rather than its historical sense, which REITZENSTEIN has recently unfolded in his *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (Teubner). ἀρεταλογία is not ἀρετήν λέγειν but ἀρετὰς λέγειν and ἀρεταί, so often used for 'valorous deeds', for 'deeds of emprise' came to be a technical term for the 'great and marvellous works' of the gods. In the Hellenistic cult of the Egyptian gods of healing ἀρεταλόγος was the regular name for the herald or interpreter of dreams and visions; ὄνειροκρίτης and ἀρεταλόγος were one. Then the word was secularized and Juvenal uses 'aretalogus' for the narrator of strange adventures. The 'aretalogus' fell below the mime; he who might have called himself a psalmist became a 'saltinbanco', a mere buffoon, and made merry over the marvels he told. Now it is to the themes of these aretalogi that REITZENSTEIN has consecrated his new book beginning with the Philopseudes of Lucian. The wealth of learning and the cleverness of combination defy the summarizing process. It is an illuminating book, and bewildering by reason of the illumination. It is a manner of search-light that plays over the whole range of Hellenistic tradition, and like a search-light it is tantalizing in its rapid shift from object to object, to say nothing of the mortification one feels at the dulness of vision that needs the penetrating ray.

In his interesting book on *Aristophanes*, M. MAURICE CROISSET maintains that the son of Philippos must have been country bred by reason of his intimate and loving knowledge of country life (A. J. P. XXVII 354). In my judgment all such argumentation, however seductive, is vain. Every true poet has the key of the fields as of everything; and in looking over the fragments of Eupolis the other day, I was reminded by the goats' bill of fare set forth in his *Alyes* of Mr. ALDEN SAMPSON'S delightful essay on the *Deer's Bill of Fare*. 'The deer', it seems, 'have a sensitive and cultivated palate. Their food is of the cleanest, most appetizing, and is gathered with every concomitant element of enjoyment for a young and vigorous animal'. The *menu* is of the most bewildering variety, for 'the deer's hobby is food, and

it is *quality*, quite as much as *quantity*, that gives him delight'. Now, the city goat of America is the butt of newspaper scribblers by reason of its omnivoracity. Tin cans and waste paper are the chief of its diet, but that is a goat degraded by domestication. Like the deer, the goat is still a 'creature of versatility'; but in his first estate like the deer he loved and sought—according to Eupolis—the tender shoots of the holmoak and the arbutus, *πρίνου κομδρου τε πτόρθους ἀπαλούς*, and it would be well worth some naturalist's while to study the Eupolidean list and to compare it with the range of the food of the modern Greek goat. The modern Greek goat is truly a Satanic creature. Walking one day along a sunken road of the Peloponnese, I was startled by hearing a sudden rush of animal life. I looked up and a flock of goats hurtled themselves above my head. Never had I appreciated so fully the diabolical eye and the wicked mouth of those sons and daughters of perdition. For all that I should like to know more about their diet, especially if I were going to prove that Eupolis was an observer like Mr. Sampson, or else a goat-herd, and not a scullion, or at least a second cook, as most of his fellow-poets seem to have been, to judge by their loving intimacy with various kinds of human food.

Already another edition of *DIELS' Vorsokratiker*, already another edition of *SANDYS' History of Classical Scholarship*—an eloquent practical tribute to the value and timeliness of both books. It seems but the other day that the first editions were reviewed in the pages of this Journal, the former by Professor HEIDEL, A. J. P. XXIV 456-465, the latter by Professor HAMILTON, A. J. P. XXV 447-453; and the Editor is pleased to find that the reviews have told on the new editions. The trouble about such detailed reviews, to which I may add Professor LEASE's notes on the *SCHMALZ-KREBS Antibarbarus*, A. J. P. XXVIII 34-35, is that the inevitable list of errata and omissions tends to depress unduly the merit of the work criticized. Every dictionary is exposed to just such a fire. *LIDDELL and SCOTT's Lexicon* has been fair game for more than a generation, and it is well enough to impress on the youthful mind that except one's wisdom exceed the wisdom of L. and S. one knows no Greek: still who would give up L. and S., even though one would deprecate the selection of it as the basis of a new Lexicon? And so it is not unlikely that the multitude of details in *Dr. SANDYS' Classical Scholarship* still needs correction here and there, but it is a noteworthy achievement, and has won a permanent place in the apparatus of the student. My own sins in the way of criticism are ever before me, and I have tried over and over to make amends for my ungenerous remarks by quoting favorable estimates of the very books, whose 'raw places' I have touched upon; but so far from being malicious, *Brief Mention* is really an evangel

of charity. It teaches in its own way the lesson of human fallibility, and we can all say 'But for the grace of God' And yet—And yet one's anger is sometimes stirred by those who undertake to teach others, and sin in elementary things. What is to be done with an Introduction to Comparative Philology that prints 'empéreur' and is guilty of the notorious *kakemphaton* of 'cum nobis'. It is precisely in beginners' books that absolute accuracy is demanded.

D. M. R.: *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen* (Leipzig, Teubner) by Poulsen is a German revision of a Danish Habilitationsschrift. The first part, which deals with cremation and gives the results of a careful study of the Dipylon graves at Athens and Eleusis, has been condensed; the second part has been expanded from a résumé to describe in detail the Dipylon vases. Cremation was not as usual as is generally supposed. The ashes found in the Pre-Mycenaean and Mycenaean graves opened by Skias at Eleusis, Poulsen rightly holds, were not of human bones but of burnt wooden huts. In the oldest Dipylon graves yet excavated, those on the slope between the Athenian acropolis and the Areopagus, cremation alone was practised. But at Eleusis burial was three times as common as cremation, and at the Dipylon in Athens four times as common. The statements of Poulsen are built on stronger foundations than the theory of Dr. Dörpfeld who in a recent article on this same subject (*Mélanges Nicole*, p. 95 f.) says that at all times in Greece the dead were first burnt and then interred and that only the degree of burning varied.

In part II Poulsen gives in the first chapter a good account of the "finds" of geometric vases. To his list may now be added the important vases of Mycenaean shapes but with geometric designs found near Kavousi in Crete, those from the Argive Heraeum, and from Phylakopi, and those from Corinth which resemble the earliest geometric ware from Eleusis (cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX, p. 411 f.). Poulsen derives the decorative motives from the primitive incised geometric of Pre-Mycenaean and Mycenaean times. His theory, however, of a despised "Bauernkeramik", which after the overthrow of the Mycenaean kings was brought to the front again by the "junge eupatridische Adel", seems fanciful and not much better than the Dorian and "textile" theories opposed by him. In the second chapter Poulsen discusses the shapes and decoration of the older Dipylon vases and in the final chapter the later Dipylon vases, including the large funeral amphorae which show oriental influence. The value of Poulsen's monograph lies in the fact that it is the first detailed work on all the Dipylon graves and vases and that it demonstrates a long, though perhaps too complicated, development in the so-called Dipylon style. Wide and Dragendorff had argued that the style was of short duration.

Similar monographs are needed on the other ceramic wares but with numerous illustrations, the lack of which in Poulsen's treatise greatly lessens its scientific value.

G. L. H.: A new series of monographs, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, published under the general editorship of Ludwig Traube, promises to be of interest to students in many fields of study. Under the title of Johannes Scottus (pp. X, 106, München, 1906) Dr. E. K. RAND in his contribution to the initial volume gives us for the first time a complete text of the commentaries on the first three and the fifth *Opuscula Sacra* of Boethius, attributed to John the Scot, and extracts from a commentary on the fourth *Tractatus*, probably based upon one by John, which Dr. RAND assigns to Remigius of Auxerre. In his introductions, Dr. RAND presents a good case for their attribution to their several authors, omitting nothing which would strengthen his case. Of most interest, perhaps, is his success in showing that Heiricus of Auxerre was indebted to, instead of being the author of, the older commentary. For a further understanding of the texts which they gloss, these commentaries have their usefulness, but Dr. RAND emphasizes their historical significance. They attest the influence of the *Opuscula Sacra* upon the beginnings of medieval philosophy; the important part played as a forerunner of scholasticism by John the Scot, whose theological and philosophical powers are manifested and confirmed in this work; and the furtherance of his doctrines by immediate successors of the same school. In a word Dr. RAND's work is a contribution to medieval literature, and to the history of Christian doctrine and philosophy.

The Concordance Society, originating in a suggestion made by Professor George Herbert Palmer, of Harvard, was organized December 28th, during the session of the Modern Language Association at New Haven, with the following officers:

President—ALBERT S. COOK, Yale University.

Secretary—CHARLES G. OSGOOD, Jr., Princeton University.

Treasurer—CURTIS H. PAGE, Columbia University.

Executive Committee—The officers of the Society, with CHARLES W. HODELL, Woman's College, Baltimore, and ALBERT H. TOLMAN, University of Chicago.

The purposes of the Society are 'to provide subventions toward the publication of such concordances and word-indexes to English writers as shall be considered sufficiently meritorious and necessary; to formulate plans for the compilation of such works; and to assist intending compilers of such works with suggestion and advice'. Members pay five dollars a year, due May 1. Applications for membership are earnestly desired, and may be sent to any one of the officers.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

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WHOLE NO. III.

I.—THE STELE INSCRIPTION IN THE ROMAN FORUM.

I.

Pais, in his recent work, *Ancient Legends of Roman History*, p. 280, says, "It is not necessary to report here all the worthless literature,¹ that has sprung up around this remarkable monument. The *cippus* was edited for the first time in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1899. The official interpretation there presented by L. Ceci is pitiful". Otto² at the end of his review says, "Das Resultat unserer Betrachtung ist, wie ja vorauszusehen war, kein erfreuliches. Aber vielleicht gelingt es ihr das unfruchtbare Grübeln von diesem elenden Bruchstücke abzuleiten". More recently Skutsch³ says in regard to the inscription, "Die Flut von Literatur . . . hat abgeeb't und was vereinzelt nachkommt wird für einige Chroniken künftig kaum mehr Stoff bieten". Such

¹ Useful summaries of the literature, not all of it worthless, as even Pais admits, are given by Tropea (*Rivista di Storia Antica* IV 469-509, V 105-136, 301-355, VI 157-184, VII 425-427, VIII 529-533). See also Skutsch (*Vollmüller Jahresb. f. Roman. Phil.* VI I, 453-459), Otto (*ALL.* XI 431-437, XII 102-113), I. F., *Anzeiger* XII 260-262, XV 94 f., Platner (*TAPA.* 32, XIV ff. with facsimiles), Baddeley translating Boni (*Archaeologia* 57, 175-184 with facsimiles), Clark (*Proceedings, London Society of Antiquaries*, 18, 392-409). Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* II, n. 4913, gives the inscription with brief comments. Besides examining the inscription *in situ*, I have had access to a cast in the Harvard Classical Museum, from which I have made careful measurements of each letter. To these I have, for brevity's sake, not made reference in this article. As there is no way of determining the length of each line, and as in some lines the letters are much more crowded together than in others, and some letters take much more space than others, it is certain that the lines did not have a uniform number of letters.

² *ALL.* XII 113.

³ *Vollmüller, Jahresb.* VIII 57, 1906.

words might well deter a modest scholar, not eager for the fate of Marsyas, from attempting to solve the apparently insoluble. Remembering, however, Ritschl's¹ motto, "Nil sine magno—nil tam difficilest", one may perhaps be warranted in making a fresh attempt based mainly upon a comparison with Greek, Latin, and Umbrian inscriptions which have to do with ritual. For however wrong Ceci may have been in his interpretation, I believe he was right in regarding the monument as of a sacrificial character. He refers to Dionysius II 73 and Livy I 20, "Pontificem deinde . . . ex patribus legit (Numa) eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur". I would add Fronto (Naber, p. 226), "Numa senex sanctissimus nonne inter liba et decimas profanandas et suovetaurilia mactanda aetatem egit, epulorum (*epulonum*, Niebuhr) dictator, cenarum libator, feriarum promulgator?" Compare Cicero, de Rep. II 26 f. While we have in Latin outside of the Acts of the Arval Brethren few inscriptions dealing with ritual, in Greek such inscriptions are very numerous and are now conveniently assembled in Prott-Ziehen's *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* (I 1896, II 1, 1906; a third part is still to appear). The age of the inscription I shall not now discuss. It has been variously estimated from the seventh century down to the fourth. Thurneysen² would assign it to the regal period and make *regei Lo(u)ciōi* refer to Tarquinius Superbus. Pais assigns it to a much later date. Nor are scholars agreed as to whether the inscription forms one continuous whole. Ludwig³ went so far as to say, "Es scheint dass jede der vier seiten ihren eigenen text hatte, ob von der dritten zur vierten fläche der context hinübergrif ist unsicher. Einen gemeinsamen inhalt hatten die vier seiten nicht."⁴

¹Opusc. V 30.

²I use in this article the abbreviation ZP. Von Prott died before the appearance of Vol. II.

³Rhein. Mus. 56, 164.

⁴Die Stele auf dem Forum Romanum, Prague, 1901, p. 3.

⁵Roberts and Gardner (Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, p. 379, n. 133) say of a slab of Pentelic marble found in the Piraeus, "The stone is inscribed on (A) the front, (B) the left side, (C) the upper surface, (D) the back. The left side (B) is thought by Dragatsis to be a later addition. But Koehler remarks that A 11 sqq. appear to be by a different hand from that which wrote 1-10, and yet they must have been inscribed at nearly the same time". Compare ZP.

Hülsen¹ after commenting on differences in the letters A and M and on the interpunctuation says, "Wir hätten demnach drei Inschriften auf den vier Hauptseiten des cippus". Boni² (tr. Baddeley) says, "Two distinct hands may be detected in the inscription. It is in fact evident that the letters M and B (*sic* = A?) in certain lines are superior to the same letters in others. Comparetti³ says, "Un segno a cui per ultimo dobbiamo rivolger l'attenzione è quella linea, certamente non casuale, che si vede tirata su parte della riga 10^a. Va osservato che essa si trova dopo quelle due linee di scrittura ove questa si vede capovolta rispetto a tutte le altre linee anteriori e posteriori (eccetto quella dello spigolo, ossia la 16^a). Volendo congetturare sul suo ufficio, parebbe che essa segnasse il principio di una nuova parte nel testo dell' epigrafe". Hülsen and Skutsch, following Thurneysen's⁴ suggestion, would read lines 12-15 in the order 15, 14, 13, 12, thus disposing of the mysterious word *havelod*. This arrangement, despite their ingenious argumentation, seems to me in itself improbable, and must be abandoned, if we can so supplement the lines taken in their natural order, as to give an interpretation, which shall commend itself as plausible. This I hope to do. I regard lines 10-16, i. e. including the line upon the bevelled edge, as one continuous inscription, which I shall take up first before considering lines 1-9. Passing over for the moment the letters IOD, the first visible in line 10, I take up the first two (three) words preserved, IO : VXMENTA : KAPIA. Neglecting the punctuation,⁵ Ceci arbitrarily reads *ioux menta* with an impossible interpretation. Other scholars take *iouxmenta* = *iumenta*. Buecheler⁶ thinks *kapia* is for *kapiad*. Comparetti interprets *kapia dota* most improbably as *capistro ducta*. Thurneysen⁷ proposes to interpret *iumenta Gabia* (= *Gabina*), rightly rejected as improbable by Skutsch. Thurneysen⁸ says, "*Iouxmenta kapia* einfach als 'erbeutete Zug-

II, n. 144, a stele from Cos inscribed on four sides of which Paton says, "The letters of cols. *a* and *b* are similar, those of *a* rather larger. The letters of cols. *c* and *d* are similar in size and shape but slightly later than those of cols. *a* and *b*".

¹ Beitrage zur Alten Geschichte II 232.

² Archaeologia 57, 184.

³ Iscrizione archaica del foro Romano, p. 12.

⁴ Rhein. Mus. 55, 484.

⁵ In regard to the interpuncts before VXMENTA Comparetti (p. 9) says, "Punti deboli che in parte si ravvisano anche nella fotografia".

⁶ Rhein. Mus. 60, 518.

⁷ Rhein. Mus. 56, 164.

⁸ Rhein. Mus. 56, 163.

thiere' zu fassen, geht wohl nicht an, da von unzusammengesetzten Verbal-stämmen (*cap-ere*) Adjectiva auf *-ius* nicht abgeleitet zu werden pflegen". This contention can, I think, be disproved. While it is true that most adjectives of this class appear in compounds,¹ there seems to be no good reason for asserting that in an earlier period of Latin such adjectives were not formed quite freely from simple verbs. In Greek also we have comparatively few such adjectives. Hirt² gives as examples *ἀγίος, στήγιος, σφάγιος, μανία, περία*, comparing in Latin only substantives *studium, invidia, praesidium*. I would cite *filius, filia*, proved to be a verbal adjective, and not only Latin but Italic, by Umbrian *feliuf*,³ *fluviu*, *fluvia*,⁴ *pluvius, pluvia, gumia*, Umb. *gomia* = *gravidas*,⁵ *socius, genius*,⁶ (*Primigenia*), *Lubia*,⁷ and *loiquios* in this inscription.⁸ Of compound adjectives there are three especially worthy of note, as being connected with sacrifice,⁹ *praemetium, eximius, effugia*. Of *praemetium* Paulus, p. 465, under *sacrima*, says, "sicut *praemetium* de spicis, quas primum messuissent, sacrificabant Cereri". Paulus, p. 57, says, "*Eximium* inde dici coeptum, quod in sacrificiis optimum pecus e grege *eximebatur*". Compare Donatus, Hec. 66. More important still Macrobius S. 3, 5, 6. *Eximii* quoque in sacrificiis vocabulum non poeticum *ἐπιθετον* sed sacerdotale nomen est. Veranius enim in Pontificalibus Quaestionibus docet, "*eximias* dictas hostias, quae ad sacrificium destinatae *eximantur* e grege, vel quod *eximia* specie quasi offerendae numinibus elegantur, hinc ait 'quattuor *eximios* praestanti corpore tauros'" (Verg. G. 4, 538). Compare Livy 1, 7, 12, bove *eximia* capta (= *ΚΑΡΙΑ*) de grege; 1, 7, 5; 7, 37, 1 and 5. *Eximius* is also glossed *ἐξαιρετός*.

¹ Of these Stolz (Hist. Gram. 457) says, "In der älteren Latinität dürften diese Bildungen häufiger gewesen sein". Probably some of them still await detection. For *prandium* = *pram-edium*, cf. Walde, Et. Wb. s. v. For *novicius* = *novo-veiq-jos* (?) 'new-conquered', cf. Niedermann, I. F. XIX, Anzeiger 33.

² Handbuch der Gr. Laut und Formenlehre 254; cf. I. F. XVIII 382; K. Z. 36, 180.

³ Cf. Walde, Et. Wb.; Buecheler, Rhein. Mus. 39, 411. Hirt, Die Indogermanen II 608, cites *bilia* = *filia* from a Messapian inscription.

⁴ Cf. Wölfflin, ALL. VII 588.

⁵ Cf. Buecheler, Rhein. Mus. 37, 522.

⁶ Cf. Paulus 67, and Otto, Philologus 64, 179. ⁷ Cf. Usener, Götternamen 8.

⁸ To these may be added *caviae* whence *cavia res*, see Walde under *cauda, favius* in glosses, *pūs* ? (Etymology uncertain), and *gubernius*; cf. ALL. VII 588. Others more doubtful, as *hostia, Aius, vatius*, I omit.

⁹ Cf. *ἀγίος* = Skt. *yajyas*, *σφάγιον*, and *prosciae, proscium*.

Lucan 1, 609, has '*electa cervice marem*'. *Effugia*¹ only occurs in Servius A. II 408, "hostia quae ad aras adducta est immolanda, si casu *effugeret*, '*effugia*' vocari veteri more solet". Compare Servius, A. II 104, Val. Max. I 6, 7; Cato, Origines II 27. Although the gloss *Fugeus et Sagaris nomen servorum* (Corp. Gl. V 203, 19) has undoubtedly been correctly emended by Buecheler to *Phegeus*, etc. (Verg. A. 5, 263), I believe that in early Latin *fugia* could have been used for *effugia*. Pauli (Altitalische Forschungen III 26) gives from an inscription of the Veneti *bhuxia* = *Fugia* as a name derived from *fugio*². *Kapia* then may have the meaning of *taken* (*captured*) or *selected*. Its passage from one meaning to the other may be illustrated from Tac. Ann. II 88, *capiendam* virginem in locum Occiae, where the Tacitus Lexicon gives to *capere* the meaning *deligere*,³ while Gellius, I 12, explains its original use "veluti bello *capta* abducitur". Pais⁴ then may be right and wrong in comparing *kapia* with Umbrian *hatulo*, i. e. the original meaning may have been changed through a change of custom. I prefer to take *kapia* (comparing *eximius* and Livy 1, 7, 12 already cited) in

¹ Compare however the gloss (Goetz, Corp. Gl. VI, 376) *Effugium* qui de bello ad alteram partem *transfugit*.

² But see Schulze, zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen, p. 46, who compares *vhouxontah*, *vhouxontna*, etc., with *Foucontis* CIL. III 10722, and thinks the name Illyrian. Schwab, Nomina propria Latina, p. 693, cites *Fugantius* from CIL. V 8986 a, and explains '*qui fugat hostes*'.

³ Nonius, 253 M., explains *capere* by *eligere*, citing Ter. Hec. 537 and Verg. G. II 230. Plautus uses *capere* in this sense. See Lodge's Lexicon. For ἀπτέω in the sense of 'catch' and 'choose' see Buck, Class. Phil. 2. 273.

⁴ Pais (Ancient Legends, p. 16 f.) says, "We know that at Rome as in Greece, it was the custom to sacrifice to the gods animals still untamed by the yoke. The exceptions that can be noted in Thebes, Rhodes, and Rome itself, do not authorize us to believe (as has been done) that in these cases reference was made to sacrifices. But even if this were so, we would find in the *tabulae* from Iguvium a rite which would explain the words *iouxmenta capia*. One might indeed believe that the Forum inscription alludes to some ceremony similar to that of the Umbrian city,—in which oxen and cows were pursued as enemies which the citizens endeavored to *capere*. With this ceremony of the Iguvini we might compare the Roman festivals of the Poplifugium and of the Vitulatio (July 5th). Referring to this (p. 280, n. 4) he says, "See Tab. Iguv. VII, A. 40 (= 52), I. B. 40, *postquam tertium populum lustraverit, iuvenecam optimam fugato super comitio flamen, legati duas fugantio intra forum seminarium capiunt*. Compare Buecheler, Umbrica, p. 115. To the examples cited by Buecheler there can be added, I believe, the somewhat different ceremony performed at Hermione, in regard to the oxen sacrificed to *Ceres Chthonia*, Paus. II 35, 7."

the sense of *selected*,¹ on account of a remarkable parallel in the sacrificial Calendar of Cos. In this inscription, first published by Hicks², the largest fragment forms part of the calendar for the month Batromios, extending from the 19th to the 25th day. Paton³ says, "The 19th day is imperfect; the portion preserved (lines 1-47) deals almost entirely with the ceremonies to be observed on the vigil of the sacrifice to Zeus Polieus, the selection of the ox,⁴ etc. On the 20th day (lines 47-58) the selected ox is sacrificed to Zeus Polieus, and a ewe to Athene Polias". In the account of the ceremonies of the 19th day, we find the words⁵ τὸν δὲ κριθέντα (supply βοῦν) τῷ Ζηνὶ κύριους ἀγορεύει ἀγοράν. The account of the twentieth day⁶ begins with the words: ἰκάδι. βούς δ' κριθείς⁷ θύεται Ζηνὶ Πολιῇ. In PZ. I, n. 6, l. 10, we have Ζηνὶ Μαχανῇ βούς κρίνεται . . . καθάπερ τοῦ Βατρομίου τῷ Ζηνὶ τῷ Πολιῇ κρίνεται. Resting on these parallels I would interpret IO : VXMENTA : KAPIA as 'the oxen selected for Juppiter'.

IO⁸ may be an abbreviation for IOVEI, or it is possible that

¹ Cicero uses *deligere hostiam*, De Div. I 118, II 35 and 36. In Umbrian *upetu* = *optato* is used five times of victims. Compare Festus 210, *Optatam* hostiam, alii optimam appellat eam, quam Aedilis tribus constitutis hostiis *optat*, quam immolari velit.

² Journal of Hellenic Studies IX (1888) 323-337. Cf. Paton and Hicks, The Inscriptions of Cos (1891), p. 77 ff.; PZ. I, n. 5.

³ Inscriptions of Cos, p. 83.

⁴ Paton's description of the selection of the ox is too long to quote in full. I quote parts. "Twenty-seven oxen were first selected, nine from each tribe then each of the three tribes separately drove to the ἀγορά three of their selected oxen, the Pamphyli having precedence. When they had all reached the ἀγορά, the three lots of oxen, were combined into one. The priest of Zeus and the λεποποιοί sat at a table in, or near the ἀγορά, and to this table the three tribes . . . drove up the nine oxen in sets of three, beginning with the finest, in order that the ox for sacrifice might be there selected by some special test. . . . If none of the nine oxen, which in human judgment were the best, were selected, then each tribe drove down three others to the ἀγορά and the process was repeated until the whole twenty-seven were exhausted, etc."

⁵ PZ. I, n. 5, l. 23.

⁶ PZ. I, l. 47.

⁷ κρίνω (ἐπικρίνω) occurs repeatedly in PZ. I, n. 5 and n. 6, and II, n. 88.

⁸ For this abbreviation *Iovesat* in the Duenos inscription would offer a parallel if we are willing to divide with Deecke and Conway (A. J. P. X 451) *Io Vei Sat*. I do not accept *iovesat* = *iurat*, although correct morphologically, nor do I cling to the explanation proposed by me in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology XI 165. In many respects the interpretation first proposed by Buecheler (Rhein. Mus. 36, 235) still seems to me the most satisfactory, and with it *Io Vei Sat* would not be inconsistent. *Iovei* itself is reduced to the

the graver had before him IOVEIVXMENTA, and, after writing the first V, by an oversight wrote XMENTA, which follows the second V, and then discovering his mistake, did the best he could by putting points (Comparetti's '*punti deboli*') between O and V. We have no right to ignore this interpunctuation, which, if the word stood for *iouxmenta*, would not even be syllabic (see below). *Iumentum* is derived by Walde¹ from *iouxmentum* despite the vigorous protest of Mommsen² who insisted on the derivation from *iuvare*. Phonetically I see no reason against equating *iouxmenta* with *iumenta*, and I myself so explained it until I met with the Cos inscription. But not to mention the fact that the Romans at least usually sacrificed *hostiae iniuges* (cf. Pais as cited above and Macrobius S. 3, 5, 5), *iumenta* is too vague a term for a sacrificial inscription,³ for it is used of horses and other animals as well as oxen, and from it comes the fr. *iument*.⁴ I would connect *uxmentum* with the same root seen in Sanskrit *ukṣán*, Av. *uxšan*, Goth. *auhsa*, O. H. G. *ohso*, N. H. G. *ochse*, Cym. *ych*, English *ox*,⁵ and perhaps in Lat. *uxor*.

form *Iue* (Dessau 2991) and there would be no danger of a Roman misunderstanding IO in such an inscription. That we should necessarily have *Diovei*, as is often asserted, in so early an inscription, I do not believe. The dialectic forms make against the assumption, cf. Walde s. v. *Iuno* has nothing to do with *Iuppiter*, but may have helped to establish early the spelling with *I*. *Diuturna* may not be the earlier spelling of *Iuturna*, see Walde.

¹ Compare also Solmsen, Rhein. Mus. 56, 499, and Buecheler, Rhein. Mus. 60, 318.

² Hermes 38, 115.

³ *Armenta* is used by Valerius Flaccus, IV 337; Statius, Theb. 6, 220; 8, 340; but this proves nothing for inscriptions.

⁴ Cf. Mommsen l. c. and ALL. VII 321 and 591.

⁵ The absence of any Greek cognate in this list is surprising. Scholars have not been wanting to connect *μῶσχος* (see Pott, K. Z. 26, 188). The only way in which this seems to me possible, is to suppose that in a pre-Hellenic period (cf. Hermann, K. Z. 41, 18)* *τῶμ *δῶσχομ* was wrongly divided *τὸ μῶσχομ*. A similar phenomenon has given rise to many words in English; cf. *newt* from *an ewt*, a *nye* for *an eye*, M. E.; a *nox* for *an ox*, M. E.; *nickname*; conversely *adder*, *apron* have lost an initial *n*. Many examples are given by Scott, TAPA. XXIII, 179-305. I am aware that *μῶσχος* is usually equated with Lit. *māzgas* (cf. Prellwitz, Et. Wb.² and Osthoff, I. F. VIII 18). Scheftelowitz (BB. 28, 300) denies any connection between Arm. *moni* 'calf' and *μῶσχος* (cf. I. F. XIV 56). Patrubány, I. F. XIII 124, attempts to connect Arm. *esn* = Ox, with Gr. *δσχος* 'young branch'. As *μῶσχος* = both *branch* and *calf*, so perhaps at one time *δσχος*, and the *δσχοφόροι* may originally have carried oxen or images of oxen. It is noteworthy that but for Quintilian 8, 2, 13 we should not know that *taurus* also meant *radix arboris*.

Sanskrit scholars are not agreed as to the derivation of *ukṣān*. Uhlenbeck¹ says "Idg **uksen*—darf vielleicht zu *ukṣāti*² (besprengt) oder zu *ikṣati* (wächst) gestellt werden." Hirt³ doubts the first derivation, saying, "Zunächst kann ich das verbum *ukṣ* nicht in der Bedeutung 'besamen' belegen, und dann muss man gegen alle diese etymologischen Versuche mistrauisch sein, die ein Wort aus dem gleichzeitigen Sprachstoff erklären wollen". For the many derivations proposed for *uxor* I refer to Walde. Froehde⁴ and Wiedemann⁵ connect it with *augeo* (Skt. *ikṣati*), "herangewachsenes mannbares Mädchen". Walde seems to prefer to connect it with *veho* (vgl. Skt. *vadhūṣ* Braut.), and I am informed by Sanskrit specialists that there is no insuperable objection to connecting Skt. *ukṣān* with the root *vah*⁶. Taking either derivation then, *uxor* and *uxmentum* may contain the same root. Idg **uksen*⁷ would then in Latin, under the influence of other nouns in *-men*, *-mentum*, (cf. *armentum*) become *uxmentum*.⁸ *Uxmentum* would naturally become *umentum*, and after the introduction of dialectal *bos*, being no longer needed, through confusion with *iumentum*⁹ (however derived) might

¹ Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindischen Sprache.

² Cf. Walde, Et. Wb., under *avidus*, and Fick II⁴ 266 f. ³ Cf. I. F. VII 112.

⁴ BB. XIV 95. ⁵ BB. XXVII 215. See also Wood (I. F. XVIII 21).

⁶ Monier Williams in his Dictionary says that *ukṣān* is used of ox or bull (especially as drawing the chariot of Ushas, or dawn) and under the root *vah* he gives *vahata* and *vahati* = ox and *vahatu* = ox and also bridal. Compare Lat. *ducere uxorem* and Festus 561, *Veterinam bestiam iumentum* Cato appellavit a *vehendo* (a derivation which Walde does not accept).

⁷ Can **uksen* be contained in the name of the town in Calabria *Usuntum*? (Nissen, Ital. Landeskunde II 885); cf. CIL. IX, p. 3. Ptol. III 1, 67 gives *Ὀῤῥυντον*; Tab. Peut., *Usintum*, cf. Paelig. *usur* = *uxor*. Compare *Italia* > *vitulus* (? see Walde) and the names *Bovillae*, *Bovianum*, etc. The prevalence of similar names in this region, *Tarentum*, *Hydruntum*, *Sipontum*, etc. (Hirt, Indogermanen II, p. 607) probably makes against this.

⁸ It has not seemed to me necessary to give other examples of suffix-adaptation. Recently Thurneysen, I. F. XXI 175, has shown how *bitumen* owes its suffix to *alumen*. A modern English example which I have not seen in print is *motorneer* (formed after *engi-neer*), which I myself saw in New Haven shortly after the introduction of electric cars,—“Don't speak to the *motorneer*”. *Fundus* and *πυμύς* have the same root but are as unlike as **δοχος* and **uxmen*. Brugmann (ALL. 15. 1 ff.) has shown how *senex* and *iuvenis* have influenced each other.

⁹ A possibility which has occurred to me, only to be rejected, is that *iumentum* is derived from *umentum*, *u* becoming *iu* as in Oscan. under certain conditions (Buck, Gram. Osc. and Umb., p. 40). Birt (Rhein. Mus. 52, Ergänzungs-

drop out of use. After *uxmenta* come the letters DOTAV. Comparetti interprets *dola* as *ducta*, Ceci as *dona*, while Thurneysen takes *dotau-* as a preterite from *dotare*. This seems to me improbable both from the sense and from the fact that the verb *dotare* is not ante-Augustan. *Dotatus*, which is Plautine, of course does not imply a verb *dotare* any more than *togatus* implies a verb *togare*. I would explain DOTA as the graver's mistake for DATOD, the last four letters being read in the reverse order. They may have stood in his copy at the end of a line, and by an error not difficult to explain psychologically, he anticipated the boustrophedon order.¹

For *dare* used in connection with sacrifice it is hardly necessary to give examples. Brissonius, in his valuable work "De Formulæ et Sollemnibus Populi Romani verbis" (Mainz 1649, p. 24 ff.), has collected examples which might be greatly increased.² It is worth while to notice that in Umbrian *dirstu* (*tertu, ditu, titu, tetu*) = *datod* (cf. Brugmann, I. F. XVIII 532) is regularly used as in Ig. Tab. VI b, 38, *proseseto erus dirstu* = *prosectorum magmentum dato*. Some, however, may prefer to take *dotau*³ as an old im-

beft, p. 176) has collected many examples of *iu* and *ui* for *u* from MSS, but they seem to have little weight. In English words like *union* the *y* is regularly pronounced, but not written. Etruscan *Uni* = *Iuno* (Otto, Philologus 64, 175) shows the opposite tendency but we do not know how it was pronounced. It is of course conceivable that *viginti umenta* should be pronounced *vigint(i) iumenta*, just as in Albanian *iu* = *u* as in *hani ju* = 'ihr esst' (cf. Zeit. für Kelt. Phil. II 190). *Iumentum* then by popular etymology connecting it with *iungo* or *iuvv* might get its wider meaning. For *u* becoming *iu* in some dialects of South Italy see Meyer-Lübke, Rom. Gram. I 75.

¹The letters ATO do not differ much in whatever direction written, and it is possible that in the graver's copy, for lack of room, ATOD was written under the line and nearly on a level with the following line, which takes the opposite direction, the first D of DATOD being perhaps illegible. One may compare CIL. XIV 2892 (Conway, It. Dialects, p. 314), an old inscription from Praeneste *l gemenio l f pel t d j hercole dono dat*. The *l* of *pel* is followed by a slanting stroke to connect it with the two following letters *t d* (or *e*), which are put vertically beneath it.

²From Inscriptions compare CIL. IX 5845, *daretur hostia*; from glosses under *magmentum* (C. Gl. VI 669), *quicquid dis datur*. Cf. Festus 380, in sacrificiis publicis cum puls fabata *dis datur*, nominatur refriva. For the form *datod* compare the well-known inscription from Spoletium (Dessau 4911), Iovi bovid piaculum *datod*—modernized in the Lex Regia, Festus, p. 212, cuius auspicio capta, *dis piaculum dato*. Compare Macrob. S. I, 16, 10, porco piaculum *dare*.

³Other possibilities which have occurred to me only to be rejected are:
1. *au* = the *au-* in *aufero* (cf. Thurneysen, ALL. 13, 8), here a separable particle

perative without explanation like Goth. *at-steigadan* = *καταβαίνω* (cf. Brugmann, Grundriss II¹ 1329, BB 26, 153), comparing Gr. *δοῶ*, Lat. *sacerdos* and *cēdo* (but see Walde, Et. Wb., p. 700).

The next line (12), the first on the fourth side, which is written in the same direction, right to left, as the previous line, begins with M. Before considering the word or words to be supplied between V and M, I wish to take up the following letters: I : TE : RI : T (?), out of which Thurneysen makes a verb *iterit* = *iterat*. I regard I as standing for IOVEI abbreviated here, because the word had occurred just before.¹ I propose to read TERITOREI = *Territori*. Having insisted upon the interpunctuation between IO and VXMENTA, I may seem inconsistent in ignoring it here.² But here the interpunctuation is strictly syllabic,³ and moreover the graver is probably not the same as on the previous side. Witness the different form of the E's.

Dennison, who has considered most carefully the subject of syllabification in Latin inscriptions, says⁴ of inscriptions dividing words into syllables by interpunctuation that they are not numerous, about 106 having been found in Italy. "In some cases nearly every word in the inscription is divided into its syllables

and post-positive, as *i prae* for *praei*, and *dot* is a subjunctive form = Gk. *ὀφ*. *Dotan* would then have the force of Lat. *reddere*, Gk. *ἀποδιδόναι*, often used in Gk. Inscriptions. Cf. Dessau 3237, a bilingual inscription in which *ἀπέδω κε* translates *dedit*, and Dionysius, VI 95, *θυσίας ἀποδοῖναι τοῖς θεοῖς*. 2. *dot* is subjunctive, and *an* the first syllable of *aurata*, often used of victims in the Acts of the Arval Brethren (cf. Thesaurus s. v.), or of *augur* (cf. Serv. A. 3, 265, *sacrificium augurale*). The absence of punctuation is against this. 3. *dotu* is a mistake for *datod*, V = *quinque* just as in the Ludi Saec. insc. and in the Acts of the Arval Brethren numerals are used with victims. Five is not a usual number for victims, but compare *quinquaginta* = *lustrare*, *lustrum*, a period of five years, and see Walde under *pontifex*. See also Livy 21, 62, 9, *genio maiores hostiae caesae quinque*; Cic., de Rep. 2, 2, 6, *sacris e principum numero pontifices quinque praefecit*.

¹ A similar explanation would apply here as in the case of IO above, i. e. the graver's eye passed from the first to the last I of IOVEI and he left out the intervening letters. This however seems to me improbable.

² The interpuncts can be clearly seen in Comparetti's facsimile.

³ Buecheler (Rhein. Mus. 55, 2), speaking of the Etruscan inscription found at Capua, says, "Offenbar dient die Interpunction dazu wie auch bei der *loux-menta*-inschrift sich zeigt, nicht nur Wörter zu trennen sondern auch Silben und die Elemente des Wortes".

⁴ Classical Philology I 64.

by interpuncts as in CIL. VI 15546, IX 4028, but more often this mode of division is employed only in a few words, as in XIV 2202, or in one word merely, as in V 5021". In Ephemeris Epig. II, n. 678, from Pannonia (not included by Dennison in his investigation), HER·CVLI is written with a point after the first syllable, the only example of such division in the inscription. Juppiter Territor is known to us only from one inscription found near Tivoli now in the Museo delle Terme, Rome (Dessau 3028 = CIL. XIV 3559):

SANCTO IOVI TERRITORI SACRVM

A rubbing of this inscription in my possession shows that it is not early, as the case forms themselves declare. The lettering is of a good period. Fortunately we can support the evidence of the inscription by a passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In speaking of the first secession of the plebs, commonly assigned to 494 B. C., but utterly discredited now by Pais¹ and other modern historians, Dionysius says (VI 90), 'Ἐπειδὴ ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσαντο, βωμὸν κατασκεύασαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρωρείας, ἐν ᾗ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὃν ἐπὶ τοῦ κατασχόντος αὐτοὺς τότε δειμάτος ὠνόμασαν, ὥς ἡ πάτριος αὐτῶν σημαίνει γλῶσσα, Διὸς Δειματίου.² ᾧ θυσίας ἐπιτελέσαντες καὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον αὐτοὺς τόπον ἱερὸν ἀνέντες, κατήεσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἅμα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. ἀποδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει θεοῖς χαριστήρια³ etc. The Didot ed. gives *Pavoni* as a translation of Δειματίου, but Carter⁴ rightly compares *Juppiter Territor*.⁵ With this deity I compare *Jovia Torra* (*Tursa*) in the Iguvine Tables. *Tursa*⁶ occurs ten times in these Tables, twice without an epithet, four times as *Tursa Scrfia* (*Cerria*), and four times with *Jovia*. In VII a, 49, *Tursa Jovia* is invoked and the words *tursitu*, *tremitu* = *terreto*, *tremefacilo*, are used. *Tursa*

¹ Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Hermes* 30, 18; Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité* (1906), p. 266.

² Cf. Festus, p. 466, *Sacer mons appellatur trans Anienem, paullo ultra tertium miliarium: quod eum Plebes, cum secessisset a patribus, creatis TR. Plebis, qui sibi essent auxilio, discedentes Iovi consecraverunt; Paulus, p. 467, quia Iovi fuerat consecratus.*

³ This word suggested to me *Vitulatio*. See below, p. 263.

⁴ De Deorum cognominibus, p. 57.

⁵ The scholiasts on Hor. C. i, 2, *terrui urbem, terrui gentis*, do not mention *Juppiter Territor*, and probably Horace had more in mind *Juppiter Fulgur, Fulminans* (cf. C. 3, 3, 6).

⁶ Bréal (Les tables Eugubines 304 and 388) is inclined to equate *tursa* with *terra*, but Buecheler, Conway and Buck connect it with *terreo*; v. Planta I, 487, leaves the choice open.

is evidently from the same root seen in *tursitu*—a causative verb for which the Latin has *terrere* instead of *torrere* (see Walde). In a passage (I b, 40 ff.), which has to do with the lustration of the people and which Buck compares with Dion. Hal. IV 22, we have these words, "Pustertiu pane puplu ateřafust, iveka perakre *tusetu* super kumne ařfertur, prinuvalu tuf *tusetutu*, hutra furu sehmeniar *hatutu*. Eaf iveka tre Akeřunie fetu *Tuse Iuvie*".¹ The later version (VII a, 51 ff.) varies somewhat and should be compared with the account cited above (p. 254, n. 4), concerning the selection of the ox in the Cos Calendar. The Umbrian probably represents the earlier custom of the two, but preserved later. "Enom iuvenga peracrio *tursitulo*, porse perca arsmatia habiest et prinuatur. Hondra furo sehemeniar *hatuto totar pisi heriest*. Pafe trif promom haburent, eaf Acersoniem fetu *Turse Iovie*".² Buck (grammar, p. 308) remarks on the difference between the two versions", "In the older version three heifers are let loose, one by the flamen, two by the assistants, and then caught and sacrificed. In VII more than three (apparently twelve, cf. VII b) are let loose and the first three caught are sacrificed". As a parallel to *Iovei* in l. 10 of the Stele without an epithet followed in l. 12 by *Iovei Teritorei* we may compare VII a, 46, *Tursar*, followed in 47 by *Tursa Iovia*, just as in the Cos Calendar τὰς Ζῆνι is named on the 19th day, and Ζῆνι Πολιῆι on the 20th.

The connection between *fright* and *flight* is obvious. *φίβομαι*,³ which Hirt connects with *φεύγω*, means 'to be put to flight', 'to flee affrighted'.⁴ *φόβος* in Homer, 'flight', is in later Greek 'fear' and is personified as a deity.⁵ Homer couples *φύλα* with *φόβος* (Il. 9, 2). Menandros couples *φυγή* with *φόβος* (Spengel, Rhet. Graeci 3, 341), just as in the old formula preserved by Macrobius (S. III 9, 10)

¹ Buck translates "Postquam tertium populum lustraverit, iuencam opimam *fugato* super comitio flamen, legati duas *fuganto*, infra forum seminarium *capiunto*. Eas iuencas tris Acedoniae facito *Torrae Ioviae*".

² Buck translates "Tum iuencas ex opimis *fuganto*, qui virgam ritulem habebit et legati. Infra forum seminarium *capiunto civitatis quisquis volet*. Quas tris primum ceperint, eas in Acedonia facito *Torrae Ioviae*".

³ Cf. *τρέω* — Hesych., *ἐτρεσεν, ἐφόβησεν* (Buecheler, Umb. p. 100), Afghan, *ṭarhēdal* 'sich fürchten, fliehen', connected by Foy (K. Z. 37, 538) with the same root.

⁴ For cognate words in Armenian see BB. 28, 309 and 29, 41.

⁵ Cf. Rhein. Mus. 58, 315. For other deities associated with the idea of fear, cf. Roscher, under *Deimos*, *Pallor*, *Pavor*, and under *Personifikation* cols. 2095, 2107, 2113. Apuleius, 10, 31, has *Terror* et *Melus*. See Carter, "Abstract Deities in early Roman Religion", Proceedings APA. 36, xxxiv.

we have *fuga*, *formidine terrore compleatis*,¹ with which we may compare Umb. *tursitu tremitu* and Livy 8, 9, 7, *hostes . . . terrore formidineque* adficiatis. Cf. Livy 10, 28, 16. Roscher gives φοβερά, "Feinde-scheuchend", as an epithet of Athena. Φύξιος is occasionally used of Zeus. In an early inscription of Selinunte, IGA. 515, φόβος is put directly after Zeus, διὰ τὸν Δία νικῶμεν καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον (see Usener, Götternamen 367, and Holm, Rhein. Mus. 27, 363 f.). With Jupiter Territor may also be compared Ζεὺς τροπαῖος.² Varro, Men. 61, has "ideo *fuga* hostium Graece vocatur τροπή". Dionysius (II 56), speaking of the Poplifugium, says, διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν φασὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο τῆς τροπῆς τοῦ πλήθους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων ὄχλου φυγὴν καλεῖσθαι. Cf. Plutarch, Romulus 29. The scholiast on Sophocles, Antigone 143, explains τροπαῖα by διὰ τὸ φυγαδεύειν καὶ τροπὴν ποιεῖν τῶν πολεμίων.³

¹ Compare Thulin, *Italische Sakrale Poesie und Prosa*, p. 56. Plautus, Merc. 25, has *terror* et *fuga*; Pseud. 590, *metum* et *fugam*. Cf. Horace, C. 2, 1, 18; Epist. 2, 1, 182; Verg. A. 9, 719.

² Compare Osc. Διουφεὶ Φερσορεὶ and Διουφεὶ Verchasiui; on ζεὺς τροπαῖος see Frazer's Pausanias, Vol. 3, p. 321.

³ Note on *extorris* and *territorium*. In view of the connection of *terrere* with the idea of putting to flight, and the admitted fact that we should expect in the earliest Latinity *terrere* as the causative form, just as we have in Umb. *tursitu* = *torreto*, it seems to me probable that *extorris* has nothing to do with *terra*, although connected with it in popular etymology (cf. Nonius, p. 14 M), but is to be derived from **terrere* = *terrere*. The earlier form was perhaps *extorrius* like *eximius* (cf. Brugmann I. F. 18, 66 and 382). Compare Isidorus, Or. X 85, *extorris* cum vi expulsus et cum *terrore* solo patrio eiectus, and Ovid Met. I 727, et profugum per totum *terrui* orbem; also Met. 14, 518. When we compare the relation of *φυγαδευτήριον* to *φυγαδεύω* it is hard to resist the belief that *territorium* stands in a similar relation to *terreo*. I need not here repeat all the ancient etymologies given by Voss in his *Etymologicon*. Aelius Stilo's derivation of both *terra* and *territorium* from *terere* is of course absurd, but his testimony (Varro, L. L. V 21) "*Terra* in augurum libris scripta cum R uno" is interesting. Stolz (H. G. 465) regards *territorium* as connected with *terra*, but admits that the form is 'vereinzelt' and only to be explained by analogy. The word is old, though not appearing early in literature. It naturally occurs most often in the Gromatici, who recognize a connection with *terreo*. As in the Digests it is explained "quod magistratus ibi ius *terrendi* habeat", so Frontinus de controversiis (Lachmann, Vol. I, p. 19) says, "sed si rationem appellationis huius tractemus, *territorium* est quidquid hostis *terrendi causa* constitutum est". Hyginus (I, p. 115), "Hic et occupatorius ager dicitur eo quod occupatus est a victore populo *territis* exinde *fugatisque* hostibus". Sículus Flaccus (I, p. 137), "praemensumque quod universis suffecturum videbatur solum, *territis* *fugatisque* inde hostibus, *territoria* dixerunt". The derivation is accepted by Rudorff (II, p. 252). Compare Caesar, B. G. VI

Buecheler (Umbrica, p. 115), in dealing with the passage quoted above concerning the pursuit of the heifers, compares the Athenian δῖωγμα (ἀνοδῖωγμα) and also the *Poplifugium*.¹ As to the origin of this festival² the ancients themselves were not clear, but according to one version it was connected with the mysterious disappearance of Romulus,³ and an inscription referring to it would be in place near the reputed tomb of Romulus. I propose to read therefore POPLIFVCIOD. There seem to be some traces of C = G on the stone. For the ablative compare Tab. Iguv. II a, 18, *Huntia* (= at the Hontus festival) fertu katlu, and in Latin *Castud*, *Ludis Megalensibus*, etc. The *Poplifugium*

23 and IV 3. But *terreo* (**terseo*) may originally have meant 'to fear', 'to flee from fright',—compare τρέω, ἀτρεστος; Hesych., ἐτρεσεν, ἐφόβησεν,—and only after *torreo* (perhaps in competition with *torrere* (**torsere*) 'to parch') had become obsolete, assumed the active meaning 'to frighten', just as in the Vulgate *fugare* and *fugere* are confused (cf. Rhein. Mus. 34, 638), and in the Reichenau Glossary *perterrui* is explained by *tremuit*. *Territor* may then have had the meaning of Plautine *fugitor*, and *territorium* may have had the meaning of *refugium*, φυγαδευτήριον, *asylum*. Servius, A. 8, 635, has "Romulus *asylum* condidit ad quem locum si quis *confugisset*". Plutarch, Romulus 19, calls the *asylum* τὸ φύξιμον (cf. *asylum* in Thesaurus and Corp. Gl.). Of course the word early lost (doubtless under the influence of *terra*) any such association, and could not have been used by Livy or any extant earlier writer in the sense of *asylum*, and when Silius Flaccus (I, p. 162) says, "Collegia sacerdotum itemque virgines habent agros et *territoria*", it had for him no such meaning. Although the Romans themselves never expressed a doubt as to the existence of the *asylum* as helping to explain the growth of the new colony, modern criticism has thrown it to the winds, and one of the arguments used is that *asylum* is a borrowed word. Ihne, Röm. Gesch. I, p. 14, says, "Verschiedener Art ist die Erzählung vom Asyl. Es ist in ihr nichts Übernatürliches, und obgleich sie dem Römischen Stolz nicht sehr schmeichelte, ist sie doch nie von den Römern angezweifelt worden". Varro, L. L. V 21, defines *territorium* as "*colomis locus communis, qui prope oppidum relinquitur*"; and *coloni*, ἀποικιοί, both in ancient and modern times have often been φυγάδες.

¹ Although Dionysius VI 90 connects Ζεὺς δειψάτριος with the first secession of the plebs, and his words imply a sort of panic-flight, and although in VI 62, 68, and 96 he speaks of the seceders as φυγάδες, I am not bold enough to connect the *Poplifugium* with the secession of the plebs. The institution seems to be much too ancient for that. But perhaps inscriptions like ours with *Juppiter Territor* may have had some influence in shaping the legend of the secession.

² Cf. Wissowa (Religion der Römer, p. 102), Aust (Religion der Römer, p. 183), Fowler (Roman Festivals, p. 174), Frazer (Lectures on the Early History of the Kings, p. 264; and his Pausanias, Vol. 2, p. 492, and 3, p. 268), Otto (Philologus 64, 185).

³ Dionysius II 56.

fell on the fifth of July, and in the Calendar of Amiternum is called *Feriae Jovi*. The festival stood in close connection with that of the *Nonae Caprotinae*, and both ancient and modern writers¹ have confused the two. Plutarch (Romulus 27 and 29, Camillus 33), Cicero, de Republica I 16, 25, and Solinus, I 21, all put the disappearance or death of Romulus on the *Nonae Quinctiles*. Varro (L. L. VI 18) does not connect the *Dies Poplifugia* with the death of Romulus, and seems to keep it separate from the *Nonae Caprotinae*. Perhaps originally the festival of the Poplifugium extended over several days.² Dionysius (VI 95) speaks of a third day being added to the *Feriae Latinae* on account of the return of the plebs after their secession αἰς ἡ τρίτη τότε προσε-
νεμήθη τῆς καθόδου τῶν ἀποστάντων ἕνεκα. This testimony is discredited by Werner.³ If our inscription were only a fragment of a larger inscription one might supply *die tertiod*, but I see no way of connecting our inscription with the *Feriae Latinae* which were primarily celebrated on the Alban Mount.⁴ Moreover, on the analogy of *postridie*, *meridie*, etc. we might expect a different form.

The last letter visible in line 10 is V, the letter beginning line 11 is M. I propose to read VITVLATIONEM. The Didot translator of Dionysius, at a loss to translate χαριστήρια, VI 95 ('Αποδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει θεοῖς χαριστήρια), uses the paraphrase "cum autem dis . . . victimas et sacrificia, ut ipsis gratias agerent, persolvissent". The Greek uses χαριστήρια and εὐχαριστήρια (εὐχαριστοῦντες) of thank offerings.⁵ The same idea is expressed I think by *vitulatio*, which only occurs once in Latin literature, Macrobius (S. 3, 2, 14), "Piso ait *vitulam victoriam* nominari, cuius rei hoc argumentum profert, quod postridie Nonas Julias re bene gesta, cum pridie

¹ E. g., Schwegler, Röm. Gesch. I 532; Ihne, Rhein. Mus. 9, 361.

² Farnell (The Cults of the Greek States III, p. 86) says of the Thesmophoria "The day may have been called *θεσμοφορία* because it was the first day of the whole festival". Similarly perhaps *Dies Poplifugia*. Fowler (Festivals, p. 174) remarks, "Nor can we explain the singular fact that this is the only festival in the whole year marked in large capitals in the Calendars which falls before the Nones". Is it possible to suppose that in the earliest Calendar the Nones of July fell on the 5th, and that the confusion in regard to the *Nonae Caprotinae* arose in this way, when the *Nonae* were changed to the 7th?

³ De Feriis Latinis, p. 23.

⁴ For a simultaneous celebration at Rome see Werner, p. 35.

⁵ Compare *θυσίας χαριστηρίους* (Dessau 8805 and Dionysius VI 95).

populus a Tuscis in fugam versus sit, unde Poplifugia vocantur, post victoriam *certis sacrificiis fiat vitulatio*".¹ Harper's dictionary translates *Vitulatio* by 'public thanksgiving', Georges by "Siegesopfer", Wissowa (Religion 371 A, 5) by 'freudiger opferakt'. As Fowler points out, the meaning of the word was entirely unknown to Roman scholars. See the whole passage Macrobius S. 3, 2, 11-16.² The definition of Macrobius, "nomen sacrifici ob laetitiam facti", we may perhaps accept but not the connection with *vita*, *voce laetari*, *victoria*, or *vitulus*. Plautus in a corrupt passage (Persa 251 ff.) has

Iovi opulento, incluto, Ope gnato
Supremo, valido, viripotentī
Opes, spes bonas, copias commodanti
... lubens *vitulorūque* merito;

and as Fowler remarks, "If the *vitulatio* is in any way connected with the *Poplifugia*, as it was indeed in the legend as given by Macrobius, it may be worth while to remember that that day is marked in one calendar as *feriae Iovi*". The etymology of *vitulatio* is as difficult for us as it was for the ancients.³ It has occurred to me that perhaps the word may be connected with the root seen in Umb. *eveiētu*. This is used twice in the Tab. Iguv.; II b, 8, si perakne, sevakne upetu, *eveiētu*=suem sollemnem, hostiam deligito, *voveto* (Buck), and II b, 11, kapru perakne, sevakne upetu, *eveiētu*=caprum sollemnem, hostiam deligito, *voveto*. It will be seen that *upetu* would correspond to *capia*=*delecta* in our inscription, and *eveiētu* to *vitulationem*⁴ in the sense of 'offering'.

¹ One may perhaps compare the modern place in Campania *Vitulasio* (Nissen, Italische Landeskunde II 694). For *Vitulasius* see Schulze (Eigennamen 153 and 381).

² Nonius, 14 M, has "*vitulantes* veteres gaudentes dixerunt, dictum a bonae vitae commodo; sicuti qui nunc est in summa laetitia *vivere* eum dicimus"; Paulus similarly, "*Vitulans* laetans gaudio".

³ Walde connects it with **vo*, Ausruf gehobener Festesfreude (cf. Gr. *εβοῦ*), which unfortunately is not attested for Latin. He may be right, and one might compare *iubilatio* and *gratulatio*, connected by Walde with Skt. *gṛṇāti* (singt, lobt). An interesting semasiological parallel to *vitulari*, *vitulatio* is furnished by A. S. *lācan* 'play', 'sport' (Goth. *laikan* 'leap', 'dance'), and A. S. *lāc*, 'play', 'offering', 'gift', 'sacrifice', surviving in 'wed-lock'. The following equations seem to be suggestive, *gratus* : *ingratus* :: **vitus* : *invitus*, *gratulus* : *gratus* :: *vitulus* : **vitus*; but the derivation of *invitus* is not certain, see Walde.

⁴ For the apposition of *vitulationem* and *uxmenta* compare Dessau 3234, "hoc *seignum* pro Cn. filiod *donum* dedit"; 3237, "Dianae *aidicolum votum* dedit meretod", rendered in Greek by Ἀράματα εὐχὰν ἁλῶλον ἀπέδωκε.

The derivation of *eueietu* is not certain. Buecheler (Umbrica 142) connected it with *evincire*, but it is now generally connected with the root seen in *victuma*, Ger. *weihen*.¹ The absence of *c* in *vitulor* makes a difficulty but has its parallel in *Vitoria* from an archaic inscription of Praeneste² (CIL. I 58). Of course in our inscription the spelling may have been *viktulatio* or *veitulatio*. If my conjecture is correct, it would give us some idea of the length of the lines. I have supplied 10 letters, which added to the 12 preserved in l. 11 would make 22; but the letters in this line are unusually crowded; l. 10 in the same space only contains 10 letters; l. 9 in a little less space only six, one of which is M, equivalent ordinarily to at least two letters. The full line then might contain anywhere from sixteen to twenty-two letters, dependent on the size of the letters and the interspaces, which vary considerably in the parts preserved. My restoration is based on this assumption, but of course we have no warrant that at the upper end of the inscription the lines ended at precisely the same point. The graver may have preferred to begin a new word or at least a new syllable on another line. Cf. *es/ed*, ll. 2/3; *kalato/rem*, ll. 8/9; *vxmēn/ta*, ll. 10/11. In the case of *vitulationem*, there probably was not room for the M on the preceding line,³ but as M takes a great deal of space, the scribe may not have realized this until after he had written NE.

In the Greek sacrificial inscriptions it is customary to mention what part of the sacrifice the priests and other participants are to

¹ See Osthoff, I. F. 6, 39. In BB. 24, 184, he connects English 'witch' with the same root.

² For other examples cf. Zimmermann, Rhein. Mus. 45, 493, BB. 25, 69; I. F. 19, Anzeiger 30; Ernout, MSL, 13, 340; Hey, ALL. 15, 275; and Mohl, Chronologie du Latin Vulgaire, p. 313 ff.

³ Thurneysen, Rhein. Mus. 55, 484, finds a difficulty in this separation of M from the rest of the word on the preceding line, although he admits it to be possible in so old an inscription. In his own reordering of the lines he admits *ha/m*. Some perhaps would prefer to make M. = *Maxumoi*, just as we find at the beginning of an inscription *μεγάλη Νέμεσις* (Dessau 3738), but this order would be most unusual. *Sancto* in later inscriptions frequently precedes the name of the deity as it does in *Sancto Jovi Territori*, but that a five-stroked *m* should here stand by mistake for an Etruscan M = S. = *Sanctoi* is most improbable. Compare however *Mirqurios Alixentrom* (for *Alixentros*) (CIL. XIV 4099; Conway, Italic Dialects, p. 317, and Lattes, Iscrizione Paleolatine, p. 43). If *dotau* is accepted, as it stands as an imperative form, M may be the last letter of *piaculum*, *sacrificium* or some similar word.

receive as perquisites and what part the people.¹ Thus in the Calendar of Cos immediately before τὸν δὲ κριθίντα τῶι Ζηνὶ we have (ZP. I n. 5, l. 22 ff.) γήρη δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ δέρμα καὶ τὸ σκέλος, ἱεροποιοὶ δὲ σκέλος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα τᾶς πόλιος, and in l. 50 ff., shortly after βούς δὲ κριθεὶς θύεται Ζηνὶ Πολιῇ, we find γήρη τοῦ βοῦς τῶι ἱερῇ δέρμα καὶ σκέλος· ἱερὰ ἱαρεὺς παρέχει — ε — καὶ ἥπατος ἡμῖν καὶ κοιλίας ἡμῖν θαφάροι δὲ τοῦ σκέλεος τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν δίδονται ἀκρίσχιον νότον δίκρεας, λατροῖς κρέας, αὐλητῶι κρέας, χαλκίων καὶ κεραμίων ἐκατέρωι τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα τᾶς πόλιος.² In our inscription I believe there was no reference to the perquisites of the priest, but rather to the so-called *visceratio* such as is implied in τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα τᾶς πόλιος. Compare ZP. II, n. 29, l. 16, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα Ἀθηναίοις μερίζουν, and l. 24, νεμόντων τὰ κρέα τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Ἀθηναίων ἐν Κεραμεικῇ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρεανομίαις ἀποδίδοντες τὰς μερίδας εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἕκαστον κατὰ τοὺς πέμποντας ὁπόσους ἀν παρέχηι ὁ δῆμος ἕκαστος. Cf. Athenaeus VI 27, "κὰν τῇ ἀνακείῃ ἐπὶ τίνος στήλης γέγραπται 'τοῖν δὲ βοσὶν τοῖν ἡγεμόνῳι τοῖν ἐξαιρούμενων (= eximius, kapia) τὸ μὲν τρίτον μέρος εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα, τὰ δὲ δύο μέρη τὸ μὲν ἕτερον τῇ ἱερῇ, τὸ δὲ τοῖς παρασίτοις.'"

Compare the following glosses: *asignae* κρέα μεριζόμενα (Buecheler, ALL. I 103); *Viscerationem* εὐφρασίαν (C. Gl. II 209, 53); *Διανομηκρέως visceratio* (II 273, 5); *Visceratio* ἀπτόκρεας (II 209, 48). Persius (6, 50) has "oleum *artocreasque* popello largior", with which compare CIL. IX 5309, ornetur dedicatione artocria populo cuprensi dedit. *Visceratio* is found in the following inscriptions: IX, 23; X, 451; VIII, 1321,—ob dedicatione congentilibus et sacerdotibus *viscerationem et epulum*;³ also in another African inscription reported by Cagnat, Revue Archéologique 29 (1898), p. 394, ob dedicationem *visce[rationem]* populo?] dedit. Servius A, VI 253, commenting on the line

solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis

says, "non exta dicit sed carnes nam *viscera* sunt quicquid inter

¹ Compare Dessau 4906 (Lex Furfonensis) at the end. Sei quei ad huc templum rem deivnam fecerit Iovi Libero aut Iovis genio *pelleis coria famei* sunt. See also Dessau 4916. For Semitic parallels see Haupt, Journ. of Bib. Lit. 19, 59; for India Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, pp. 326 ff. and 360.

² For other similarly precise regulations see ZP. I, numbers 4, 6, 8; II, numbers 10, 24, 25, 48, 113, 129, 144; Michel, 726 and 854.

³ Cf. Sueton., Caesar 38, Adiecit epulum ac *viscerationem*; Solinus I, 10, consecratur etiam intra quod ritus sacrorum, *factis bovicidiis* . . . etenim cum *viscerationem* sacrivicolis daret. On the references to *visceratio* in Umbrian see Buecheler, Umbrica, p. 41 and p. 140.

ossa¹ et cutem² est, unde etiam *visceratio* dicitur ut diximus supra" = I 211, where his note runs "*viscera* non tantum intestina dicimus, sed quicquid sub corio est, ut in Albano Latinis *visceratio* dicitur, id est caro". (Cf. Servius A, 3, 321 and 622.) I propose to read *viskesa kapitod quoi ha velod*. *Kapitod* would correspond to λαμβάνειν,³ the word commonly used in Greek inscriptions. Dionysius, IV 49, describing the *feriae Latinae*, has the words τάφας ἀ δεῖ παρέχειν ἐκάστην πόλιν εἰς τὰ ἱερά καὶ μοῖραν, ἣν ἐκάστην δεήσει λαμβάνειν. Pliny, N. H. 3, 9, 69, uses the compound *accipere*, "et cum his *carnem* in monte Albano soliti *accipere* populi Albenses" etc. Cicero, pro Planc. 8, 23, has *carnem Latinis petant*. In commenting on this passage the Scholia Bobiensia have "civitates adiacentes *portiuunculas carnis acciperent*". Varro, LL. 6, 25, has *carnem petere*. *Capitod* = λαμβάνειν accords better with Greek usage than would *petitod*. For the order *keiviom quoi* compare the well-known inscription from Luceria, CIL. IX 782, *ceivium quis volet* pro iudicatod n(umum) L manum iniectio estod; and Tab. Ig. VII a, 52, hatuto *totar pisi heriest* = capiunto *civitatatis quisquis volet*. *Quoiha*⁴ is written as one word because

¹ In view of this passage should not *os* (= *oss*? as *es* = *ess*) be translated 'bone' in Mil. 30?—

pol si quidem

conixus esses, per corium, per viscera

perque os elephanti transmineret brachium.

Ribbeck translates "zum Maul hinaus"; Bentley emended to *ossa*; cf. Men. 859.

² Cf. Isidorus Or. XI 1, 16, *Viscera* non tantum intestina dicimus, sed quicquid sub corio est, a visco quod est inter cutem et carnem; Seneca, Herc. Oet. 1262, ecce direpta cute *viscera* manus detexit. The Codex Mediceus of Vergil glosses *dapes*, in Ecl. VI 79, by *viscera*. See also Lucilius 474, with Marx' note.

³ In the inscription of the second century = ZP. II, n. 46, discussed by Maas, Orpheus (p. 26), αἰτέρω is used, l. 123, Μερῶν δὲ γεινομένων αἰτέρω λεπτός, ἀνθιπετός, etc. See Maas, p. 49, and CIL. XIV 2112, cited by him.

⁴ For *quoiha* I suggest two other possibilities, neither of which seems to be probable. 1. *ha* is an enclitic particle (cf. Skt. *ha*, Umb. *hont* in *erihont*, O. H. G. *ihha*, but see Brugmann, K. Z. 36, 406) and *quoiha* is used like *oīye*. See Brugmann, Die Demonstrativ Pronomina, p. 69. 2. *quoiha* = *quoia*, *h* being inserted to prevent hiatus. In the examples I cite, however, *h* comes before *i*, not after it: *quois* for *quoi*, Plaut., Poen. 824 (Birt, Der Hiatus bei Plautus, p. 25); *Stahius* and *Stahia* for *Staius* (CIL. X 5372); *Schius* = *Scius* (Eph. Epig. IV 72, n. 26); *phiiios* for *Boius* (Veneti, Pauli, Altit. F. III 344 and 401). *Quoiha* might then be compared with *ποία, όποία*, for which I cite here only one example from a very interesting inscription of Iasos of the fifth century B. C. (Hicks, Gk. Insc. of the Brit. Mus., 440 = Michel, 724), κατὰ τὰδε ἱερὰσθω ὁ

ha is enclitic just as *quoiho(m)* in l. 1. (See Thurneysen, Rhein. Mus. 55, 485.) *Ha* = *haec*; cf. *ista, illa*. As *velod* begins the next line there was no need of punctuation, and it is not necessary to read *havelod*, the word which has caused so much trouble. *Velod* itself is undoubtedly difficult, and Thurneysen's explanation, which makes it equivalent to *voluntate*, does not seem to me probable. The graver of the inscription was not above making mistakes, some of which he has corrected. Uncorrected mistakes even in official inscriptions are not unknown; cf. *utra* for *verba* and *sacanal* for *bacanal* in the Sen. Cons. de Bacchanalibus, *maio-rem* for *maiorum* in Dessau 38, *otiiis* for *ollis*, Dessau 5039 (Arval Brethren Insc. containing Carmen Arvale). The most probable supposition seems to me to be that *velod* is a mistake for *voled* = *volet* or for *velid*, and of the two *voled* seems more likely if we regard the usage of inscriptions and of Umbrian. The *d* of *voled*, which is irregular, would be supported by *esed* of l. 1, if that is equal to *erit*. Unfortunately we have no word in the inscription ending in *t*, and we do not know but that all final *t*'s would have been *d*'s. According to the index of CIL., Vol. I, *volet* occurs 25 times (*quei volet* 12 X), *volent* twice, *velit* 4 times, all other forms of *velle* 12 times. In the Laws of the XII Tables *volet* occurs 5 times; viz., (ed. Schoell) 1, 4, *quis volet*, vindex esto; 3, 3, *si volet*; 3, 4, *si volet* (bis); 7, 7, *qua volet* iumenta agito, for which Cic., pro Caec. 19, 54, has *iubet qua velit* agere iumentum. Compare Dessau 6086 (Lex Municipii Tarentini), *eiusque pecuniae quei volet*, *petitio est*; 6087 (Lex Ursonensis), c. LXXV, *qui volet* *petitio persecutioque esto*, a formula used repeatedly in this and similar inscriptions.¹ I of course should prefer to keep *velod* in the sense of *volet* or *velit* if the form could

ιερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ μεγίστου. Δαμβανέτω δὲ τῶν θυομένων σκέλος ἐν ὁποίῳ ἂν θέλῃ. For similar phraseology compare ZP. II, n. 65, l. 30, *θεῖν δὲ ἐξείν δ'παν δ'τι δ'ν βόληται ἑκαστος*; ZP. II, n. 119, τῷ Ἑρμῇ θυέτω ἱρήϊον ὅττι κε θέλῃ; II, n. 109, A, *ἂμ βόληι = ἂν*; II, n. 26, *οὐ ἂμ βόληται*. But Cato used *quouium* = *cuius* in an old religious formula, Agr. 139. Oscan has *pliiu* = *quouia* and the equation of *quoiha* with *poia* seems too venturesome to commend approval. Its acceptance would of course necessitate a change in the proposed supplements; e. g., with *rex* as the implied subject, *viskesa kapitod hostiaso*] M QVOIHA VELOD. There would not be room for detailed mention of different parts of the victims.

¹ Instead of *qui volet* we find, Dessau 8240, *eius rei persecutio cuiuslibet de populo datur*, with which may be compared the formulae common in Greek inscriptions, *ἐξουσία ἐστω τῇ θέλοντι, ἐξέστω τῇ θέλοντι*.

be plausibly explained. It is barely conceivable that we have here a sort of contamination of the subj. and imper. which must often have been used with nearly equivalent force. Similarly in the Luceria inscription (Conway, *It. Dial.*, p. 31) the peculiar forms *fundatid parentatid*, if well attested, may be an imp. *-tod* influenced by a subj. *-id*, although Oscan influence may be suspected. Umb. has *veltu* = **veltod* = **veletod* and early Latin may have had a similar form, due to whose influence *velod* appears for *velid*. This, however, is a mere hypothesis and a rather hazardous one. Fay, *A. J. P.* XV, 420, thinks that *tegildod* is the result of syncretism of **teget* and **tegod*, and in a private letter he compares with *velod* the Lesbian imper. $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega$ from $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\mu\iota$. (Brugmann, *Vgl.*, Gr. II¹ § 957, p. 1317, who compares **dō* in Lat. *cedō*.) *D* may then have come from other imperative forms.¹

The remainder of the inscription I would supplement so as to read *neque skelos estod sakrufikiod iovestod loiquiod*. In the *Lex Furfonensis* (Dessau 4906) we have *sine scelere, sine piaculo*; in the dedication of an altar (Dessau 4909), *si quit sacrifici quo volet ferre et ibi ubi volet, uti sine scelere sine fraude lic[et]*. Livy, XXII 10, quotes a solemn ordinance in regard to the *ver sacrum* in which these words occur "si id moritur, quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, *neque scelus esto*, si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto, si quis clepsit, ne populo *scelus esto*". The formula *neque skelos estod* in our inscription would seem to hark back to a time when it was ordinarily considered wrong to eat the flesh of oxen. Cicero, *N. D.* 2, 159, quoting Aratus says,

"Ferrea tum vero proles exorta repente est
Ausaque funestum prima est fabricarier ensem
Et gustare manu vinctum domitumque iuencum.

Tanta putabatur utilitas percipi e bubus ut eorum *visceribus vesci scelus haberetur*".² The words of Aratus are, Phaen. 132, $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\iota$

¹ Other hypothesis which have occurred to me, but which do not seem plausible, are: 1. *velod* = *veloid*; cf. $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$ and the explanation proposed above for *dot*. 2. *velod* = *velont* from **velo* before it became *volo*, and with *n* dropped as in *coraverot, dedrot*, CIL. I 173, and frequently in Oscan; cf. *set* = *sent* = *sunt*. Nicholson, *Keltic Researches*, pp. 154 and 157, interprets *sot* in a lead tablet found at Amelie les Bains (CIL. XII 5367) as = Lat. *sont* and *metat* = *metant* from Stokes's **met* mat, fühlen (?); *mitat* in the Duenos insc. has been interpreted as *mittant*. In this case *quoi* would be plural and we should have to supply *kapiant* or *kapiantod*. For *-et* (pronounced *od*) in Irish from *-ont* cf. Thurneysen, *K. Z.* 37, 423.

² Cf. Vergil, *G.* 2, 537, "impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuencis", on which Servius comments, "Arati est hoc, qui dicit maiores bovem comesse

δὲ βοῶν ἐπάσαντ' ἀροτήρων, on which the scholiast remarks ἀσεβὲς εἶναι ἰδοῦναι τὸν ἀρότην σφάξαι.¹ Germanicus translates, Aratea 136, Polluit et taurus mensas adsuetus aratro. Varro, R. R. 2, 5, 4, says, "hic socius hominum in rustico opere et Cereris minister, ab hoc antiqui manus ita abstinere voluerunt ut capite sanxerint, si quis occidisset, qua in re testis Attice, testis Peloponnesos, nam ab hoc pecore Athenis Buzuges nobilitatus, Argis homogyros".² Cf. Pliny, N. H. 8, 180, socium enim laboris agrique culturae habemus hoc animal tantae apud priores curae, ut sit inter exempla damnatus a populo Romano die dicta qui concubinae procaci rure omassum edisse se negante occiderat bovem, actusque in exilium tamquam colono suo interempto". I write *sakru-fikiōd* with *u* rather than *i* because this seems to have been the earlier form; cf. George's Lex. der Lat. Wortformen under *sacrificium* and *sacrificare*. Neither word occurs in Vol. I¹ of the Corpus. For *f* of course *FH* may have been written as in the Numasios inscription. So too in *Poplifugiod*.

That *Iovestod* = *iusto* is now generally conceded. I have pointed out in Harvard Studies (XI, 163) that the gloss of Paulus, p. 74, *iovistae* compositum a *Jove* et *iustae*, shows that such a form was not unknown to ancient grammarians. *Iustum sacrificium* is used by Servius (Dan.), A. III 279, "ergo quoniam non ad *iustum sacrificium* Iovem invocaverint, ideo illi piaculum solvunt". Macrobius, S. 3, 11, 7, uses *iusta libatio*. Cicero, N. D. III 38, has "*Iustitia* quae suum cuique distribuit"; Cicero, De Leg. 2, 30, *iustae* religionis; Suetonius, Cluad. 21, *iustum* atque *legitimum* (munus). Cato, Agr. 139, in a formula manifestly old, has "si deus, si dea es, quoniam illud sacrum est, uti tibi *iust* est porco *piaculo facere*" etc. I take *iustum* in the sense of the Greek νόμιμον, by which it is glossed, Corp. Gl. II 336, 38 and 396, 57, or in the sense of καθήκον. *Plus iusto*³ is glossed, Corp. Gl. II 152, 38, ἰλιόν τοῦ καθήκοντος. I shall content myself with citing only a few examples in point from Greek inscriptions: ZP. II, n. 48, l. 16, ὁ δὲ θυσιάζων τῇ ἰσθόμῃ τὰ καθήκοντα πάντα ποιῶμαι τῷ θεῷ, followed immediately by λαμβανέτω δὲ τῆς θυσίας ἥς ἂν φέρῃ σέλος καὶ ὄμον,

nefas putabant". See Sueton., Dom. 9, and compare βουφόνε, Homeric Hymns, Hermes 436, with the comment of Allen and Sykes in their edition (London, 1904).

¹ Cf. von Prott and Stengel, Rhein. Mus. 52, 198, n. 2, and 409.

² Wilamovitz (Hermes 37, 307) emends to *bomagiros*.

³ Cf. Sidonius, Epist. 3, 3, 9, *iusto plusculum*.

τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κατακοπύεται ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ; in the same insc., l. 9, παρέχειν δὲ καὶ τῇ θεῇ τὸ καθήκον, and l. 23, ὁμοίως δὲ παρέξουσιν οἱ ἱερασταὶ τὰ καθήκοντα τῷ θεῷ; CIA. II 1, 622, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς θυσίας ὥς καθήκον θύειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινού; ZP. II, n. 129, VI 9, παρέξει δὲ καὶ στεφάνος τοῖς ἡρώσι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ποτὶ τὰν θυσίαν πάντα καὶ καρπώσει τὰ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἱερείου νομιζόμενα ἱερά; and just before τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἱερείου νενομισμένα ἱερά, ZP. II, n. 48, θύειν τοὺς γεωργούς καὶ τοὺς προσχώρους τοῖν θεοῖν ἢ θέμις καὶ τὰς μοῖρας νέμειν; ZP. II, n. 46, l. 113, ὁ ἱερεὺς δὲ ἐπιτελείτω τὰς ἐθίμους λειτουργίας; ZP. II, n. 7, l. 10, κατὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα νόμματα; l. 24, ὅπως μηδὲποτε τοῦτο ἐκλειφθεῖ μηδὲ ὀλιγωρηθεῖ ποτὲ τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας; ZP. II, n. 28, l. 9, ὁμόσαντας τὸν νόμιμον ὄρκον. Cf. Dionysius, I 24, εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τούτων λάβοιεν τὴν δεκαίαν μοῖραν and τοὺς τε θεοὺς τὰ δίκαια ὑπουργεῖν ἀξιούντες.

Thurneysen, Rhein. Mus. 56, 162, has already accepted the reading *loiquiod* and connected it with *linguere*, λοιπός. He even suggests that it may refer to the remains of a sacrifice. I take it of course as a verbal adjective like *capios*.¹ For the *o* compare λοιπός, λελοιπα, *socius*, *gomia*. Walde derives the perfect *liqui* from *loiqui*. *Reliquiae* (sc. *partes*) is probably itself a verbal adjective formed like *eximius*. The Greek inscriptions furnish some striking parallels to the use of *loiquiod*, except that the Greeks usually mention the gods first, and then the share left for mortals. Compare ZP. II, n. 58, l. 96 (a very important long inscription from Andania of the early part of the first century B. C.), Ἱεροῦ δείπνου. οἱ ἱεροὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θυμάτων τῶν ἀγομένων ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς ἀφελόντες ἀφ' ἑκάστου τὰ νόμιμα (= iustod) τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ λοιπὰ κρία καταχρησάσθωσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν δείπνον; ZP. II, n. 131, l. 27 (I give as restored by ZP.), τὰ δὲ κρία δίδοσθαι τοῖς θύσασιν ἀφαιρέθენტων [ἐπὶ τὰν τράπεζαν τῶν νομιζόμενων = sakrufikiōd iōvestod] *loiquiod*. ZP. supports the restoration by references to n. 156, v. 41, and n. 180, v. 7 (not yet published), and n. 144, C, l. 26 sqq., ἀφαιρεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερίων ἃ ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς πᾶσι ὅσα ἐστ[.] τῶν ἱερίων χρᾶσθω ὁ τὸν γάμον ποιῶν. I would also call attention to ZP. II, n. 129, VI, l. 14, οἱ δὲ ἐπιμήνιοι οἱ θύοντες τὰς θυσίας ταύτας ἀποδωσούντι τῷ κοινῷ τὸς

¹ This would be of course the earliest example of the Ablative Absolute. The construction is disputed for the Twelve Tables (see ALL. 13, 272) but seems to be Italic, being found in Oscan and Umbrian (see Conway, *Italic Dialects*, p. 501) and in the Paelignian *aetatu firata fertlid* (see Thurneysen, Rhein. Mus. 43, 350).

τε ἐλλύτας πάντας καὶ τῶν σπλάγγων τὰ ἡμίση, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐξοῦντι αυτοί. ὁ δὲ ἄρτυτῆρ διελεί τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς παροῦσι; and to the use of ὑπολειπόμενα by Suidas under κωλοκρέται, ὅτι νόμος ἦν τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα τῆς θυσίας τοὺς ἱερέας λαμβάνειν ἃ εἰσιν οἷον δέρματα καὶ κωλαί. Compare also Hesychius, *θευμορία*, ἀπαρχή. *θυσία* ἣ ὁ λαμβάνουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς κρέας, ἐπειδὴν θύηται. *θεοῦ μοῖρα*. To sum up, my restoration of lines 10-16 is as follows:

poplifug]IOD IO (vei) VXMEN
 TA KAPIA DOTA¹ V[itulatione
 M I(ovei) TE · RI · T[orei² viskesa
 kapitod keivio]M QVOI HA
 VELOD³ NEQV[e skelos estod
 sakrufiki]OD IOVESTOD
 LOIQVIOD

I supply, as the subject of *datod*, *rex*, which, as will be seen, I make the subject of the last clause in the preceding inscription. No one can realize more fully than I how doubtful are some of the particular words which I have supplied. Other supplements have occurred to me, but I have given those which seem to me most probable and best supported by inscriptional evidence. While certainty in detail is unattainable, I trust that on the inscription as a whole I have succeeded in shedding some light, and have pointed out the way by which perhaps eventually a more definite solution may be reached.

MINTON WARREN.

¹ Mistake for DATOD.

² = *Territori*.

³ Perhaps for VOLED.

II. — LATIN *vs.* GERMANIC MODAL CONCEPTIONS.

Mr. Jespersen¹ in a recent plea for greater independence in the methods of modern philology, found heart to deprecate the baneful influence of the Latinist's methods upon the philologist who deals with modern languages. His was not the only protest of this nature. The prefaces of Germanic philological works seem to be incomplete at present unless some such warning² appears. The protest is no doubt called for; I would by no means deny its timeliness, though I still hope that the division of labor Jespersen desires will not also lead to an ignorance of the many good suggestions which may come from a sane comparison of languages. The fault, however, does not lie on one side alone. It will be necessary here in calling attention to the relationship of Germanic to Latin problems of syntax to point out an equally baneful influence upon the Latin problems that has emanated from the Germanic workshop. My purpose in doing so is of course not simply to retort with a senseless "tu quoque" to the protest that I have cited, but rather to call attention to a danger which seems in no slight degree to affect the methods of classical philologists.

The danger to the grammarian of modern languages which Mr. Jespersen has pointed out, as well as the converse danger that I shall attempt to indicate, comes from an unscientific employment of the comparative method. Now this danger will always be present, for all science is monistic. Scientific classification is ultimately satisfied with nothing short of an all-comprehending systematization of all the related facts with which it deals; in the syntax of the Indo-European languages this means so far as possible an attempt to group the constructions of all the Indo-European languages into one comprehensive scheme. The almost insuperable³ difficulties contained in such a program

¹ *Englische Studien*, 35, pp. 7-12.

² Cf. e.g. Behagel: *Syntax des Heliand* (preface); Wunderlich: *Der Deutsche Satzbau*, p. 259; Behagel: *Gebrauch der Zeitformen*, p. 157 "So sehr also stehen unsere Grammatiker *unter dem Bann der lateinischen Syntax*".

³ The attempt is not hopeless when we take into consideration modal and case forms, as well as the idiomatic forms; for these often prove very stable and tend to restrain the meanings from ranging too widely.

should be evident at once. Syntax deals primarily with semantics. Semantic changes depend very largely upon the caprices of psychology, and even the most positive empiricist does not claim an ability to formulate the laws of thought. The morphological changes involved in the history of words like Gk. *φῦξ*, Lat. *fagus*; Goth. *boka*; book, follow laws that are fairly well understood. The trained philologist if told that the changes were regular could give the series pretty accurately on the basis of any one of them. However, he would find it quite a hopeless task to give the meanings of the cognates in the series on the basis of any one of them. They happen to be about as follows; Gk., "oak"; Lat., "beech"; Goth., "letter of the alphabet"; Eng., "book". We may attempt *ex post facto* to explain the semantic changes here involved, but we have not been able to formulate laws to account for those changes.¹

Such are the difficulties² involved in attempting a science of comparative syntax if it be based upon function alone. Yet syntacticians persist in comparing constructions as to function, speaking e. g. of the Indo-European subjunctives of conditions, indirect discourse, and the potential optative, etc. I shall not condemn such comparisons; I shall only indicate in brief how the modal treatment of Latin, for example, has suffered from categories imposed by conceptions gained in daily intercourse with, and study of the Germanic languages.³

¹ At times while the morphological changes are quite regular the meaning remains quite unchanged throughout, as in the case of *gamyā-te*, *βαίω*, *venio*, *gima*, "come".

² Mr. Gildersleeve has repeatedly called attention to the danger of loose comparisons, cf. A. J. P. XXIII, p. 133. See too the law laid down and repeatedly emphasized by Wood regarding the semasiological possibilities of words. In A. J. P. Vol. XX, pp. 254, ff, he shows the great danger of connecting words on the ground of similarity in meaning only. If such caution is needed in treating words, certainly as great caution is needed in syntactical study where the underlying morphological bases are more fickle. Cf. the converse law, A. J. P. Vol. XIX, p. 40, ff.

³ In a recent paper entitled "A Century of Metaphysical Syntax," Mr. Hale has sketched the influence of Kantian categories upon Latin syntactical terminology. The influence was certainly strong. I would suggest however, that the categories would hardly have been adopted so readily nor retained so persistently had not the vernacular of the grammarians who used them afforded so much apparent support for them. In fact the early German grammarians seem occasionally to have reached such distinctions quite apart from the influence of Wolff and Kant. E. g. *Adelung*, *Lehrgebäude der*

Most of us have been convinced by Delbrück that psychologic forces (as of "will" and "wish") and not metaphysical conceptions formed the basis of the earlier modal usages. Much of the work in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin modal syntax has emanated from this belief, and the work seems to have led to abiding results. When we turn to Germanics, however, we cannot but be impressed by the success with which metaphysical categories seem to define modal distinctions. Delbrück, who did so much to turn syntax away from metaphysical theories, himself returns to them with marked frequency in dealing with Germanic syntax, cf. the ever recurring terms "tatsächlichkeit", "vorstellung", "unwirklichkeit" in his recent article, "Der Germanische Optativ im Satzgefüge".¹ Cf. also Erdmann's *Deutsche Syntax*, Wunderlich's *Deutscher Satzbau*, etc. It must be confessed that the terms are largely satisfactory when applied to the facts of Germanics. The conviction is inevitable that this persistence in the use of such terminology is not entirely due to a slavish copying of Kantian terminology. It is nearer the truth to say that a peculiar² metaphysical strain, not so noticeable in the earlier languages, has somehow permeated Germanic modal distinctions. What I wish first to call attention to, therefore, is the frequent

deutschen Sprache (II, p. 391 [1782]) says that the German Subjunctive is used *von einer ungewissen Sache*. This is metaphysical, but it does not adopt the phraseology of Wolff or Kant. It antedates by several years the treatises of Haase and Hermann that introduced the Kantian terms into Latin syntax. Furthermore the modern grammarians have had sufficient time to slough off that earlier influence. They are inspired, I believe, not so much by the traditional terminology, as by the actual behavior of the Germanic constructions.

¹ In *Beiträge zur Gesch. Deutsch. Spr. u. Lit.*, 1904, pp. 200-304.

² The metaphysical tendency of the Germanic peoples is recognized as a peculiar and characteristic element of their mentality. Why should not this tendency assert itself in the formation of semantic modal distinctions? May not this idea suggest the basis of one law at least for the syntactical psychologist? Certainly the peculiarly logical pragmatism revealed in the history of Latin constructions with *cum*, *quamquam*, *antequam*, and the like (with their careless disregard, or breaking down, of fine functional distinctions), is characteristically Roman and very unlike the behavior of the Germanic constructions spoken of above. I hope not to be misunderstood however. This is not saying that we must believe in general Grundbegriffe for the modal usages. I shall indicate later how I believe semantic changes follow definite idioms and phrases and only such. My point here is simply that a peculiar national temperament may influence the direction of syntactical changes, by affording a path of least resistance.

misinterpretation of some Latin constructions that is chargeable to an ingenuous assumption that the Germanic and Latin constructions which are similar in form are also similar in function and in origin. The discussions of the hypothetical subjunctive, of relative clauses, and of indirect discourse have suffered most perhaps. I shall take the last-named as my chief example, hoping also to suggest a satisfactory solution to the genetic problem involved in the Germanic construction.

Beginning with Behagel (*Gebrauch der Zeitformen*, 1899, p. 164), who in the second part discusses tense and modal usage in Indo-European Indirect Discourse, we shall get a clew to the whole matter. His definition reads: *Der Konjunktiv steht wenn im Hauptsatz ein Verbum sich befindet, das Zweifel, Ungewissheit ausdrückt, d. h. wenn der Nebensatz bloss eine subjective Vorstellung, keine objective Thatsache ausdrückt.* Here the logical distinction appears in its most glaring form. The next example is taken from a brilliant work (Dittmar: *Lat. Modus-Lehre*, Leipzig, 1897), which certainly sets out with psychological nomenclature. To him, as is well known, the subjunctive expresses an attitude of mind which is described by the adjective "polemisch", while the indicative expresses the "souverän" attitude. The word "polemisch" is further defined by other terms, e. g., *quälende Ungewissheit, Zweifel, übermässige Leere, Furcht*, etc., (p. 81). That is purely psychology, and he is generally consistent as regards his point of view. Some trouble ensues, however, when he attempts to apply this general notion to the various constructions. He has little to say about Indirect Discourse, but what he says furnishes another example of that to which I am calling attention. For instance, one finds on pp. 202-3 that in the subjunctive of Indirect Discourse this attitude of *Furcht, Zweifel*, etc., is in reality a fear, uncertainty, skepticism as to the *actuality* of the statement which is being quoted, or, at least, a refusal to vouch for its actuality. His words are: *Und so tritt denn der Konjunktiv-Optativ dann ein, wenn der Sprecher ausdrücklich andeuten will, dass eine Begründung oder Ansicht nicht von ihm ausgeht, sondern von demjenigen, von welchem die Rede ist, d. h. in der Regel vom Subject des Hauptsatzes. Es ist nicht immer notwendig, dass der Sprecher diese Begründung als unzureichend verwirft, er will nur andeuten, dass sie nicht seinem Kopfe entsprungen sei; er verhält sich dieser Ansicht gegenüber skeptisch.*"

A still more recent attempt to explain the construction of Indirect Discourse along similar lines is that of Schlicher.¹ (The Mood of Indirect Quotation, A. J. P. 1905, XXVI, p. 87). It falls into the same confusion, and, I think, for similar reasons. His paper too, under the influence of the modern tendencies, begins with psychological terms. He finds a starting point in the construction of the repudiating question: *Non taces, insipiens? Taceam?* Bacch. 627.

It is difficult to sum up in a few words the idea of this very suggestive paper. The following sentence does it as well as any: the "subjunctive of indirect quotation reflects the status of a foreign idea in the mind of the speaker. It merely expresses his recognition of the presence of this idea in his mind and does not in any way vouch for the idea or include it in his own assertion", (p. 87). He begins with a psychological point of view, but before he ends, if one interprets his definition to fit the facts of Latin grammar, he arrives at an equivalent of the old view that the subjunctive is the mood of non-fact or at least of the "unvouched-for". Both definitions are of some use in treating Germanic Indirect Discourse. In fact, Schlicher is continually appealing to German for proofs. Neither definition, however, fits the facts of Latin grammar. Gutjahr-Probst (Beiträge, I, p. 71 ff.) furnishes another example of this tendency, and a great many of the school grammars; cf. e. g. Weissenfels' grammar (Weidmann, 1897), and Friedendorff's (Berlin, 1897).

The general impression caused by this irrepressible reappearance of the statement will be of course that there is some truth underlying all of it. An alternative, however, which I have suggested in the preceding may be true, namely, that the modern syntactician comes to the facts with his mind prejudiced by a daily intercourse with a language which shows facts apparently similar but after all essentially different, and that in the desire, in a way wholesomely scientific, of judging the phenomena of the past by the facts of the present, he misunderstands the subject of inquiry. Let us examine the latter possibility.

¹ See a fuller discussion of his paper in Class. Phil. Vol. I; p. 82, and p. 179-80. In a more recent paper (Class. Phil. Vol. II, pp. 79), he has attempted to explain the Latin subjunctive in consecutive clauses by the same method. His main reference of the latter to a simple subjunctive of "repudiation" assumes a psychological genetic force. However, behind the whole explanation there seems to loom the shadow of the Germanic optative in relative clauses that follow a negative.

It will be worth while to point out in greater detail just what is the essential difference in connotation between the Germanic construction of Indirect Discourse, so-called, and that of Latin in order the better to indicate the danger to which Latin Syntax is subjected through this constant misreading of Latin by German-trained eyes. The facts should be well known, but for all that they are seldom heeded.

In Latin, the subjunctive, whether in the subordinate clause of Indirect Discourse or Indirect Question, is, roughly speaking, an equivalent of quotation marks. It does not, in spite of all the above mentioned contentions, indicate "Zweifel, Ungewissheit, eine subjective Vorstellung". Every Latinist knows this, unless he happens to be supporting a different theory. If Behagel's definition were true for Latin we should not have the same construction following *scio*, *puto*, and *dico*, which differ so widely in respect to the amount of "Ungewissheit". We should find as in the old Germanic dialects that the mood shifted to indicate the degree of plausibility denoted by the leading word.

Nor does the subjunctive in Indirect Discourse indicate, as Dittmar would have it, repugnance, non-acceptance, skepticism, and the like. No array of proofs is needed where the facts are so obvious. In Latin one finds the subjunctive proportionately as often in quotations of unchallenged facts as of dubious reports. The indicative¹ occurs of course very freely, more freely than our manuals would have it do; but it does not burst forth simply to assure the reader that the quotation is entirely reliable; it occurs, rather, to notify the reader that the clause just obtruding is to be considered outside of the quotation marks.

Of course we must admit that even a quotation mark often indicates or suggests a suspicion of skepticism. Any clever stylist would take advantage of this inevitable implication and make the best of it, so that if one chooses, one may find examples in Latin too in which the subjunctive, through a trick of style, has been made to indicate refusal to endorse or vouch for a report. Such cases are sometimes found in so-called *Implied* Indirect Discourse and in quoted reasons with *quod* and *quia*: cf. Men. 397, *ire infitias mihi facta quae sunt?* MEN.: *dic quid est id quod negem*, "Tell me what this thing is that (you say that) I

¹ This, like all brief statements, is of course inadequate. But the details are well enough known. For a fuller treatment, though not full enough, see Lebreton: *La Langue de Cicéron*, pp. 365-372.

deny"; and Merc. 924, *mater iratast patri quia scortum sibi ob oculos adduxerit* in aedis. Eutyclus, the speaker, knows that the "lady with the green eyes" is wrong in her suspicions. The subjunctive, therefore, not only shows that he is quoting her, but it betrays an implication that he does not intend to support her jealous charges. What I wish to say, however, is that in Latin this added implication of repudiation, skepticism, etc., is secondary when it occurs, and that it will necessarily occur at times whatever the construction of *Oratio Obliqua* may be. Secondly, the constructions of Implied Indirect Discourse, and of quoted reason are obviously of secondary origin in Latin and cannot be adduced in an argument regarding the origins of the Latin construction.

In the early Germanic dialects, the optative of *Oratio Obliqua* means quite a different thing. Erdmann (*Deutsche Syntax* I, p. 168) gives the following rule: *Deutet er keinen Widerspruch oder Zweifel an der Tatsächlichkeit desselben an, so setzt er den Indicativ; will er dasselbe entweder seinerseits ausdrücklich als irrig oder zweifelhaft bezeichnen, oder sich jeder Andeutung eines eigenen Urtheiles enthalten, so setzt er den Conjunctiv.* See also Wunderlich: *Deutscher Satzbau*, I, 344 ("Zweiflung der Realität), and Delbrück: ¹ *Der Germanische Optativ im Satzgefüge* (op. cit., p. 221 ff.). A few details may well illustrate the definition. For these I shall rely first upon the usages of Old-Icelandic² which are very consistent and have not been vitiated by dependence upon Greek and Latin originals as have most of the Gothic, early German, and Anglo-Saxon texts. The optative of Indirect Discourse in the Old-Icelandic of the Edda is never merely the equivalent of quotation marks. Except where some outside influence (as of fixed phrases, and the like) is working to cross purposes, it always reveals the reporter's attitude of mind towards the statement as being that of one not vouching for the actuality of it. This distinction is made exceedingly clear by a comparison of the constructions found in the Edda after *hyggja*, "think"; *vita*, "know", and *segja*, "say". *Hyggja*, since it does not state facts as facts, does not once take the indicative; *vita*, "to know", conveying, as it does, exact knowledge, always takes the indicative, except in two instances where the knowledge

¹ I accept to a great extent the distinctions he makes regarding the uses of the moods, but I cannot agree with him in his acceptance of Behagel's derivation of the construction from an independent potential optative.

² Cf. my study on "The Optative in the Edda, A. J. P. XXVII, 23-28".

is questioned; while *segja*, to say naturally uses both, since it reports falsehoods as well as facts. The distinction is easily made. The optative is used in the following instances: in making a false accusation, in promising to tell a falsehood, in reporting a marvelous tale obviously not believed, in giving a report poorly vouched for in contrast to one having better support, etc. The examples are quoted in A. J. P. Vol. XXVII, p. 23. In all other instances the indicative appears. This distinction holds true for all expressions of Indirect Discourse. The construction is evidently very unlike the Latin. Gothic shows the same general distinction with a stronger liking for the indicative, which is largely due¹ to the fact that it is translating a Greek *ὅτι* plus the indicative.

Practically the same results are reached by comparing the Anglo-Saxon² *wenan* (to think) which regularly takes the optative (the proportion of optative to indicative is ten to one), *wilan* where the indicative is regular (1 : 10), and the words of saying which convey more or less certainty, as *cweðan*,³ *cyðan*, *secgan*. In the Heliand⁴ too, verbs of thought and supposition like *wānjan* and *huggian* are most regularly in the optative, *queðan* very often, *seggian* almost half of the time, while verbs of knowledge and perception regularly take the indicative.

¹ I cannot agree with Behagel who infers from the scarcity of the subjunctive in Gothic Indirect Discourse, that the construction was then in its incipency. *Gebrauch der Zeitformen*, p. 163, ff. There is irrefutable proof that Gothic does not show the earliest condition when it avoids the optative of Indirect Discourse. The unanimity of the other dialects in using the optative proves quite conclusively that the usage was regular before the separation of the tribes; and that separation certainly antedates Ulfilas by far. The different dialects would hardly have developed this construction independently with such unanimity. The usage in Ulfilas is obviously unreliable testimony in this case.

For the usages in Gothic see Schirmer: *Der Optativ im Gotischem*; Bernhardt: *Der Gotische Optativ* (*Zs. f. D., Phil.* VIII, p. 12); and Delbrück (*op. cit.*, p. 221).

² Cf. Gorrell (*in Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.* Vol. III.); Wulfing: *Die Syntax bei Alfred II.*, p. 88 ff., etc., in which find bibliography.

³ Some leading verbs are prone to break down the distinctions of function given above. They readily acquire a habit of constantly associating with the word into whose company they are most often thrown. For instance, *cweðan* shows a remarkable dislike for the indicative in *Cura Pastoralis*. The behavior of individual words deserves greater attention than it has been granted.

⁴ Behagel (*op. cit.*, p. 163) seems to misread the data of his own earlier work (*Die Modi im Heliand*, p. 31).

In general the distinction here found holds good for all verbs *sentendi et declarandi* in the older dialects, and must be accepted as virtually true for pre-Germanic. Now if the Latin construction were like that of early Germanic we should expect to find a preponderance of the indicative with *scio*, of the subjunctive with *puto*, and a division of both with *dico*, to suit the distinctions just laid down. Since this is not the case, the fact should not need repetition that there is a decided difference of function between the construction as found in Latin and as found in early Germanics. In fact the Latin one is truly one of *indirect quotation*, the Germanic, one of *unvouched-for quotation*. Latin grammar wrongly imposed its name upon the Germanic construction, and the German grammarians have repaid the compliment by misinterpreting the Latin construction.

This removal of misconceptions is absolutely necessary before fruitful work can be done in the solution of the genetic problems of the construction. A disregard of the fact that the construction differed very much in form in the various languages, and a blindness to the differences of function have invited a comparative treatment of the problem that is impossible. The comparative method is not justified here in so far as it assumes a common origin of the constructions, since all the facts indicate that *Modusverschiebung* was unknown in quoted discourse in the protoethnic period. Comparisons, therefore, like those made by Behagel and Schlicher cannot supply convincing proof. They may only suggest parallels and illustrations.

The genetic problems of the two languages being so essentially unlike, their solutions will probably differ. I wish to call attention to the problem as presented in Germanics. The favorite solution offered (cf. Erdmann, p. 168, Behagel, p. 164, Wunderlich I., p. 344) is by reference to an (assumed) independent potential optative.¹ The only difficulty with this theory is the non-existence of such optatives in free usage. The few idiomatic usages that may be found are obviously offshoots of more complex constructions. Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 11. They are too metaphysical in nature to be primitive and early. I suspect that the ingenuous desire to solve every construction by reference to parataxis, and to get a solution which would seem to fit all the languages, suggested this explanation.

¹ So Erdmann, for example, would posit an independent usage of the optative as the base of "Ein Eilbote meldet *Regensburg sei genommen*", p. 168.

Another and somewhat older method than the one just discussed still reappears at times. It simply assumes that the optative and subjunctive as the moods of thought, naturally find their place in the construction of Indirect Discourse. This solution assumes an impossibly large extension of the basic concept that underlies the idioms,¹ and assumes moreover that this concept was the same throughout, whereas we have shown how greatly it varied.

The real path to the solution lies through a closer scrutiny of each and every idiom. The facts already presented contain the clew to the matter. We discovered that the subjunctive was found most regularly with verbs like believe, think, suppose wännen, glauben, meinen, etc. There is no paratactic usage existence that will serve as a basis for these constructions. We do not find elsewhere that the idea of "belief" or "thought" calls for a subjunctive. I believe the answer lies in the earlier history of some of these governing words. The solution I would suggest is contained in the following considerations.

Glauben has a suggestive semantic history. Goth., *galaubjan*: glauben; O. N. *leyfa* = (1) permit; (2) praise; Ags. *gelyfan* and O. H. G., *gilouben* = believe.

Uhlenbeck compares the words of the root **leubh* = desire: Goth. *liufs*; Lat. *lubido*, *lubet*, and adds "die Grundbedeutung von *-laubjan* ist *guthheissen*, *gerne haben*". In its primitive meaning, therefore, it must have governed a substantive clause of desire in the optative. This construction it has retained in its drift into the new semantic function.

Wännen had a similar history. Goth. *wēnjan*, "expect", "hope", "suppose", "think"; O. N. *væna*, "hope", "expect", "assume as true"; O. S. *wānjan*, Ags. *wēnan*, "hope", "expect", "think"; O. H. G. *wānnen*, "hope", "imagine", "think"; cf. the noun *wahn*, "unfounded belief", Goth. *wēns*; O. S. *wān*; Ags. *wēn*, "hope", "expectation". This verb, too, has passed from one expressing hopeful expectation and desire to a verb *sentienti*. In doing so it has retained its habit of governing a substantive clause in the optative which it must have acquired while in its primitive meaning.

The verb, represented by Goth. *hugjan* "think", "believe", has had a similar history: O. N. *hyggja*, "think" (in Hóv. 98, and a few times in prose = "hope", A. J. P. XXVII, p. 26. Cf. *hæfe*

¹ See Morris: Aims and Methods, *passim*.

i hug = "intend"), O. S. *huggian*, Ags. *hycgan*, "intend", "take thought of" "think", O. H. G. *hukkan* "intend" "have in mind", "think", "der Grundbedeutung von Goth. *hugs* ist 'geistige erregung'", Uhlenbeck. In shifting from its more primitive function of expressing intention, this verb too retained its substantive optative clause. In all such instances, *semantic changes in the governing verb involved coordinate semantic changes in its dependent clause*. As the governing verbs drift from expressions of desire, etc., to expressions of thinking, their dependent clauses while retaining their form and mood must have drifted in meaning from substantive clauses of desire to clauses of indirect thought.

The process here assumed is by no means rare. Numerous illustrations may be cited. E. g. the verb *fruor* when in its primitive meaning, "get fruit from", took the ablative (a true ablative or an instrumental). Its meaning gradually changed to that of "enjoy"; but it still retained its habit of governing an ablative. Again, *constare* "cost" in its primitive meaning naturally governed an ablative of means. In its later mercantile sense, the primitive meaning was probably not consciously felt although the word continued to employ the ablative. Now it must be very evident that the function of the ablative changed with the semantic changes of *fruor* and *constare*. These ablatives are no longer ablatives of means, instrument, etc. They are now "ablatives of cost", "enjoyment", and the like. Just so I conceive of a development of a quoted substantive clause in the optative caused by the semantic changes in the governing verbs.

Now to proceed with our argument, we have already seen that the verbs discussed above (*hyggia*, etc.) are the very verbs that are most consistent and persist the longest in the use of the optative. Verbs *sentiendi* of similar meaning acquired the optative habit from these as soon as the secondary usage was established. Such are, e. g. *gatraua*, *ahjan*, etc. in Gothic; *ætla*, *geta*, etc. in Old-Norse; *pencan*, *þyncan*, etc. in Anglo-Saxon, and so on. Of verbs *declarandi*, *qipa* + optative is frequent in Gothic; in the Heliand *queðan* almost invariably takes the optative, and in Anglo-Saxon *cweðan* is the favorite of the optative. Verbs expressing perception and knowledge are the least prone to use an optative.

The mood of the so-called Oratio Obliqua in Germanics is thus explained. The peculiar tone of the construction as it appears in Germanics is accounted for by the same facts. Since

verbs of belief and thought, in which exact knowledge and perception is least predominant, were because of their primitive meanings the first and most persistent in the use of optative clauses, the inference became obvious that the optative belonged to expressions of less certainty, and the indicative by contrast to expressions of greater certainty. This rule¹ had become pretty well established in pre-Germanic usage.

It is the peculiar behavior of the modes in the Germanic construction of Indirect Discourse that has, I believe, done more than anything else to convince the modern grammarians that in general the modal distinction is a metaphysical one. I have shown how it came into being there. However there are other constructions also in which Germanic syntax reveals at least a tendency to establish such a distinction: e. g. relative clauses after a negative antecedent (cf. *lâteþ enge mann* epter sitja es benlogom bregþa *kunne* [A. J. P. XXVII, p. 31], "Let no man sit idle who knows how to use the flaming sword"), relative clauses after comparatives (*betra es óþeþet an sé ofblótet*, "better is no praying than [is] too much offering", [A. J. P. XXVII, p. 19]). The same paper will furnish characteristic examples of the rest as well, relative clauses after superlatives, many adverbial and substantive clauses depending upon leading verbs that express uncertainty, the extensive use of assimilation, (A. J. P. XXVII p. 32), etc. I believe that the German grammarian is decidedly wrong when he explains such constructions as *originally due* to an underlying conception of "Unwirklichkeit, Zweifel, Subjectivität", for individually these constructions will ultimately prove solvable by

¹ I do not mean to say that this rule was ever consistently established throughout Germanics, for the different verbs often established laws unto themselves. Some verbs like *hyggja* in Old-Norse, clung persistently to their primitive use of the optative in spite of occasionally functioning in expressions of fairly definite facts. Sometimes too by mutual division of labor, synonymous verbs would adopt contrasting usages, cf. *cwæðan* versus *cyðan* in Anglo-Saxon. Such forces are numerous and must not be ignored in the attempt to establish consistent rules. Some similar process may have helped to create the subjunctive construction of Latin which shows itself in clauses depending upon infinitives of *Oratio Obliqua*. However, in Latin the earlier processes are much obscured by the later thorough-going superimposition of the infinitival usage. At any rate I am not at liberty to discuss that problem at present. Mr. Hale has a different theory, as yet unpublished, which would seem to explain many of the facts of the Latin usage. By his permission I referred to it in a previous work (*Attraction of Mood in Early Latin*, p. 11), and shall content myself at present by simply citing that reference.

reference to a very definite semantic process of the kind that we have found above in the case of Indirect Discourse. I do not even believe that in later times the all-comprehensive metaphysical distinction so persistently laid down by Erdmann, Wunderlich, Delbrück, etc. will hold true for any given period, since, as we have seen, individual constructions always asserted a marked tendency to pursue a free course of development independent of whatever overshadowing general conceptions may have existed. It is enough to admit that Germanic modal usages drifted farther in the direction of such distinctions than any other, and that for this reason it is very unsafe to interpret the facts of Latin, Greek, etc. in the light of Germanics.

In conclusion I would briefly suggest some auxiliary causes for this drift of the Germanic optative. There is a general conviction that Latin and Germanic possess a syncretism of the optative and the subjunctive, and that Latin retained the subjunctive as the predominant element while Germanics retained more of the optative. It is but reasonable that the functions of the resulting moods should vary with the predominance of forms retained. This fact will do something to account for the difference we have noted. We know from the behavior of the optative in Sanskrit and Greek that it lent itself more extensively than the subjunctive to the expression of certain objective conceptions. It is there largely the mood of the hypothetical idioms, of "irrealis", of the preterite future, and at times seemingly of possibility. Modal forms are after all not quick to slough off inveterate functions. When the forms that had these meanings well ingrained came to constitute a large part of the anti-indicative mood in Germanics, the contrast of such fictive functions to the factitive of the indicative may have become conscious, at least to an extent of helping to acclimatize any new construction that raised such distinctions.

Again, I have already suggested that the essential temperament of a nation may reasonably reveal itself in the general drift of syntactical usage. Syntax, having to do mainly with psychology, can find few rules for its phenomena. A study of the mental characteristics of nations may give but slight indication of such laws, but even these would be welcome. The difference between the Latin and Germanic usages which we have noticed in this paper are in accord with what we should expect, judging by the mental temperaments of the peoples. As for the creation of metaphysical distinctions of mood in Latin, the

peculiar history of the modal construction about the time of Plautus quite precludes the possibility.

I refer to the remarkable invasion of the regular indicative field by the subjunctive. The latter mood was freely expressing factitive relations in Indirect Discourse and in result clauses before Plautus. It soon extended this usage throughout characterizing clauses, *cum*-temporal, and causal clauses, iterative and generalizing clauses of all kinds, clauses after *quamquam*, after *priusquam*, etc., until in silver Latin, it had acquired as vigorous a habit of narrating facts as the indicative possessed. After such a history, the Latin subjunctive must have been very far from suggesting conceptions like *Unwirklichkeit*, *Zweifel*. Before Plautus some of its idioms may possibly have taken the course revealed by Germanics. After Livy the possibility is hardly conceivable.

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III.—THE CHRONOLOGY OF OVID'S EARLY WORKS.

Perhaps the most important source for determining the order in which Ovid's early works appeared is the eighteenth poem of Book II of his *Amores*. A growing doubt as to whether this poem has ever been correctly interpreted, leads me to consider, in a summary fashion, the general question of the chronology of Ovid's early works. Not pausing to examine Ovid's vague references to a poem on the *Gigantomachia*, which, if written at all, was a product of his extreme youth, we may centre our attention on the *carmina amatoria*.

From a remark in the poet's brief autobiography (*Tristia*, 4, 10, 57), it is clear that his poems on *Corinna*—the *Amores*, therefore—are his earliest work. But turning to one of the *Amores* (2, 18) we find Ovid telling his friend *Macer* that he is at present employed either in "professing the arts of gentle love" or in writing *Heroides*. He mentions also his previous contribution to tragedy. I cite the lines which concern our present problem from the text of *Merkel-Ehwald*.

*Sceptra tamen sumpsit, curaque tragoedia nostra
Crevit et huic operi quamlibet aptus eram.*

* * * *

*Quod licet, aut artes teneri profitemur Amoris,
(Ei mihi! praeceptis urgeor ipse meis)
Aut, quod Penelopes verbis reddatur Ulixi,
Scribimus et lacrimas, Phylli relictas, tuas,
Quod Paris et Macareus et quod male gratus Iaso
Hippolytique parens Hippolytusque legant,
Quodque tenens strictum Dido miserabilis ensem
Dicat et Aoniae Lesbis † amata lyrae.*

The solution of the main difficulty to which the above passage gives rise has long been known: as Ovid tells us in the quatrain prefixed to the *Amores* that there were two editions of the work, the first in five, the second in three books, we can assume still that his earliest publication was the *Amores*, in five books; we see also, from the letter to *Macer*, that after writing *Amores*, Ovid felt a higher call and turned to tragedy,¹ that this work was

¹See also *Amores* 3, 15.

followed by the *Heroides* and further love-poems of the kind he had written first, and that these—among them, of course, 2, 18—with whatever poems of the first edition he chose to preserve, were gathered into a second edition of *Amores*, in three books.

The second edition, I think we may safely infer, followed the final publication of the *Heroides*. For although Ovid apparently speaks of himself as still at work on these latter poems (*scribimus*)¹ he mentions as many as nine of the fifteen that we know, in the order 1, 2, 5, 11, 6, 10, 4, 7, 15. I agree emphatically with Jacoby, who, in his important article on the Roman elegy,² infers that in mentioning the letter of Penelope first and that of Sappho last, Ovid is describing a collection identical with that which we possess. Ovid does not mention all the pieces and he does not adhere to the order observed in our present collection, but then, he was writing poetry and not a library catalogue. Moreover, he goes on to tell of the answers to the heroines' missives written in short order by his friend Sabinus. "How soon", he says, "did my Sabinus return from belting the globe, and bring back despatches from places far apart!"

Quam cito de toto rediit meus orbe Sabinus
Scriptaque diversis rettulit ille locis!

This looks, certainly, as if Ovid had published a collection before Sabinus started his answers; as Ovid pictures him, he goes at full speed with his missives from hero to hero, returning with a bagful of replies. Finally, the list of these letters begins with one to Penelope and ends with one to Sappho—the first and the last, once more, in our present collection. Only six answers are mentioned, in the order 1, 4, 7, 2, 6, 15, but that suffices Ovid's purpose. It may well be, then, that Ovid had finished his first series of *Heroides* only a short time, a month, let us say, before writing the present epistle to Macer. Sabinus had dashed off his answers in a fortnight or so—rapidly enough, at any rate, to cause even the facile Ovid astonishment—and the whole affair is so fresh in Ovid's mind that he naturally uses the present tense.

There is a simpler, and I think, better explanation of the present *scribimus*. It refers not to the exact time when the poet

¹ Schanz, *Gesch. der röm. Litteratur* § 293 sees only this meaning in the word.

² *Rhein. Mus.* LX (1905), p. 71. Jacoby's main thesis, it seems to me, though plausibly presented, is by no means proved.

is engaged on a certain work, but to what in general the subjects are that at present attract him. Thus the opening lines to his friend

Carmen ad iratum dum tu perducis Achillen
Primaque iuratis induis arma viris

mean not that Macer has not yet finished his *Antehomerica*, but that he is an epic poet. Ovid, in contrast, is a poet who sings of love or writes letters for desolate heroines. The present tenses are generally, not specifically, present. *Scribimus* applies to a period in Ovid's career, not to the exact moment when he sent this letter to his friend. One sharply marked contrast in time is evident, the contrast between Ovid's present occupation and the days when he wrote his tragedy (*sumpsi . . . crevit . . . eram*)—the days when he, too, attempted the higher style. One period is set off against the other. But Ovid could apply the present tense to any one of several distinct works appearing in the latter period. The *Heroides*, therefore, may have been completed and given to the world not merely a month, but a year or more before the letter to Macer was written.

This explanation of Ovid's use of the present tense, though made most probable, I believe, by the above considerations, is established with certainty by the evidence of a later letter to Macer, the beautiful and pathetic poem sent by the exiled Ovid to his friend (*Ex Pont.*, 2, 10). Here Ovid, revealing for once a sincere and poignant grief, speaks of the *communia sacra* of poets, and of the wiser use his friend had made of poetry (l. 11);

Studiis quibus es quam nos sapientius usus.

For his theme is not love, but rather

Tu canis aeterno quidquid restabat Homero
Ne careant summa Troica bella manu.
Naso parum prudens, artem dum tradit amanti,
Doctrinae pretium triste magister habet.

Certainly Ovid does not mean that his brother-poet, some twenty-five years after the earlier letter, is still toiling patiently on the *Antehomerica*, or that he himself, amid the terrors of Siberia, is composing appeals to the *ianitor*, and instructing Corinna in the art of assignation. He does not mean either, to refer by contrast to past achievements: were this his intention, he would have used past tenses. He refers generally to the varieties of poetry for which he and his friend are and have been known. Finally, the model for both of these letters of Ovid is a poem of

Propertius (1, 7) addressed to his friend Ponticus, like Macer, a writer of epic.

Dum tibi Cadmeae dicuntur, Pontice, Thebae
Armaque fraternae tristia militiae,
Atque, ita sim felix, primo contendis Homero,

* * * *

Nos, ut consuemus, nostros agitamus amores.

It does not concern us to inquire how many elegies Propertius had finished when he wrote these words. He wrote others later, and doubtless Ovid's collection of *Amores* was not complete when he sent his earlier letter to Macer. But the *Heroides*, despite the present tense, might have been finished at that time, just as the *Amores* and the *Art of Love* were, when he wrote Macer again at the close of his life. In both poems the intention is not to fix a definite date, but to associate the writer's name with a definite variety of poetry—in the words of Propertius (l. 10),

Hic mihi conteritur vitae modus, haec mea fama est,
Hinc cupio nomen carminis ire mei.

If we may accept, then, the fact that the *Heroides* were already published when Ovid wrote his first letter to Macer, the chronological order of the works thus far discussed must be as follows: *Amores* (first edition), *Medea*, *Heroides*, *Amores* (second edition)¹.

It would be natural, further, to suppose that this series of works antedated the didactic poems—*De Medicamine Faciei*, *Ars Amatoria*, *Remedia Amoris*—were it not for a statement in the letter to Macer which has already, doubtless, attracted the reader's attention. Ovid declares not only that he has been writing *Heroides* but also that he is "professing the arts of gentle love". Schanz repeats (§ 293) what I think has been the universal opinion from the humanists to the latest editor of the *Amores*, that Ovid here refers to his didactic masterpiece, the *Ars Amatoria*. Herewith, new complexities are introduced. If we may argue, as I have just done for the *Heroides*, that the

¹ Tolkiehn, in a recent note (*Wochenschrift f. klass. Philol.* 1906, p. 1208 ff.) is inclined to the belief, for which he adduces no new evidence, that the *Heroides* preceded the *Medea* and even the *Corinna* poems. I am confident that this idea, which Riese, too, held (I p. ix of his edition, 1871), may be easily refuted from what we have already found in Ovid's earlier letter to Macer. Riese's appeal to the order of the poems in the Parisinus is irrelevant, for of course the *Heroides* should precede, in a chronological arrangement, the *final* edition of the *Amores* in three books.

work was already completed, the second edition of *Amores* must have followed the *Ars Amatoria*, and, of course, the *De Medicinae Faciei*, to which Ovid refers in the latter work (A. A. 3, 205). This would put the date of the final edition of the *Amores* very late, since certain historical allusions indubitably place the *Art of Love* between 1 B. C. and 1 A. D. The *Amores* were begun, we may infer with Schanz (§ 293), about 22 B. C. The earliest date alluded to in any of the poems in our collection is 19 B. C., the latest is 15 B. C.; beyond these facts we have no certain evidence as to the date of either edition.¹ Supposing the first edition appeared as late, even, as 15 B. C.,—we can hardly suppose that Ovid spent *more* than eight years on his earliest work—there would intervene between the two editions what impresses me as the incredibly lengthy period of fourteen or fifteen years. Judging merely by Ovid's lively temperament, his facility at writing verse, or, as he puts it, his inability to write prose, I should be inclined to date the first edition early, about 19 or 18 B. C., including in the second edition *Amores* 1, 14, which alludes to the date 15 B. C.

This dating, of course would make it still less possible to place the second edition after the *Art of Love*. Full eighteen years would intervene between the two editions—and Ovid certainly is no adviser of the *twice* "nine years pondered lay". He was temperamentally averse to revising. He left his greatest work, the *Metamorphoses*, unrevised, preferring to begin a new poem, the *Fasti*. This was half-finished when his exile was declared; he did revise it later, hoping that the poem, with its new dedication to Germanicus, might effect his recall. Here emendation had a purpose. The revision of the *Amores* consisted in the addition of certain subsequent pieces, and the exclusion of two-fifths of the original poems. As with much of the verse written during his exile, he gave them, to use his phrase, to the "emending flames". That was his method; not like Virgil

"to write ten lines, they say,
At dawn, and lavish all the golden day
To make them wealthier in his reader's eyes,"

but rather to throw away and begin again—begin something else.

¹ In a forthcoming article in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* (XVIII p. 64) entitled *The Medea of Seneca*, Dr. H. L. Cleasby states his belief that Ovid's *Medea* preceded Horace's *Art of Poetry*. If his conclusions can be substantiated, we can place the first edition of *Amores* at least before 14 B. C.

I think, therefore, that after Ovid returned from his excursion into tragedy, after he had finished his *Heroides* and written a few more love-elegies, he would not have waited long before bringing out his second and final edition of *Amores*. Assuming, as I have done, 18 B. C. or thereabouts as the date of the first edition, and allowing two or three years for tragedy, a like number for *Heroides*, and a year for new *Amores*—a liberal allowance, I am convinced—we should arrive at no later date than 11 B. C. for the second edition of the *Amores*. But what, the reader may ask again, is to be done with the mention of the Art of Love in Ovid's letter to Macer?

Jacoby, in the essay above-mentioned, declares for the latest possible date for the second edition of the *Amores*. On the strength of the allusion in 2, 18, he is willing to place the second edition not only after the *Ars Amatoria* but after the *Remedia*. It would therefore immediately precede Ovid's final masterpiece, the *Metamorphoses*, which is, therefore, the *area maior* mentioned by the poet in his epilogue (*Am.* 3, 15). *Per correr miglior acqua*, the poet leaves behind him not merely his ditties in praise of the imaginary Corinna, but his tragedy, his *heroides*, his art of cosmetics, his art of love and his remedies for the same.

Pulsandast magnis area maior equis.

Unfortunately for this theory, the lines preceding these words deserve attention; they contain proof conclusive of the usual opinion that this poem is the epilogue to the first edition of the *Amores*. Ovid first bids Venus and her boy farewell:

Culte puer puerique parens Amathusia culti
Aurea de campo vellite signa meo!

Then he declares who the new master is that calls him to a wider field:

Corniger increpuit thyrso graviore Lyaeus
Pulsandast magnis area maior equis.

Venus at last yields the palm to Liber, who presides over tragedy and not the metamorphosis. Ovid had sketched another picture of the same contest in which the same combatants appeared with other names—Elegy and Tragedy (*Am.* 3, 1). Not inappropriately, Tragedy there used the very phrase applied to Bacchus here (l. 23 f.):

Tempus erat thyrso pulsum graviore moveri;
Cessatum satis est: incipe maius opus.

In short, the poems which Ovid has placed at the beginning and end of his third book are companion-pieces. As often in Ovid,

who was born with a genius for metamorphosis, they present the opposite sides of an issue. Ovid delights in assuming contradictory attitudes, stating either case with perfect seriousness and conviction. The supreme illustration—it is by no means the only one—is the antinomy between his art of love for the gallant, his art of love for the mistress, and his remedies of love for them both. The present poems differ from these later *artes* only in setting forth a real and personal issue.

I have reasoned thus far as if inference were our only guide. But if we may trust the *textus receptus* of an important passage, Ovid himself has settled the question for us, by direct statement. Among the books which he recommends for his mistress's library (A. A. 3, 343), he appropriately includes his own *Amores*, referring explicitly to the edition in three books:

Deve tribus libris, titulo quos signat Amorum.

This statement we should accept as proof that the final edition of the *Amores* preceded the *Art of Love*, were there not the possibility of a corruption in the text of the line just cited. The only early MS of the third book of the *Art of Love*, the Parisinus of the ninth century¹ has not *Deve tribus* but the unintelligible *Dece cerem* (corr. *Deie*). Recent editors have conjectured *deve puer* or *decerpens* or other neat phrases which we need not discuss. Now *Deve tribus* is not a similar correction by some early editor, but, with *Deque* as occasional variant, it is the reading of fifteenth century MSS before the printed text appeared, as a glance at Jahn's edition shows; I may add that the reading is found in a Harvard MS (Lo 10, 100). Those who, with Jacoby, regard it as *eine ganz unwahrscheinliche Konjektur* (op. cit., p. 71) must admit, at least, that it antedates the editions. The whole line in the Paris MS has been badly shaken up in transmission. Editors do not hesitate to reject its meaningless reading *titulos quo* either for *titulus quos*, found in the late MSS and adopted by Jahn and others, or for *titulo quos* conjectured rightly, I believe, by Ehwald and confirmed by the Harvard MS. I think we may quite as safely regard the fifteenth century MSS as giving in *Deve (Deque) tribus libris* not a later emendation, but a genuine tradition from the archetype; the reading of the Paris MS is certainly involved in monstrous and inexplicable error, but there are other mon-

¹ Chatelain, *Paléographie des Classiques Latins*, gives the date correctly, as the facsimile on Pl. XCIII shows; it is not tenth century, as Merkel-Ehwald and others state.

strosities in this MS. In short, while wishing at first to argue the case without the support of the present passage, I appeal to it now, hoping, too, that my previous reasoning may help to corroborate the *textus receptus*. Two lines of evidence, therefore, lead to the conclusion that the second edition of the Amores preceded the Art of Love, and therefore the mention of *artes amoris* in the letter to Macer, cannot mean that the latter poem was already completed. According to Jacoby (loc. cit.), the statement in the letter becomes, therewith, unintelligible.

However, two possible interpretations of the passage remain. The one is that Ovid had merely begun his Art of Love at the moment of his writing to Macer. This explanation has satisfied everybody, so far as I can find out, except Jacoby. We may agree that although the historical references in the Art of Love locate it definitely between 1 B. C. and 1 A. D., Ovid may have busied himself with the plan of the poem before this time—*schon länger vorher*, Schanz says, and is inclined to regard the passages in question as later additions made when the book was published. But the supposition of later additions puts us at once on dangerous ground. I propose, therefore, giving up the ordinary explanation, to interpret the passage in the letter to Macer in the only way now remaining—that is, as not referring to the Art of Love at all.

Ovid's Amores have been subjected to severe criticism by those who expect to find there the passion of Catullus or the tender sentimentality of Tibullus. *Leblosigkeit, Rhetorik, Lüsternheit* are the qualities that Jacoby emphasizes—in a word, conventionalized lewdness. He accordingly refuses Ovid a place among the *wirkliche Dichter* in Roman elegy.¹ But those who know something of Ovid the wit will not fail to detect in these poems, besides Ovid's usual delight in sheer narration and clever phrase-making, a delicate travesty on the love-elegy itself. Horace had given him the hint, in such a poem as his eleventh Epode, and Ovid, revelling in the conception, works it out at length. Indecent he is, to the point of blasphemy, and interested profoundly in intrigue, but what in an emotional poet, like Tibullus, would become morbid or prurient is kept sane by Ovid's incorrigible wit. The lyric impulse would be singularly out of place in a work of this kind, granting that the poet possessed it. His purpose is not to

¹ Op. cit., pp. 79, 97, 98. It is a pity that Jacoby's other characterizations are not so apt as that in the note on p. 98, where he seeks to temper Schanz's terrific indictment of the morality of the Amores.

unbosom what Schanz (§ 294) so sorely misses in the *Amores*—“*des Herzens auf- und abwogende Stimmungen*,” it is to observe the lover and all his ways in life and in the elegy with the sub-conscious purpose of making his sentimentality ridiculous. There is no room for soulfulness in such a program. One might as well deplore the lack of Puritanic religious intensity in Butler's *Hudibras*.

Now love-elegy of such a type as this, is, like all satire, essentially didactic. The poet's purpose is not to transcribe sensations, but to observe. Many critics have noticed this element in the *Amores*; it is amply illustrated by Schanz (§ 294). Ovid already is aware that his subject is the art of love: he shows this not only by his choice of themes and his manner of treating them, but by explicit avowal. I mean that the present lines refer not to his later poem, but to his *Amores*.

Quod licet, aut artes teneri profitemur Amoris,
(Ei mihi, praeceptis urgeor ipse meis).

This is the same art that he has been professing all along. Perhaps in 1, 10, 59 f.—

Est quoque carminibus meritas celebrare puellas
Dos mea; quam volui, nota fit arte mea—

he is thinking rather of the art of poetry, but another passage (2, 19, 34) echoes the meaning of the lines to Macer—

Ei mihi! ne monitis torquear ipse meis!

But apart from these and other expressions, a single passage in Tibullus suffices to prove my point. Tibullus remarks of his faithless mistress (1, 6, 9),

Ipsè miser docui quo posset ludere pacto
Custodes; heu, heu, nunc premor arte mea.

Even before Ovid, then, the elegy had a tendency to the didactic, as its growing conventionality would lead us to expect.¹ Ovid furthered this tendency by adding the element of travesty, and, finally, in the master-piece of his early period, metamorphosed the love-elegy into didactic poetry—mock-didactic—out and out. But he could appropriately refer to his *Amores*, too, as presenting, in detachments, an art of love, and that, I am convinced, is his meaning here.

I may now sum up categorically the inferences I have drawn in interpreting anew the letter to Macer. In this letter, Ovid in-

¹ A point well developed by Jacoby, *op. cit.*, p. 48, n. 3.

forms his friend that while the latter is an epic bard, for himself, he can sing of nothing but love, though there was a time when he essayed a tragedy with tolerable success. His present works are two—*Amores* and *Heroides*. The former had already appeared in an edition of five books, sometime later to be reedited, with the addition of the letter to Macer and, doubtless, other pieces, in three books. The *Heroides* he had completed, possibly a very short time before. We cannot infer that he had begun or planned his *Art of Love*. We may set 11 B. C. as a date later than which it is not probable that the second edition of *Amores* appeared. That leaves us still a long stretch before the publication of his next work, the *De Medicamine Faciei*. We know merely that this preceded the *Art of Love* and that the latter work and the *Remedia* were published between 1 B. C. and 1 A. D. I do not deny that Ovid may have planned his *Art of Love* and even written parts of it several years before. I certainly would not maintain that he could not have had several works in progress at the same time. But I do not think it was in his nature to brood long over his creations, or to subject them to the file. Rather, he would toss them off lightly, retaining but not revising whatever pleased him, throwing away whatever did not. If I am right in this inference, it is more natural to place both the inception and the completion of the *Art of Love* as near as possible to the date when we know the poem was published. If it were begun in 2 B. C., Ovid could easily have finished it in the time thus allowed. Between 11 and 2 B. C. the *De Medicamine Faciei* was written, but at just what point it is impossible to say. Ovid may well have been occupied with some of those works which are no longer extant; Bürger, in his dissertation *De Ovidi carminum amatoriorum inventione et arte*, 1901, p. 47, suggests what these may have been. Those few who believe that the double letters among the *Heroides* (XVI–XXI) are Ovid's, may perhaps wish to add them to this list. A forthcoming Harvard dissertation will seek to establish the genuineness of these poems, and to determine, so far as this is possible, their date. Granted that they are Ovid's, they may perhaps have been written at some later period. But even supposing this possibility, and admitting the fact that other undertakings would not fill the interval between the second edition of *Amores* and the *De Medicamine Faciei*, it is not necessary to assume that Ovid was intensely busy during all periods of his career.

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IV.—THE DATE OF CICERO'S CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE.

It is generally agreed that Cicero's *Cato Maior* was written either shortly before or within two months after the death of Caesar.

For each view there is both internal and external evidence, or rather, perhaps, certain pieces of evidence have been interpreted in favor of each, several indeed in favor of both.

Maurer in 1884 (*Fleck-Jahrb.* 129. 386.) gave certain convincing arguments in favor of the earlier date, and Mr. F. G. Moore in the introduction to his edition of the *Cato Maior*, published in 1903, sums up briefly most of the arguments on both sides, and decides unhesitatingly in favor of that date. To his evidence on this side of the question it may not be amiss to add a couple of suggestions along the same lines.

For one of the most telling points hitherto made, the argument starts from the *Cato Maior* itself, sec. 2: *et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus quibus me ipsum interdum gravius commoveri. Quarum consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda; nunc autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te scribere.* Everyone agrees that the troubles here alluded to, troubles for which consolation is more difficult than for old age, are political troubles of some sort. Those who favor the earlier date of composition interpret them as the conditions existing in the state under Caesar, the advocates of the later date as the conditions under Antony after Caesar's death. For these troubles, whichever they were, Cicero hereby suggests that he may in future attempt to write a *consolatio*, as he is now writing a *consolatio* for old age. Whatever these political troubles were, then, they were of a nature to admit of consolation, and indeed of such consolation as might be presented in a formal literary treatise, based on philosophical studies.

What consolations of this sort might Cicero have found for the troubles of each of these periods? In regard to the earlier period we have a statement of his own, *de Div.* 2, 6, quoted by Mr. Maurer and Mr. Moore, and showing clearly that he had in mind

a definite line of consolation, drawn from philosophy, for the tyranny of Caesar at Rome, the fact that a one-man power might be regarded as only a normal step in the political development of the state: id enim ipsum a Platone philosophiaque didiceram naturales esse quasdam conversiones rerum publicarum, ut eae tum a principibus tenerentur, tum a populis, aliquando a singulis. Quod cum accidisset nostrae rei publicae, etc. This evidence, however, will amount to proof only if it can be shown that in the period following Caesar's death Cicero did not see or could not have seen the same possibilities of consolation for the evils then existing.

The evidence here must be looked for in Cicero's letters written between March 15th and May 11th, though probably no one would put the Cato Maior later than May 1st, even though no mention is made of it before the 11th.

The earliest of these letters (ad Fam. 6. 15), probably written on the very day of Caesar's murder, is full of exultation. In these first days of supposed liberation from tyranny, Cicero was in a mood to write a panegyric rather than a consolation for the times. There are no more letters extant till April 7th. From this date on, they come in quick succession, and they betray a constant state of doubt, and of anxiety amounting at times almost to despair, until May 1st, when Dolabella's attitude in Antony's absence gives some hope of better times. In none of these letters does there seem to be a hint of the resignation and calmness such as must have been felt, to a certain degree at least, by one who contemplates writing a *consolatio* for the evils amidst which he lives. Indeed, the conditions, varying from day to day, entirely uncertain as to final outcome, must hardly have admitted of resignation or consolation even to one of less mercurial temperament than Cicero. One can hardly feel resigned to or consoled for evils the true nature of which is not yet evident.

In only one letter, ad Att. 14, 13, 3, is there a reference to literature as a solace. This is in looking forward to future evils; nos autem id videamus * * * ut quicquid acciderit, fortiter et sapienter feramus * * * nosque cum multum litterae tum non minimum idus quoque Martiae consolentur. And even here it is not from literature, but from the "ides of March", that comfort is chiefly drawn. The "ides of March", indeed, are more than once mentioned as affording consolation (ad Att. 14, 4; 14, 6; 14, 12). But this is not the sort of consolation to be embodied in a philosophical treatise, and even this feeling of pleasure in sated hatred

fails, at times, to console, for more than once Cicero exclaims that though the tyrant is dead, tyranny still lives: *verum illis (the liberators) magna consolatio conscientia maximi et clarissimi facti, nobis quae consolatio, qui, interfecto rege, liberi non sumus?* ad Att. 14, 11, April 21. Cp. ad Att. 14, 5; 14, 9; 14, 10; 14, 14.

From the last letter here cited, moreover, it is evident that Atticus had been trying to induce Cicero to take a more cheerful view of things, and from the whole tone of this reply of Cicero's it may be gathered that its writer was in no frame of mind even to receive consolation gracefully, to say nothing of offering it to others.

Briefly then, in the months just preceding the ides of March Cicero seems to have actually found in philosophy grounds of consolation for Caesar's tyranny; after the ides of March he was at first too jubilant, later too depressed, too anxious and uncertain, to feel at the one time the necessity, at the other the possibility, of consolation.

The most important argument, however, is based on external evidence, certain passages in the second book of the *de Divinatione*. Cicero gives in the introduction to this book a list of his philosophical and rhetorical works. He clearly includes in the list the first book of the *de Divinatione*, when he says (3): *quae ut plene esset cumulateque perfecta 'de Divinatione' ingressi sumus his libris scribere*. He also includes the *Cato Maior*: *interiectus est etiam nuper liber is quem ad Atticum de senectute misimus*.

As everyone now recognizes, in this second book *de Divinatione* is indicated the change in Cicero's plans, caused by the death of Caesar, and the immediate, though short-lived, hope that he would again become an active factor in political life (sec. 7): *quod cum accidisset nostrae rei publicae (its domination by a tyrant) tum, pristinis orbatu muneribus haec studia renovare coepimus * * * Nunc quoniam de re publica consuli coepti sumus tribuenda est opera rei publicae * * * tantum huic studio relinquendum quantum vacabit a publico officio et munere*. The line of argument usually deduced from these passages is as follows: As this statement in 2, 7. is not made at the beginning of the first book, it is fair to assume that that was finished before Caesar's death. And if so, the expression *interiectus est etiam nuper* of the *Cato Maior* would most naturally mean that that work, too, was written before the death of Caesar, either just before, or during, or just after the writing of the first book *de Divinatione*.

This is true, so far as it goes. But it should be noted that these very passages have been used also as the basis of argument by those who have advocated the later date. Is it not rather on another sentence than *interiectus est* that the main stress should be laid? After this mention of the Cato Maior, Cicero adds a few more works to the list, and then goes on (sec. 4): *adhuc haec erant. Ad reliqua alacri tendebamus animo, sic parati, ut, nisi quae causa gravior obstitisset, nullum philosophiae locum esse pateremur qui non Latinis litteris illustratus pateret.* We know from sec. 7 that Cicero considered that his literary work had been seriously interrupted by the death of Caesar, in that this event involved him, as he supposed, once more in political life. May not the words *causa gravior*, then, be explained in the light of sec. 7 as referring definitely to the death of Caesar and its effect on Cicero?

There may be question as to the details of translation in this passage, but the general import of it is: the series of Cicero's philosophical works had been carried to the point indicated, including the works named, at a given time. He was going on eagerly to complete the series unless some serious obstacle had prevented. Even if *nisi quae causa gravior obstitisset* must be interpreted as a future condition from a past standpoint, it is reasonable to suppose that in introducing these words Cicero had in mind the same obstacle to which he alludes explicitly in sec. 7; that interruption which, however we interpret *causa gravior*, did actually occur before the writing of both these passages. This interruption is hinted at in *causa gravior* (4), explained as the death of Caesar in *nunc * * * rei publicae* (7), and in (4) the *adhuc haec erant* following the list of Cicero's works sums up the works written before the interruption in contrast to what may in the future be done, as in (7) *haec studia * * * coepimus, and philosophiam * * * putabamus* allude to works written before Caesar's death in contrast to the uncertainties of future literary work implied in *nunc * * * munere*.

If this interpretation be right, there can be no question that the Cato Maior, included as it is in the list summed up in *adhuc haec erant*, was written before the death of Caesar occurred to interrupt the series of Cicero's philosophical works.

V.—STUDY OF A PROVERB ATTRIBUTED TO THE RHETOR APOLLONIUS.

In treating of the orator's use of the pathetic appeal (de Inventione I 56, 109 fin.) Cicero closes as follows:

Commotis autem animis, diutius in conquestione morari non oportebit; quem ad modum enim dixit rhetor Apollonius, *lacrima nihil citius arescit*.

Fr. Marx in his Prolegomena to Incerti auctoris de ratione dicendi ad Herennium (Lipsiae, 1894), p. 124, in comparing this passage with ad Herenn. II 31, 50: commiserationem brevem esse oportet: *nihil enim lacrima citius arescit*, makes three observations; first, that whereas one might be tempted to admire this phrase *quasi vere Romani saporis* Cicero, in attributing the same expression to the rhetor Apollonius *multo est diligentior et accuratior*; second, that in the Cologne edition of 1539 Gybertus Longolius reconstructed as the original Greek,

οὐδὲν θᾶσσον ξηπαίνεσθαι δακρύου,

which is given under *ξηπαίνω* in the thesaurus of Stephanus: and third, the words are easily made into an iambic trimeter:

θᾶσσον γὰρ οὐδὲν δακρύου ξηπαίνεσθαι,

which, so far as he knows, is extant in no Greek writer.

There is however another passage from Cicero, which Marx does not cite, which seems to bear directly upon the question. In the Partitiones Oratoriae written perhaps in 54 B. C. (Schanz Röm. Literaturgeschichte I, p. 290; Marx, Proleg., p. 77) in Ch. 17 § 57:

Nihil est tam miserabile quam ex beato miser. Et hoc totum est quod moveat, si qua ex fortuna quis cadat et a quorum caritate divellatur, quae amittat aut amiserit, in quibus malis sit futurusve sit, exprimatur breviter, *Cito enim exarescit lacrima praesertim in alienis malis*.

The last phrase is misquoted by Otto (Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer), p. 184. The correct reading is *exarescit* (*arescit* is Orelli's suggestion based on the two passages quoted above) and *malis* should be read not *rebus*. As the words stand in the Partitiones Oratoriae, with the omission of *praesertim*, we have an iambic senarius:

Cito enim exarescit lacrima in alienis malis.

Hence it is reasonable again to open the question as to whether the words attributed to Apollonius were in verse. If so, there is a probability that he like other writers on rhetoric was quoting. Still the Latin verse may have been accidental, written unconsciously; for an original prose quotation from the Greek might have fallen into rhythm in Cicero's mind, to suit the *sententia*, which we shall see became a favorite among the later Roman students of rhetoric. The end of a paragraph or a discussion was a natural place for a pithy quotation, and a quotation was often the best way to reinforce an argument, as is evident in the rhetorical writings of Cicero, the *Controversiae* of Seneca the Rhetor and the *Naturales Quaestiones* of Seneca the Philosopher.

Although the phrase may not occur in extant Greek literature, there is a monostich of Menander (426) which describes the forced tears of the orator (but not the tears of his audience):

δμοια πόρνη δάκρυα καὶ ῥήτωρ ἔχει.¹

Furthermore, inasmuch as the quotation occurs in Latin in two forms, one longer and affirmative the other shorter, negative and in the comparative, we may assume that in the Greek there were either two forms, or that one form was differently translated or paraphrased, or that there was a longer form, let us say a couplet, given more fully in one version than in another (either affirmative or comparative). For example we may conjecture:

1. Short affirmative,

κακοῖς ἐν ἄλλων τάχα δάκρυα ξηραίνεται.

2. Long affirmative,

τὸ δάκρυον γὰρ τάχα καταξηραίνεται
τὸ δὴ κεχυμένον ἐν κακοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις.

¹ So in the *Eunuchus* of Terence translated from Menander in l. 67 ff. in the opening scene:

Haec verba una mehercle falsa lacrimula
Quam oculos terendo misere vix vi expresserit,
Restinguet, et te ultro accusabit—

Persius, Sat. V 161, quoting Menander:

Dave, cito, hoc credas iubeo, finire dolores
Præteritos meditor.

The phrasing is imitated from Hor., Sat. II 3, 263; who follows Terence:
an potius mediter finire dolores?

Terence's words are:

An potius ita me comparem
Non perpeti meretricum contumelias?

3. Short negative,

θάσσον γὰρ οὐδὲν δακρύου ξηραίνεται.

4. Long negative,

θάσσον γὰρ οὐδὲν δακρύου ξηραίνεται
τοῦ δὴ χυθίντος ἐν κακοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις.

Again it is not necessary to assume that the γνώμη is original with Apollonius. For in the first place he was the pupil of Menecles of whom Cicero says in Brutus § 326 [Hortensius] habebat enim et Meneclium illud studium *crebrarum venustarumque sententiarum*, in quibus, ut in illo Graeco sic in hoc, erant quaedam magis venustae dulcesque sententiae quam aut necessariae aut interdum utiles. In the second place it is not likely that he introduced an original trimeter, if it was a trimeter, into a lecture on the ἐπίλογος. Reports of the lectures of Apollonius were used by both Cicero and the Auctor ad Herennium in compiling their rhetorical treatises (Marx Proleg., Schanz, pp. 389-390). In composing at a later period a treatise for the benefit of his son, Cicero has given the most explicit form of this dictum. At any rate the words:

'Quick dries the tear that's shed for another's ills'

need little commentary, whereas

'Naught dries more quickly than a tear'

unless qualified, seems a pointless exaggeration, as we all know the effects of genuine sorrow. This qualification is implicit in the context, yet is elaborated by Quintilian, when he treats of the epilogus.¹

Before discussing further the meaning and origin of the phrase, it might be well to cite other references to it. Otto (o. c. s. *lacrima*) quotes, besides the three passages given above the following:

Q. Curt. 5, 5, 11, ignorant quam celeriter lacrimae inarescant. Quint. 6, 1, 27, nec sine causa dictum est, nihil facilius quam lacrimas inarescere.

Quint. declam., p. 331, 8 R. et illud verissimum (*not veri simile*) est, lacrimas celerrime inarescere. Iul. Sever. praec. art. rhet. 24, p. 370 (Halm), lacrimis comparati sunt, quibus nihil citius arescit.

Otto compares:

'Hitzige Thränen trocknen bald'
(Körte, n. 7462.)

¹Of one of the two rhetors named Apollonius of Rhodes, Cicero remarks in de Oratore I 17, 75, inrisit ille quidem ut solebat philosophiam atque contempsit multaque non tam graviter dixit quam facete. The cynicism of the dictum *nihil lacrima*, etc., would accord well with this characterization.

Besides these I think the following passages should be noted. In Cicero ad Att. X 14 (B. C. 49), where he is writing of the grief of Servius Sulpicius, who is in a dilemma between Caesar and Pompey and is weeping for himself and his country we read :

Atque haec ita *multis cum lacrimis* loquebatur, ut ego mirarer, *eas tam diuturna miseria non exaruisse*. The allusion here is to genuine sorrow for one's own fortunes as well as those of others, and Cicero is surprised that Sulpicius could have wept so long. The phrase while generally found in rhetorical writings as a rhetorical precept may well have found a place in *consolationes* also. For compare the epilogue of Tusc. Disp. III (on *consolationes*) 31 § 75. (Artemisia) quam diu vixit, vixit in luctu eodemque etiam confecta contabuit. Huic erat illa opinio cotidie recens, quae tum denique non appellatur recens, *cum vetustate exaruit*.

There is another reference in Quint., XI 1, 6, ita . . . neque humile atque cotidianum sermonis genus et compositione ipsa dissolutum *epilogis* dabimus *nec* iocis *lacrimas*, ubi opus erit miseratione, *siccabimus*. So cf. § 54. Tac., Germania 27, lamenta ac *lacrimas cito*, dolorem et tristitiam tarde *ponunt*; feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse. Here a fact is stated in a rhetorical antithesis. Cf. Seneca, Ep. 99, 25, meminisse perseveret, lugere desinat.

Again in Juvenal 16, 27, there is a phrase, which suggests a modification of a familiar proverb by this most rhetorical of Roman satirists, after the manner in which proverbs are changed in 4, 89; 7, 48, 202; 12, 129-130 :

Quis tam procul absit ab urbe
Praeterea, quis tam Pylades, molem aggeris ultra
Ut veniat? *lacrimae siccentur protinus* et se
Excusaturos non sollicitemus amicos.

The point is here that tears which would be of no avail should be quickly dried up, for it would be hard to get a witness to appear before a military judge already prejudiced against a civilian.

A number of late writers on rhetoric, even when their treatises are most condensed in following Cicero appear to recognize and paraphrase the dictum :

Fortunatianus II 31 (H), Quid *καθολου* in *epilogis* servandum est? ut breves sint, quoniam commotus iudex statim dimittendus ad sententiam ferendam, dum adversario irascitur, et cum in

nostram misericordiam provocatus est lacrimis, etiam commotus statim debet ferre sententiam dum pro nobis movetur.

Martianus Capella c. 53: in epilogis generaliter observandum ut brevis sit, si quidem commotus iudex statim dimittendus est ad sententiam proferendam, dum aut adversarii irascitur aut tuis miseretur lacrimis aut rerum afflictatione commotus est.

Jul. Victor 436 (H.), qua oratione habita graviter et sententiose maxime dimittitur animus hominum et ad misericordiam comparatur cum *in alieno malo* suam infirmitatem considerabit.

Victorinus, Explanationum in Rhet. M. T. C. Lib. I (H), p. 257. Illud tamen praeceptum tenere debemus, sive in indignatione sive in conquestione nos locis omnibus uti non oportere, sed his quos causa suggerat, neque his omnibus sed quoad iudicantium animi moveantur. Quod si etiam uno aliquo loco factum viderimus, orationem continuo finire debemus; *ira enim vel lacrimae dum incipiunt ac recentes* sunt, plurimum valent.

Having noted the persistence with which this dictum was propagated among the late excerptors, it may be in place to analyze several of the earlier passages. Quintilian, 6, 1, 27-29, following Cicero says: Numquam tamen debet esse longa miseratione, nec sine causa dictum est, *nihil facilius quam lacrimas inarescere*. Nam cum etiam veros dolores mitigat tempus, *citius evanescat necesse est illa quam dicendo effinximus imago*: in qua si moramur, *lacrimis fatigatur auditor et requiescit*, et ab illo quem ceperat impetu ad rationem redit. Non patiamur igitur frigescere hoc opus, et affectum cum ad summum perduxerimus, relinquamus, nec speremus fore ut *aliena quisquam diu ploret*. Here we should note how the writer has given in this paragraph four different versions of the sentiment, while still another occurs in the discussion of the epilogue in XI 1, 6, cited above.

Quintus Curtius V 5, 11 ffg. has overelaborated the idea and used it to motivate the highly rhetorical speech of Euctemon of Cyme. Four thousand captive Greeks, who had received cruel punishment, had effected their escape to Alexander. The sight was so pathetic that *plures . . . lacrimas commovere quam profuderant ipsi*: quippe in tam multiplici variaque fortuna singulorum intuentibus similes quidem sed tamen dispaes poenas, quis maxime miserabilis esset, liquere non poterat. Then the King wiping away his tears promised the captives that they should see their homes again. Next follows the speech of Euctemon (5, 5, 11-12) which is nothing but an elaboration of this

reptos. Atqui optime miseras ferunt, qui abscondunt, nec ulla tam familiaris est infelicibus patria, quam solitudo et status prioris oblivio. Nam qui multum in suorum misericordia ponunt, ignorant, *quam celeriter lacrimae inarescant*. Ita suam quisque fortunam in consilio habet, cum *de aliena* deliberat. This is nothing but highly colored declamation.

S. Dosson (*Étude sur Quinte Curce*, Paris, 1887, pp. 244-6), having compared the rhetorical sentiments in IX 2, 8-11; IX 3, 1-15; IX 4, 16-20, with Seneca's first *Suasoria*, passes on to this episode and Euctemon's speech, adding that although we have no contemporary declamation with which to compare it, we may believe, that if Curtius devoted so much space to developing the sentiment, he must have been moved to do so by the success of some one of his contemporaries, perhaps one of those very declaimers against whom Petronius inveighs for having elaborated a similar theme (Sat. 1, 1): num alio genere furiarum declamatores inquietantur, qui clamant: "haec vulnera pro libertate publica excepi; hunc oculum pro vobis impendi: date mihi ducem qui me ducat ad liberos meos, nam succisi poplites membra non sustinent". In fact Euctemon's speech reads like a rhetorical exercise, a *xptia*, elaborating the proverb along the line satirized in Petronius. The very citation of the rhetorical precept introduces us into the atmosphere of the schools.

The example in Ps.-Quint. declam. 3, 38 is in the *sermo de prooemio et epologo*, again from a rhetorical discussion.

The following recapitulation will show how the quotation has been used:

I. Negative form with comparative:

1. Auct. ad Herenn., nihil lacrima citius arescit.
2. Cic. de Invent., lacrima nihil citius arescit.
3. Quint. (a) nihil facilius quam lacrimas inarescere.
4. Jul. Severian., lacrimis quibus nihil citius arescit.

II. Affirmative (or with litotes.)

1. Cic. part. or., cito exarescit lacrima in alienis malis.
2. Cic. ep. ad Att., eas (lacrimas) tam diuturna miseria non exaruisse.
3. Cic. Tusc. Disp. III. 31, 75, opinio (luctus) cum vetustate exaruit.
4. Q. Curtius, quam celerrime lacrimae inarescant.

5. Quint.

- (b) veros dolores mitigat tempus.
- (c) citius evanescat imago.
- (d) lacrimis requiescit.
- (e) non . . . aliena . . . diu ploret.
- (f) XI 1, 6, nec . . . lacrimas . . . siccabimus.

6. Ps.-Quint., lacrimas celerrime inarescere.

7. Tacitus, lacrimas cito . . . ponunt.

8. Juvenal, lacrimae siccentur protinus.

9. Victorinus, lacrimae dum recentes sunt.

[10. Fortunatianus, lacrimis commotus . . . statim debet ferre, etc.]

[11. Mart. Cap., dum tuis miseretur lacrimis aut rerum afflictatione commotus est.]

[12. Jul. Victor, sententiose, etc. . . in alieno malo.]

A study of the different forms of statement shows that the favorite Roman form was affirmative; that in this form the compounded verb *exarescere* or *inarescere* was usual; the dictum, where the cases of use are certain, is confined to rhetoricians, or writers steeped in the precepts of the schools. The differences in phraseology do not necessarily point to differences in the rendering of some well-known Greek verse or proverb. So far as the Latin is concerned, they all seem to go back to Cicero, who may have been exploited here by the Auct. ad Herenn.; Cicero and the Auctor may both go back to notes on the lectures of Apollonius. The question then arises, is there any evidence that the Greek form was a popular proverb, or rhetorical precept, or a line from some poet? It seems to have been applied by Apollonius as an illustration of restraint in handling the epilogus. It does not appear in Aristotle nor in the late Greek writers on rhetoric who followed the ancient traditions. If Apollonius (whether *ὁ μαλακός* v. Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encycl. Apollon. nr. 84, line 55 ffg, or Molo ibid. nr. 85, cf. Susemihl II 489-494) took after Menecles, his master, whose fondness for embellished style is noted in Cic. Brutus § 326, we may suspect that he borrowed from the Greek poets many of his fine phrases just as did the later writers on rhetoric.

Now let us turn once more to the context of Cic., part. orat., § 17 (and the result is essentially the same for Cic., de Invent. and Auct. ad Herenn.). After detailing the many devices by which the hearer's feelings may be aroused Cicero concludes: *nihil est*

tam miserabile quam ex beato miser, with an elaboration of this sentiment, ending *cito enim exarescit*, etc. It is doubtless going too far to suppose that *nihil est tam miserabile quam ex beato miser* is also from a Greek trimeter like

οὐ δυστυχέστερ' ἢ πένης ἐξ εὐτυχούς.

(Cf. Menand. Meineke 4, 247 (40))

πένητος οὐδέν ἐστι δυστυχέστερον

and monostich 436; Diph. 4, 424, 24). The sentiment is commonplace enough especially in the Greek tragedians (Eurip. Troad. 509-510, Troad. 639-640; frag. Arch. 232, 234, 264, Auge, 275, Beller. 287, Danae 328).

Now if we examine the treatise of the late Greek rhetorician Apsines (3d cent. A. D.), who, however, preserves the old Greek tradition (cf. Christ, Gr. Litt.-gesch., p. 755, § 549), we see that in discussing the proper use of 'pity', *ἔλεος*, in the *ἐπιλογος*, he quotes three times from Euripides' Troades (472-473; 474-478, 479-483), where Hecuba recites her former happiness in order to enhance her present affliction. Apsines adds:

ἡ ἀντιπαράθεσις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν κακῶν τὸν ἔλεον κεκίνηκεν. ἔλεεωσι μὲν γάρ εἰσι καὶ οἱ ὀπωσοῦν δυστυχοῦντες, ἔλεινότεροι δὲ εἶναι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἐκ λαμπρᾶς εὐδαιμονίας συμφοραῖς μεγάλαις χρώμενοι.

This corresponds closely to Cicero's *nihil est tam miserabile quam ex beato miser*. It should also be noted that Apsines closes his whole treatment of the subject (p. 329, Spengel-Hammer) with the words: δεῖ δὲ τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ πολιτικῇ μέτρον ἔχειν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τραγῳδίαν ἐμπίσῃ. πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἡ ὑπόθεσις τραγικὴ εἴη.

Now the parts of Hecuba's speech which are quoted, while they do not contain the idea 'quick dries the tear that's shed for another's ills' have in the text of Nauck 481-2 (cited differently by Apsines):

οὐκ ἄλλων πύρα

κλύουσ' ἔκλαυσα, τοῖσδε δ' εἶδον ὄμμασιν

and in 508-510

ὡς πεσοῦσ' ἀποφθαρῶ

δακρύοις καταξανθείσα. τῶν δ' εὐδαιμόνων

μηδὲνα νομίζετ' εὐτυχεῖν πρὶν ἂν θάῃη.

While it is not essential to the argument to discuss the text of these last lines, I have a suggestion to make in passing. If *καταξανθείσα* be read, *δακρύοις* looks suspicious and Hartung pro-

posed ἀκραις or πέτραις. But καταθανθεῖσα (from καταγαῖνω, 'tear in pieces', figuratively, 'wear or waste away') may be the false reading, for κατανανθεῖσα (from κατα-αναινω, dry up, wither up, pine away utterly) both αναινω and the compound being used in tragedy. The point would then be: Hecuba having pined away, from weeping till the fountain of her tears was dried, as a plant, that has lost its sap withers and falls, would herself fall and perish.

But to resume our argument. Let us suppose with Christ that Apollonius is following the ancient tradition, which must have treated of the abuse as well as the proper use of πάθος. If the earlier lecturer, Apollonius, had used this speech of Hecuba, the two passages might have suggested, as a sort of corrective to the emotional tendency of some orators, some current proverb, some γνώμη from the New Comedy, or possibly a phrase from Euripides himself with which to refute that tragic poet out of his own book, as it were; and Apollonius might have warned his pupils, that a listener soon falls out of sympathy with a tragic character, a poet or an orator, who plays too long on one's feelings, for "naught dries more quickly than a tear, when shed for another's ills!"

A line of argument, such as we have considered, is in the nature of things mostly subjective. At all events we have Seneca's evidence (Contr. VII 4, 3) that Apollonius was 'strong on the epilogue' in epilogis vehemens fuit Apollonius Graecus,— if our Apollonius is the individual referred to; as well as Cicero's statement (De Or. I 17, 75) as to the scoffing attitude of one of the rhetors named Apollonius towards philosophy, and the evidence that his teacher Menecles was given to epigrams and an embellished style.

Such poetic snatches often become fixed as rhetorical precepts, just like Shakespeare's 'tear a passion to tatters' and 'speak it trippingly on the tongue'. The German proverb 'Hitzige Thränen trocknen bald' is not coextensive with *cito exarescit lacrima in alienis malis*, any more than our:

"Laugh and the world laughs with you
Weep and you weep alone".

There is a cynical touch in 'quick dries the tear that's shed for another's ills', whereas 'nothing dries more quickly than a tear' could be used for comfort in a *consolatio*. Compare for example in Seneca Ep. 99, 16, in a composition of this type, the insincere grief of some: *sine spectatore cessat dolor*, an idea elaborated by Martial 1, 33 of Gellia *siquis adest missae prosiliunt lacrimae*.

So again Ep. 99, 21, in lacrimis aliquid sat est; § 25, meminisse perseveret, lugere desinat.

Ep. 63, 2. Duram tibi legem videor ponere, cum poetarum Graecorum maximus ius flendi dederit in unum dumtaxat diem, cum dixerit etiam Niobam de cibo cogitasse.

§ 3. Brevem illi (sc. amico) apud te memoriam promittis, si cum dolore mansura est.

§ 12. Malo relinquo dolorem quam ab illo relinquo, et quam primum id facere desiste, quod etiam si voles, diu facere non poteris.

§ 13. Quam tamen mihi ex illis mulierculis dabis vix retractis a rogo, vix a cadavere revulsis, cui lacrimae in totum mensem duraverint? nulla res citius venit in odium quam dolor qui recens consolatorem invenit et aliquos ad se adducit, inveteratus vero deridetur nec immerito, aut enim simulatus aut stultus est.

The allusion to Niobe is Homer, Iliad 24, 613:

ἡ δ' ἄρα σίτου μῆσατ' ἐπεὶ κάμει δάκρυ χέουσα.

Forced or insincere tears (our "crocodile" tears) are often mentioned, in Ovid, Martial, and others. The following three passages illustrate how quickly a new emotion may banish tears:

Ovid, Fasti III 509:

Occupat amplexu lacrimasque per oscula siccant

Ovid, Heroides XVIII 25-26:

Dumque queror, lacrimae per amantia lumina manant
Pollice quas tremulo conscia siccant anus, etc.

Propert. 19, 23:

Cogit et invitam lacrimas siccare cadentes

Another side of the picture is to be seen in such statements as:

Cic., Ep. ad Fam. V 12, 5, ceteris vero nulla perfunctis propria molestia, casus autem alienos sine ullo dolore intuentibus etiam ipsa misericordia est iucunda.

Also Lucret. II 1-4, 19.

Sen., ad Polyb. de Consol. VI 5, ut periclitantium et ad misericordiam mitissimi Caesaris pervenire cupientium lacrimae [*siccari possint*] tibi tuae [*ante*] siccandae sunt.

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VI.—STUDIES IN THE FIRST BOOK OF THE AENEID.

81 ff. montem impulit in latus et venti . . . qua data porta ruunt. The confusion between gate="way" and gate="barrier" is Latin as well as English. We have the former sense here and Val. Fl. I 596, the latter in Val. Fl. I 609 f., *valido contortam turbine portam impulit Hippotades*. But there is nothing to prove that Virgil, like Valerius, imagined the cave of Aeolus as having a gate of the second sort; *claustra*, v. 56, need denote only the mountain walls. A displacement of the mountain is not necessarily expressed by *impulit in latus*, words which are most simply interpreted from v. 125, in *puppim ferit*; nor is such an interpretation confirmed by Stat. Th. I 119 f., where *dubiam* may be proleptic: "Smote on the side (the peak of) Oeta so that it tottered on its ridge". Nor again, if we accept the view of Weidner and Kappes, that the winds rushed out at the point where Aeolus struck, are we to suppose that the poet pictured to himself a hole made in the mountain side. Deuticke's remark, that it is unnecessary to ask how the opening was closed again, contains only half the truth; it is equally unnecessary to ask wherein it consisted, and we may most truly say that in a human sense there was no opening. Of the miraculous stroke with its various effects there are many examples. It releases the winds here and in Luc. II 456, the waters in Exod. 17. 6 and Ov. Met. I 283; evokes from the earth the horse in Georg. I 13 and Luc. VI 396, woman in the Greenland story recorded in Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*, p. 326;¹ inspires strength and courage in Il. N 59, effects strange changes in Exod. 7. 20, 8. 17, Od. κ 238. 319, π 172. 456, and opens the way to the subterranean world in Ov. Met. V 421. In some of these cases the strength of the blow is specified or suggested; Circe's victims must have tasted her food and drink;² in the O. T. passages

¹ "The only man who remained alive" (after the deluge) "smote with his stick upon the ground, and there came forth a woman, with whom he peopled the earth again".

² For this there is of course a distinct reason, that for which, in Scott's *Redgauntlet*, the tenant who has descended to hell for his landlord's receipt abstains from the wine there offered him. *Wess Brod ich ess', dess Lied ich*

the result is a fulfilment of the divine promise. And sometimes the explanation lacking in one author is given by another; Virgil, Aen. VII 19. 190, makes Circe a brewer of drugs, and in Ov. Met. I 716 Mercury's wonder-working rod is *medicata virga*. It is instructive to compare Ov. Met. III 189 ff. with the story, in the Arabian Nights, of the sorceress who "took a cup, and filled it with water, and repeated a spell over it, and sprinkled with it the calf". Such amplifications are not always due to rationalism; certainly the spoken charm is as primitive a part of magic as the symbolic act. But where the unexplained and unaccompanied act is followed by the due effect, we need not question with the narrator concerning the means of accomplishment; the fundamental explanation of all miracles is *ῥεία θεός*.

142 dicto citius. The explanation of Servius, non antequam diceret . . . sed citius quam dici potest, must be adopted for *d. citius* or *celerius* in Hor. S. II 2. 80, Phaedr. App. II 9. 28, Petron. 131, Plin. N. H. XXXVI 138 and Anth. L. Burm. IV 252. 2; also in Sen. Apoc. 13. 2, if the words *Ille—impulit* are allowed to stand. If they are bracketed, either interpretation is possible, as it is also in Liv. XXIII 47. 6 and Petron. 74, and therefore the Servian is preferable, since it is probable that in these combinations *dicto* had a fixed value. And there is some weight in the comparison with Cic. Ph. II 33. 82, citius facta quam dixi; there we have the definite, here the indefinite narrator, as in Eur. Hipp. 1186, *θάσσον ἢ λέγοι τις*.

174 ff. ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates succepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam. This way of getting fire, grown unfamiliar since the invention of lucifer matches, may be illustrated by a modern description (Life of Sir George Grove, by C. E. Graves, p. 14):¹ "An old blind woman came up the street every Tuesday afternoon. She sold what we then called matches, thin strips of firewood about eight inches long by half an inch wide,

ring' has a sinister sense where the Chthonians are concerned. So in Morris's Cupid and Psyche (but not in Apuleius) Psyche in the hall of Dis eats the food that she has brought with her.

¹ The quotation is taken from an autobiographical fragment by Grove, which deals with his life about 1836. He goes on to speak of the introduction of the lucifer match, called then the "Congry" from its inventor, Sir William Congreve. As the latter died in 1828, it would seem that his match came into use slowly. For another description see Kinglake, Eothen, ch. XII.

pointed at each end, and with each" (*sic*) "end dipped in sulphur. Lights were then obtained by striking a piece of steel with a bit of flint over a round tinder-box which contained burnt rags. The sparks caught the tinder directly, and one poked the sparks with the sulphur end of the match, and by blowing, and then being nearly suffocated in the process, a light was obtained." Here are three distinct steps, marked more briefly in Val. Fl. II 449 f., *citum strictis alius de cautibus ignem ostendit foliis et sulphure pascit amico*. Like Valerius, Juvenal, XIII 145 (V 48 and Stat. S. I 6. 74 are doubtful), and Pliny, N. H. XXXVI 138, use the abstract *sulphur* for the "sulphur-sticks" (Wilson on Juv. V 48), which by Martial, I 41. 4, are called *sulphurata* (sc. *ramenta*, cf. X 3. 3, Sen. N. Q. I 1. 8) and *taedae* by Ovid, Her. VII 25, Met. III 373 f. (*summīs circumlita taedis sulphura*=Grove's "sulphur end of the match"). Virgil marks the three steps by *scintillam*, *ignem*, *flammam*,¹ but inserts a fourth which is ambiguous; the word *nutrimenta* recalls on the one hand the Valerian *sulphure pascit*, on the other Ov. Met. VIII 642, *foliisque et cortice sicco nutrit*; in Val. Max. II 4. 5 it has the general sense of "anything to feed a fire." On the contrary, *fomes* has, according to the ancient grammarians, a specific signification: Serv. D. ad h. l., *fomites sunt assulae quae ab arboribus cadunt quando inciduntur*; Paul. p. 84 M. and Gloss. Labb. in Lewis and Short; Isid. Or. XVII 6. 26, *fomes est hastula quae ab arboribus excutitur recisione*; Gloss. in the Thesaurus s. v. *assula*, *fomes astula minuta*. The rendering "chips", or "kindling", suits alike the Virgilian passage, Luc. VIII 776, *excitat invalidas admoto fomite flammās*, and Apul. Apol. p. 428 ed. Flor., *cur cava specula, si exadversum soli retineantur, appositum fomitem accendant*;² but modern authorities exhibit also the translation "tinder", and this evidently underlies the explanation of the Virgilian *fomite* as "leaves" (Ladewig, Gebhardi, Henry, doubtfully Conington), as to which Kvičala remarks that the idea has already been expressed in *succepitque ignem foliis*. This rendering perhaps originated in a misunderstanding of Plin. N. H. XVI 207 f., *calidae et morus*,

¹ As is pointed out by Kappes, who however does not explain the process clearly; Mr. Page does, but obscures the matter again by his double rendering of *fomes*.

² If Scaliger's *fomes* for *fumus* in Moret. 8 is correct, it must be explained from Clodius Scriba ap. Serv. l. c., as emended by Thilo.

laurus, hederā et omnes e quibus igniaria¹ fiunt. Exploratorum hoc usus in castris pastorumque reperit, quoniam ad excudendum ignem non semper lapidis occasio est. teritur ergo lignum ligno, ignemque concipit attritu, excipiente materia aridi fomitis, fungi vel foliorum facillimo conceptu. On this Scaliger has the following note: "Aridi fomitis: eum olim lucubrum vocaverunt. Paratur fere ex sulphuratis, fungis arborum insolatis et arefactis, acie sive acu nimirum carpto carminatoque lino vel stupa ut in Moreto: et producit acu stupas humore carentes: nimirum *εἰς τὸ ζωύριον καὶ ἔγκανσμα πυρός*. Hanc *λυχνάφειαν* Gloss. vetus appellat, canapturam." The influence of this note is perhaps seen in Rob. Stephanus, Thes. L. L. (Lugd. 1589) s. v. *fomes*, who, after citing Festus (sc. Paulus) l. c., adds: "Ponitur et pro omni materia sicca quae facile igni inflammatur. Virg. I Aen., Plin. lib. 16 cap. 40"; certainly in Gesner's edition of Faber's Thesaurus (Lips. 1735), where *fomes* is defined bilingually: "1. *cin Span*, G. *copeau, éclat*", with reference to Festus and to Salmas. ad Solin., p. 127; "2. et aridum quodcumque ignis nutrimentum, *zunder*, G. *mèche*", with reference to Dalechamp's Pliny. In Forcellini—De Vit. there is only the general definition, "materia arida idonea ut facile ignescat"; this also in Forcellini—Bailey, but with the confused addition, "fuel, coal, wood, *ἑπὶ κανσμα*". There is confusion also in Lewis and Short, while Koch³—Georges, Wörterb. z. Än., has only "Zündstoff, Zunder"; and "tinder, Zunder" appear in Virgilian commentaries (Sidgwick, Page, Deuticke).

¹"*Igniarium* an implement for producing fire", Lewis and Short. Tylor, Early History of Mankind, p. 240, coins the word "fire-drill" (which is quoted from him in the Oxford Dictionary) and describes various forms of the process. His remarks, p. 238, on the difficulties attending it and the consequent Australian practice of borrowing fire from a neighbor may be illustrated from Latin literature: Cic. Off. I 16. 52, *pati ab igne ignem capere, si qui velit*; Rhet. ad Her. IV 53. 67, *hic de tanto patrimonio tam cito testam, qui sibi petat ignem, non reliquit*; cf. Od. ε 490. For the *testa* cf. Kipling, Jungle Tales, 1st Ser., p. 33: "He saw the man's child pick up a wicker pot plastered inside with earth, fill it with lumps of red-hot charcoal", etc. Probably Juv. I 134, *ignis emendus*, represents a business transaction of the same sort, *ignis* being not fuel but fire-brands, as in Aen. V 660, Liv. IV 33. 2, and often in Tacitus, cf. Gerber and Greef s. v.; cf. Baedeker's Holland, 1894, Pref., p. XXVI, Eng. tr.: "At the cellar-doors in the side-streets, sign-boards with the words *water en vuur te koop* (water and fire to sell) are frequently observed. At these humble establishments boiling-water" (sc. *Kochwasser*) "and red-hot turf" (Anglice, peat) "are sold to the poorer classes for the preparation of their tea or coffee."

It does not appear that Scaliger looked beyond the Plinian passage in giving his explanation, which seems to rest primarily on the idea that tinder of some sort was necessary for making fire; but his *sulphuratis* would seem to show that he included sulphur matches along with rag tinder as something which might receive the spark from the fire-drill, as they do from the flint and steel in Plin. XXXVI 138, qui (pyritae) clavo vel altero lapide percussi scintillam edunt, quae excepta sulphure aut fungis aridis vel foliis dicto celerius praebet ignem. The descriptions cited by Tylor, so far as I have been able to look them up, generally stop short at the production of the spark without explaining to what material it is transmitted; but Morgan, League of the Iroquois, p. 381, quoted by Tylor, p. 248, speaks of "small pieces of punk" being used to catch the spark. Supposing that ordinary chips could not be made to serve, it seems quite possible to understand Pliny's *aridi fomitis* of such bits of punk, or touch-wood, while I find no ancient authority for applying the word to any other material than wood. In this case the sequence *fomitis, fungi, foliorum*, XVI 208, corresponds to the sequence *sulphure, fungis, foliis*, XXXVI 138. Pliny's *excipiente—conceptu* is to be explained from N. H. XXXVII 51, chryselectrum . . . rapacissimum ignium, si iuxta fuerint, celerrime ardescens; for while *ignem concipere* in general use=*accendi, ardescere*, and denotes the production of fire in a material alike by primary action or by transmission from another already burning body, *excipere* and *rapere* express distinctly the latter process, the second body catching fire from the first. For *excipere* we have, besides the two Plinian passages, Ambros. Hexaem. II 3. 29 (Migne XIV, p. 152. A), nam sive ex lignis haud quaquam semiustulatis, sed inter se collisis, ignis excussus excipiat foliis, etiam flamma adolet, ac si de igne accendas facem; for *rapere* Ov. Met. III 374, XV 350, Plin. N. H. II 235, Luc. III 684, Aen. h. l. That Virgil should transfer to the person the action usually predicated of the material, is not more remarkable than other, more familiar forms of transferred predication, e. g. Aen. VI 429=XI 28. For a *rapere*=*iactare* no support is to be had from Aen. IV 286, cited by Mr. Bonner, Cl. Journ. I, p. 49, since there the necessary "to and fro" is expressed by the prepositional phrase. Tac. H. I 13, spem adoptionis statim conceptam acrius in diem rapiebat, shows of course a metaphor based on *ignem concipere, rapere*, but stands in no direct relation to the Virgilian passage; Otho is not, like

Achates, the maker of the fire of hope, but the material on which it feeds; Professor Tyrrell's translation (Academy, Sept. 29, 1906, p. 309), "he fanned every day to a brighter flame the spark of hope once lit", involves a misunderstanding of *conceptam* as well as of *rapiebat*.

219 *extrema pati*. In IX 204, cited by Deuticke, *extrema* denotes peril and distress, not death (cf. III 315); nor is Conington's citation of Tac. H. IV 59 to the point, since there, as *ibid.* II 46 and Liv. VIII 25. 7, the phrase *extrema pati* does not expressly include death. This is the case also in Caes. B. C. II 32. 8, *extremam fortunam pati*, and Aen. II 349, *audentem extrema*, cf. Tac. G. 18. The notion of death is sometimes distinctly excluded from the phrase *ultima pati*, for which cf. Liv. III 47. 2, XXII 60. 23, XXXVII 54. 2, Ov. Met. XIV 483, *id.* Tr. II 187, III 2. 11, Curt. III 1. 6, Sen. Benef. III 18. 3. *Extrema = mors* occurs also in Aen. VI 457, perhaps Tac. H. II 47; that this sense is derived immediately from the temporal signification, is suggested by Cic. Fam. VI 21. 1, *cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum* (cf. Hor. Ep. I 16. 79, II 2. 173, Aen. II 447, Sil. V 416), and is confirmed by the example of *suprema*. This superlative, as substantive, denotes "last moments" in Quintil. VI pr. 11 (cf. Cels. II 6, p. 36, 4, Dar., *ad ultima iam ventum esse*, Papin. Dig. XXXIX 6. 42. 1, in *extremis vitae constitutus*); hovers ambiguously between that sense and "time of death" in Plin. N. H. II 232, VII 33, XVI 236, Tac. A. VI 50, XII 66, XVI 11, *ib.* 25; and signifies "death" without temporal connotation in Tac. A. III 49, XV 59, XVI 34, perhaps H. IV 59.

As parallel to the Virgilian *extrema pati* some editors have cited *mortem pati = mori*, Ov. Tr. I 2. 42 (cf. *id.* Met. X 627), Sen. Ep. 94. 7, Lact. Epit. 50. 1. Conington alone seems expressly to have remarked on the difficulty attending this comparison, though it was evidently present to the mind of Weidner, who translates: "Entweder ringen die Gefährten noch mit dem Tode (*extrema patiuntur*) oder sie sind überhaupt schon todt = *nec iam vocati exaudiunt*", and adds: "Da nun das *extrema pati* den Tod selbst nicht ausschliesst, darum wird dieser Begriff mit dem folgenden vereinigt dem *vivere* gegenüber gestellt"; that is, we are to take *que* here as in II 37. The rubric "*que, et for aut*" is still waiting for its chapter (see Leo, Hermes XLII, p. 52, n. 3); until that is written, the possibility here of *neque = aut non* can neither be affirmed nor denied. Conington suggests another point of view:

"It is not necessary to limit the meaning of *extrema* actually to the crisis of death . . . as that would require *passos esse*. The expression rather implies death as a continuing state 'to be lost'". That Lat. *mors* and Engl. "death" may denote either (1) the act of dying, or (2) the state of being dead, is a fact not recognized by Lewis and Short; but no blame attaches to the Latinists for failing to note a distinction, which seems to have been clearly recognized by no English lexicographer before Dr. Murray. For Latin cf., e. g., Cic. C. M. 20. 74 post mortem sensus, with id. Tusc. I 12. 27, in morte sensum. That *extrema*, denoting primarily the last stage of life, should come to signify the transition from life to lifelessness, is not strange; that it should be used also of the state resulting from that transition, is a somewhat remarkable effect of its association with *mors*. The only parallel known to me is Val. Max. VI 1 ext. 4, ultimo fati sui tempore, i. e., as the context shows, *iam mortuus*. Our "eschatology" assumes that τὰ ἔσχατα may = τὸ τεθνάναι; I have not been able to find on what Greek use the assumption is based. That in some ranges of Greek τὰ ἔσχατα = τὸ ἀποθῆσκειν, appears from Wahl, Clavis Apocryphorum, who cites Sir. 1. 11, 7. 36, 28. 6, 51. 14 for ἔσχατα "Lebensende"; in N. T. I find only Mark, 5. 23, τὸ θυγάτριόν μου ἐσχάτως ἔχει (cf. Lob. Phryn., p. 389, Grimm, Clavis N. T., s. v. ἐσχάτως), and in Stephanus, Thes. Gr., ed. Didot. III, p. 2113, "Artemid. II 26, p. 114. 30 πρὸς ἐσχάτοις ὄντες animam agentes".

Granting that Virgil used *extrema* to denote the state of being dead, it remains to define *pati*. That verb, primarily = τλῆναι, *tolerare*, becomes = πάσχειν; and both the Greek and the Latin word usually signify "experience" as an incident, "to have a thing done, or happen, to one". That πάσχειν may denote a continued experience, a state of being, is somewhat confusedly recognized by Liddell and Scott; we may pick out from their examples εἰ π. = *frui*, Theogn. and Pind., and add the instances of ἀλγεα, πῆματα π. in the Odyssey.¹ For *pati* Lewis and Short s. v. II B cite Quintil. I 2. 31, quiddam pati furori simile, with the renderings "to experience, undergo, to be in a certain state of

¹ α 49, γ 100 = δ 243, ε 33. 362. 395, θ 411, ι 121, π 189, ρ 444, τ 170, υ 221, χ 177. Perhaps not a complete list; and I have none for the Iliad. In π 275 and Hdt. III 146 κακῶς π. is not equivalent to κακῶς πράττειν; the only example of this substitution that I have observed is in the line κέλνυτέ μεν μίνθων, κακά περ πάσχοντες ἑταῖροι, [κ 189], μ 271. 340.

mind or temper"; add "or of body", and put under the same head the following, wrongly cited under I A 2: Quintil. XI 3. 32, si ipsa vox primum fuerit, ut sic dicam, sana, id est, si nullum eorum, de quibus modo rettuli, patietur incommodum ("be subject to, labor under"); Gell. XVII 15. 6, Livium Drusum . . . cum morbum, qui comitalis dicitur, pateretur, Anticyram navigasse ("being sick with the epilepsy"); Veget. Mulom. I 17. 11, iumentum quod morbum patitur ("diseased"). Of more weight for Virgil's use is Val. Fl. III 378 ff., mortalia membra sortitusque breves et parvi tempora fati perpetimur, where the compound is not, as usual, a synonym of *perferre*, but is the opposite of *perfrui*, a "be cursed with" instead of a "be blessed with".

In one respect *pati* fails to keep step with *πάσχειν*; it is not used, like the Greek verb, of pleasant experiences. And in the fact that it was at one time not capable of rendering *πάσχειν* is to be found, I think, the true explanation of Aen. VI 457, extrema secutam. In early Latin the verb of doing had to serve as a verb of experience. So Lucretius uses *fungi*;¹ cf. I 443, facere et fungi = ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν (but Cic. Tim. 6, Liv. II 12. 9, facere et pati), ibid. 441, III 734, V 358. So Pl. Most. 48, fungi fortunas meas; Lorenz translates "mein Schicksal erleiden", but this notion is expressed in v. 49, patiunda;² *fungi* is a colorless word, like *uti* (cf. Ter. Ph. Prol. 31, Vell. II 51. 1). The difference between *fungi* and *pati* here is the same as that between *exsequi* and *pati* in Pl. Capt. 195 f., si di immortales id voluerunt vos hanc aerumnam exsequi, decet id pati animo aequo; with which use of *exsequi* denoting "experience" instead of "accomplishment" cf. Trin. 686, Ps. 995 mortem exsequi = Ovid's m. pati), perhaps also Truc. 459. The verb shifts between two senses in Cic. Ph. II 22. 54, exsequi cladem illam (cf. Suet. Iul.

¹ Which retains this meaning in the classical *fato functus* (cf. also Ov. Met. XI 583, Vell. II 48. 6), often also in the participle *perfunctus* and in *defungi*. *Vita functus* = *mortuus*, Gell. XX 2. 3, Papin. Dig. XLVIII 5. 12 (II). 12, arrives at the idea from a different point of view; but how entirely the idea of death became connected with the phrase appears from Papin. Dig. XLIX 17. 14 pr., vita fungatur = *moriatur* (cf. Just. XIX 1. 1). Properly speaking of course, the combination should stand for *vivere*, as in Hor. C. II 9. 13, ter aevo functus, cf. Vell. II 131. 2, Lact. Inst. II 1. 1.

² The subjects of which are not "*fortuna et miseria*, inferred from their adjectives", as Professor Fay has it, but an implied pronoun in apposition with the preceding clauses: "these facts (that you are lucky, I unlucky) I must needs endure".

36, nullam cladem . . . passus est) fugamque (cf. Sall. I. 53. 3, fugam faciunt = *fugiant*); it has the first sense in Cic. Att. IX 12. 1, cur non omnes fatum illius una exsecuti sumus (= *functi* s.). The genitive is remarkable, not unique; cf. Tac. A. XVI 34, mariti suprema et exemplum Arriae matris sequi; here, as in Cic. Ph. I. c., the verb changes meaning with the change of object. And as the Tacitean passage is related to Cic. Att. I. c. by the introduction of the genitive, so it is related to Virgil's phrase by the employment of the simple for the compound verb.¹ The poet's *extrema seculam* is a transformation of the Plautine *morlem exsequi* and a variant on the preceding *extinctam*.

The current explanation allows indeed more force to the participle. In Koch²—Georges the passage is cited under *sequor* 2 a) "gehe einer Sache nach, strebe nach"; in Lewis and Short under II B 2, "to follow or pursue an end or object, to strive for, aim at, seek to attain"; Mr. Sidgwick and Mr. Page render by "sought thy end (doom)". The familiar English "seek death" has its counterpart in "find death"; so in Latin *morlem quaerere*, Vell. I 2. 3, Tac. A. I 5, Plin. N. H. II 156, *m. invenire*, Tac. A. I 61. But Latin has also a *m. petere*: Cic. Fin. II 19. 61, Val. Max. V 6. 5. Whether *sequi* ever = *quaerere*, I cannot say; it certainly = *petere* with a local object; to the examples in L. and Sh. s. v. I B 4 add Cic. Leg. II 1. 3, where the abstract substantives must be rendered concretely, "this pleasant and healthful spot". But the examples cited do not prove a similar tropical use. Cic. Rep. III 11. 18, Mur. 27. 55, Ter. Andr. 811, Ad. 248 are to be explained as analogous to *viam, iter*, s.;³ so too Hor. S. I 6. 86 f., *parvas mercedes* s., which means not "try to get small wages", but "follow a poorly paid occupation"; here too belongs *sequi* with neuter pronoun or adjective, as in Aen. III 368, Hor. S. I 1. 3, Ep. I 8. 11. With Ter. Hec. 481 cf. Cic. Off. I 11. 35, 37. 133, II 20. 69, de Or. II 50. 204, Varr. R. R. I 2. 21, Sen. Benef. II 7. 3, IV 25. 1, where *sequi* = *spectare*, "have

¹ Nipperdey on Tac. A. VI 40, quod signum mortis intellexere et exsecuti sunt, says: "Zu *exsecuti sunt* ist *morlem* zu denken". It seems doubtful if *m. e.* = *m. sibi consciscere* (though Dido committed suicide, it is not necessary to read that idea into Virgil's line, where *mortuam* would suffice for the sense), and I should prefer to regard the verb as absolute, "they took action"; cf. A. VI 32. So too in H. IV 76 it is unnecessary to supply an object, even though *sententiam* suggests one; cf. H. III 73, Vell. II 24. 5.

² In literal sense Ov. P. I 4. 38, Tac. A. I 50, metaphorically Cic. Cat. IV 5. 9, Off. I 32. 118, Sen. Benef. II 7. 3, cf. Liv. XXIV 45. 7.

in view", a sense recognized in Forcellini—Bailey, and of which Gerber and Greef give Tacitean examples. *Gratiam, fidem alicuius sequi* means "to attach oneself to a person in friendship, loyalty"; cf. the examples of *amicitiam s.* in the Thesaurus under the same general head belong also Cic. Fam. XIII 35. 1, Off. I 37. 132, Liv. I 8. 3, XXXI 7. 11. Finally Aen. III 327 f. is to be interpreted from Plin. Ep. VIII 18. 8, secuta videbatur matrimonium senis = *seni nupsisse*. The use of *adsequi, consequi, sectari* seems indeed to make such a sense quite possible for *sequi*; the only passage I have noted where it can really be so interpreted is Cic. Off. I 31. 110, neque enim attinet naturae repugnare nec quicquam sequi, quod assequi non queas, where the contrast with the compound perhaps determined the choice, as it fixes the meaning, of the simple verb.

225 *latos populos*. The current explanation, *latos*=*late habitantes*, tends to create confusion by separating this passage from others which show the same peculiarity, the employment of a personal, where we should expect a territorial, designation. So in Liv. XXI 34. 1, perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium . . . populum, editors usually render *populum* by "district"; Weissenborn refers to Grk. *δῆμος*, while Luterbacher thinks this rendering required by the epithet *frequentem*. But *p. fr. c.* is like Aen. IX 508, non tam spissa corona viris (cf. Ov. Am. III 5. 3, Met. VIII 329, Prop. II 32. 13, Tac. A. XIV 34, where *legionarius*=*legiones*); the ablative denotes the parts, the main substantive the whole. As to *δῆμος*, Festus defines correctly: *demoe apud Atticos sunt ut apud nos pagi*; and this applies also to the Homeric local *δῆμος*, which, like *pagus*, is commonly associated with a definite name, at its vaguest with a personal genitive, as Od. v 219, *ἄλλων δ.*; an *ἄλλος δ.* is as inconceivable as an *alius pagus*. It seems not to have been observed that, in using *populus* where we might expect *terra*¹ (cf. Cic. Fin. V 18. 49, Ov. Met. II 307, Sil. V 399), Virgil and Livy have gone only a step beyond the familiar usage, by which the proper name of a people is put to denote the territory. This happens oftenest

¹ The converse is the personal use of *urbis* (to examples in L. and Sh. add Luc. II 174) and *moenia* (Aen. VIII 385). It is worthy of note that in Aen. II 265 *urbem* as object of *invadunt* is local, with *sepulcrum* becomes personal; cf. Carlyle, French Revolution, Bk. IV ch. III: "Crack, crack, we go incessant, through the slumbering city". So the character of *civitatem* changes with the verb in Liv. IV 2. 12, *armari civitatem* (the citizens) *defendique* (the state). On people for land see also Varr. L. L. V 32, Paul, Pr. § 248.

when the territory has no name of its own and could be distinguished only by a periphrasis; cf. Varr. R. R. I 14. 4, in agro Sabino, *ibid.* 15. 1, in Sabinis, Caes. B. G. I 11. 1, in Aeduorum fines pervenerant, *ibid.* §6, in Santonos pervenirent. But a writer may vary between tribal and local names: Plin. N. H. III 53 Tiberis . . . Etruriam ab Umbris ac Sabinis . . . dirimens (cf. Caes. B. G. I 8. 1, Tac. G. 1), but *ibid.* 51, tractus Umbriae. So in giving lists of towns Pliny varies between place and person: III 52 de cetero Arretini . . . Faesulae, §63 oppida Abellinum . . . Acerrani, cf. §68 f. In this way we may explain Aen. VII 631, Ardea Crustumérique (cf. Georg. II 138), better than by supposing that the poet lopped off the final syllable of Crustumeria (-um) for metre's sake; the fact that Livy has Crustumini need cause no difficulty in the case of a stem with several variations of suffix and a people almost mythical. A Greek parallel cited by Bernhardt, Gr. Synt., p. 47, is Lys. XX 4, ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἦν, οἱ δ' ἐν Βοιωτοῖς; add Thuc. I 12. 4, καὶ Ἴωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἡσιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς φέκισαν, Ἰταλίας δὲ καὶ Σικελίας τὸ πλεῖστον Πελοποννήσιοι. The explanation of Classen-Steup would require, not only that we take φέκισαν in a sense otherwise poetic and not Thucydidean, but, what is of more weight, that we understand Ἴωνας to refer to the Hellenic tribe of which the Athenians were reckoned a part, whereas Thucydides is likely to have used it only, as in c. 16. 1, to designate the Asiatic Ionians, and to have meant here what he expresses in c. 2. 6 by ἐς Ἴωνίαν . . . ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψαν.

Ordinarily the use of tribal name for territory creates so little difficulty that school commentaries on B. G. I afford no note on it; it begins to be troublesome when local and personal names are brought into immediate relation. Not indeed in Liv. VI 3. 2, Etruria prope omnis armata Sutrium, socios p. R., obsidebat; we are accustomed to personifying country and city and easily render *socios* by a singular. But to less familiar combinations we have to do more violence in rendering. So at Aen. I 276 f., condet moenia Romanosque . . . dicet, Professor Knapp smoothes the schoolboy's way by suggesting *eos*; and at Andoc. Myst. 51, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐν κακοῖς οὖσαν τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ ὑποψίαν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντας, Dobree's conjecture *ἀπαντας* was an attempt to impose our point of view on the Greek. We have the same easy shift from place to people in Thuc. I 27. 1, Aen. III 17 f., Liv. XXI 58. 2, from people to place in Hdt. VIII 127. Again at Aen. I 533, Italiam dixisse . . . gentem, to say that *gentem* = *terram* helps the school-

boy; but the passage is paralleled by Thuc. I 107. 2, *Δωριῆς τὴν Ἀ. μητρόπολιν*, and is the converse of Vell. I 3. 1, *regionem . . . quae nunc . . . Thessalia appellatur, antea Myrmidonum vocitata civitas*.¹ Similar is Aen. VII 670 f., *Tiburtia moenia linquunt, fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem*; but that in such direct apposition we may have more to consider than mere variation of terms, appears from parallels in which the terms are not equivalent: Georg. II 97, *Aminneae vites, firmissima vina*, Aen. VIII 675, *classis aeratas, Actia bella*, X 161, *sidera, opacae noctis iter*. These cases of appositional epexegetis differ from such as Buc. II 3, *densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos*. The last, like the cases of epexegetis by *et* or *que* collected by Norden at Aen. VI 24, fall under the heading *ἐν διὰ δυοῖν*, since the two substantives denote the same object, and the omission of one would leave the sense unimpaired; in the first the appositive adds a new element, necessary to the development of the conception, and is in fact an abbreviated clause. With Aen. VII 670 cf. Aesch. Prom. 807 f., *τηλουρὸν δὲ γῆν ἤξεις κελαιὸν φύλον*; we may translate "where the blacks live" or "the country of the blacks", but *φύλον* is not local, nor is *gentem*. With Georg. I. c., where the appositive denotes that which comes from the antecedent, cf. Eur. Phoen. 174, *σφάγια δ' ἄμ' αὐτῇ, γῆς φιλαίματοι ῥοαί*; contrast I. A. 1113 f., where *φυσήματα* is, after the more common form of speech, appositive to the clause. Aen. VIII 675, X 161 might be compared with Ov. Met. VI 131, *pictas, caelestia crimina, vestes*, and with Val. Fl. I 22 f., *Pelias . . . longus populis metus*, but for the fact that an habitually verbal substantive easily suggests concrete equivalents, whereas *bella* has no such plasticity, and *iter*, which might be plastic, has its concrete sense predetermined by long usage. But we have a parallel in Cic. Fin. II 19. 61, *P. Decius, princeps in ea familia consulatus*, and an interpretation in Off. I 39. 138, *Cn. Octavius, qui primus ex illa familia consul factus est*. It seems to me possible to explain by the same abrupt apposition Tac. H. I 2, *haustae et obrutae urbes, secundissima Campaniae ora*; and Browning, in the prologue to *Balaustion*, seems to have fallen into something of the sort: "We turned The glad prow westward;

¹ Flor. II 7. 1 is not parallel; the personal character of *gentes Macedonia*, etc. is marked by *neminem puduit*. And Caes. B. C. I 18. 1 is in so far different, as the passage from personal to local term is effected by the relative, which may involve a genitive; cf. Liv. XXI 5. 4 *quo metu*, XXII 17. 3 *quo discursu*.

soon were out at sea Pushing, brave ship with the vermilion cheek, Proud for our heart's true harbor".

Two cases of apposition in Virgil seem to require a separate explanation. In Aen. IV 40, *Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello*, it would be possible to say that *G. u.* = *Gaetuli*; but this will not do for I 339, *fines Libyci, g. i. b.*, where *Libyci* is predicate. Both passages may be explained from the fact that adjective = possessive genitive; the normal form of apposition would be *generis*, but the appositive is attracted by the form of its antecedent. For a somewhat different example of attraction by form prevailing over sense cf. Aen. III 390 ff., *sus triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit, alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati*. We should expect *albis natis*, since the young, both as a part of the omen and phraseologically after the three modifiers of *sus*, are only an accompaniment and characteristic of the mother; cf. VIII 82, *candida . . . cum fetu concolor albo . . . sus*. But asyndeton = *et* and *et* = *cum*: besides the nominative is the case of enumeration¹ (Gildersleeve, Gr. Synt. §8), and here we have an enumeration of attributes, *enixa, alba, recubans*, to the form of which the substantival attribute adapts itself, because the thought of enumeration has become stronger than that of attribution.

455 *manus*. To my former remarks on this word (A. J. P. XXV, p. 282), I have to add several passages in which *manus* appears either 1) in a significant conjunction with, or 2) as "a vivid physical substitute for", a word denoting labor: 1) Cic. Off. II 3. 13, N. D. II 60. 151; 2) Lucr. I 209, Cic. Off. I 3. 12, Rep. I 26. 41. The vividness of the substitute is blurred in Cic. Rep. III 9. 15, *Galli turpe esse ducunt frumentum manu quaerere, itaque armati alienos agros demetunt*, since the second action too is manual; it is emphasized by contrast in Verr. III 11. 27, *utrum est aequius . . . eum, qui manu quaesierit, an eum, qui digito sit licitus, possidere*.

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¹ Cf. Aen. I 639, VIII 678, X 498: passages distinguished from the others cited by Wagner on I 639 by the fact that, like the Greek instances given by Professor Gildersleeve, they show absolute nominatives following on an object accusative,

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Jordan, H., *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*. Erster Band, Dritte Abtheilung; bearbeitet von Chr. Huelsen. Berlin (Weidmann), 1907; XXIV-709, 11 Plates.

One of the greatest secrets of the strength and virility of German scholarship is its continuity, which in turn owes its presence to the strongly developed sense of "Pietaet", that ancient and mediaeval virtue of loving homage to the master. Those of us who realize its value will be pleased to see that it is still a vital force, and that the intellectual competition of modern Germany, almost as great as its commercial competition, has not caused it to be a discarded virtue. The most recent proof of its vitality is the appearance of what is really Professor Huelsen's own book in the disguised form of Band I, Abtheilung 3 of Heinrich Jordan's *Topographie*.

Some forty years ago Heinrich Jordan, then a young man of about thirty-four, set to work to revise Becker's standard book on Roman topography. Jordan's preliminary researches among mediaeval sources assumed such importance and such bulk that in 1871 they were published as Volume II of his book (Volume I had not yet appeared). Seven years later (1878) the first part of Volume I saw the light. It contained the historical introduction and the general description of the city. Again seven years later (1885) came the second part of Volume I, being the beginning of the detailed description of the various parts of the city. This section dealt with the Capitoline, and the Fora; and Jordan expected at that time to publish within a year the last instalment of Volume I, which was to contain the description of the rest of the city. Before the year had passed, Jordan's work was indeed complete, but it was his life rather than his book which was finished.

In the autumn of 1887 Chr. Huelsen, who had just been appointed Secretary of the German Institute in Rome, undertook the task of writing this last section of Volume I. Today after twenty years delay the missing section appears. Those who know the ceaseless activity of Huelsen, and the value of what he has accomplished both in connection with the Latin Corpus and in the stream of contributions to topography and epigraphy published principally in the *Roemische Mittheilungen* will not wonder at this delay. If they wonder at all, it will be in admiration of the man who was true to his "Pietaetsgefühl" and brought his offering "better late than never". We might almost

say "better late than earlier", considering the infinite value of those occupations which have interrupted him. Nay, some of us may go one step further and admire the sentimental impracticality of publishing the most recent results of topographical research in certain parts of the city as Section 3 of a volume, whose second section, written twenty-two years ago, deals with the remaining portions of the city, and as fate would have it with those portions (the Forum) in which revolutionary progress has been made; and whose first section deals with the general questions of Rome's origin and growth with the handicap of having been written almost a generation ago. Surely this is putting new wine into old bottles! The strangest part of the situation is that to find fault or to criticize would be totally to misunderstand the meaning of '*Pietät*', and to confess oneself a barbarian, devoid of finer feeling. We may consider it a misfortune that it has marred this one book, but we can have only praise for him who has done it, especially as Huelsen's own researches (cp. his articles in the *Roemische Mittheilungen*, and his excellent popular presentation, published in four languages and various editions) on the Forum enable us practically to substitute them for the major part of Section 2. What we really miss therefore and what we certainly have a right to hope for is a general treatment by Huelsen himself—under his own name and unhampered by any limitations except those which he himself has set—of those problems historically most important of all, which concern the origin and the early stages of Rome.

The present section is all of it Huelsen's own work, but though the work itself has been done entirely by him, the limitations are those of Jordan, and this fact makes criticism extremely difficult. In fact the only fundamental wide-reaching criticism against the book which suggests itself to me is scarcely fair under the circumstances, since it concerns a general problem and lay therefore outside Huelsen's task. It is the vital question as to the historical reality of the topographer's beloved scheme of Rome's growth: from *Roma Quadrata*, to the *Septimontium*, to the City of the Four Regions, and so to the Servian Wall. It was not Huelsen's business to enter extensively upon this, and yet it seems as though the chapter on the Palatine ought to contain a footnote referring to what is gradually becoming the accepted view of the new school of Roman history (cp. Degering, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1903, 1645-1646; and Koernemann, *Beitraege zur alten Geschichte*, Bd. V, 1905, p. 89) namely that the first city proper and the first *Pomerium* correspond to what the topographers call the City of the Four Regions, and that preceding this, the so-called *Septimontium*, known to us only in a religious observance, was merely a sacral gathering of the inhabitants of neighbouring villages; and finally that the venerable *Roma Quadrata* never existed as the unique nucleus of Rome, but was merely one of a number of villages on

hilltops along with the Capitoline, the Quirinal, and the Esquiline, and that as a matter of fact any one of the others may well be older than the Palatine.

These questions belong to the topographer quite as much as to the historian, and the fact that Richter in his otherwise admirable book and Huelsen in the present volume largely ignore them may well be merely a part of the weaker side of the heritage of Mommsenism, for Mommsen, infinite as are his deserts in other fields, has brought into vogue a stereotyped view of early Roman history, and an attitude of scepticism about ever knowing much more about it than we know at present (cp. S. Reinach in his *Préface to Modestov's Introduction à l'histoire Romaine*, Paris, 1907) from which only the very modern school of Roman history seems able to emancipate itself, while the majority of investigators in other lines unhesitatingly accept the traditional view.

It is not the place here to enter into a discussion of this particular theory, which is after all merely a theory, but attention is drawn to it in the hope that Professor Huelsen may be tempted to give his view of the matter, for there is scarcely anyone whose opinion would be more worth knowing.

Leaving these general questions and turning to the details of the present volume, one observes with pleasure the dedication to Georg Wissowa, a dedication amplified in the closing paragraph of the preface, and still further borne out by the constant use and quotation of the "Religion und Kultus" in the pages of the book itself. Theoretically this is as it should be, that the one on whom has fallen the mantle of Mommsen, the epigrapher, should cooperate with him who is Mommsen's successor in the field of Roman religion; and practically the gain to topography is immense considering that nine tenths of all the known buildings of the republic are temples. It is to be hoped that Richter in a new edition may follow this leading—in his last edition it was a much more difficult task, because the "Religion und Kultus" had not yet appeared.

The nineteen chapters of the book deal with thirteen of the fourteen regions of the city (Jordan in Section 2 had treated of one region, the eighth). This disposition by regions is to be highly commended. At first sight it seems awkward, even though it was the old method, in comparison with the larger units adopted by Richter and to some extent by Platner. But this awkwardness shows merely our own inability to grasp the ancient city as the Romans knew it. Their division into regions was based on practical and historical considerations, and one of the great aims of our topographical study is to obtain an instinctive familiarity with the regions.

To the average student the most useful part of the book will be the chapter on the Palatine, which may be unhesitatingly characterized as the best account in existence. It is interesting to see the new problematic location of the temple of Jupiter

Stator (pp. 22-23) east instead of west of the arch of Titus; and the denial (p. 44, Anm. 28) of the identity of the Curiae Veteres and the Curiae Saliorum; as well as the acceptance of Maass' theory of the Septizonium = Septizodium (p. 100). On the other hand there are several points which are doubtful. P. 46, it may be questioned whether Noctiluca was ever an *ἐπίκλησις* of Luna, and was not merely a poetical epithet. It is also very questionable whether the rooms under the so-called "Basilica" and "Peristyle" of the Domus Domitiana (p. 90) had anything to do with Augustus. Dr. Van Deman's recent (as yet unpublished) researches seem to disprove any connection. But of course the chief difficulty and the chief interest centre about the western corner. The dispute with Richter regarding the Victoria, Magna Mater, and Juppiter Victor temples still continues. In regard to the Juppiter Victor temple two things ought to be emphasized, first that Huelsen's identification of Juppiter Victor and Juppiter Propugnator (which is also printed on the map) is, so far as any evidence is concerned which I have been able to find, purely arbitrary. Secondly, stripped of Juppiter Propugnator, Juppiter Victor is of no more importance than many other deities for whom we do not feel it necessary to identify temples on the Palatine. Huelsen seems entirely to overlook the temple of Juppiter Victor on the Quirinal, and yet the finding of the archaic inscription (CIL VI 438) on the Quirinal makes it probable, according to the method which Huelsen himself accepts, that of locating temples by the finding of votive inscriptions, that a temple, possibly the great temple (that of Fabius Maximus Rullianus, vowed 295) was located on the Quirinal, and that the majority of references may well be to this temple. That there was however a temple of Juppiter Victor on the Palatine seems clear from the Notitia (the *Curiosum* omits the cognomen).

Regarding the burning point of the dispute, the location of the Victoria and Magna Mater temples, the logic of the situation seems to be with Huelsen, but the outward appearance of the sites themselves speaks for Richter. There may be room enough for scenic performances in front of the western temple, but certainly the eastern one seems much better adapted to the purpose; and again it seems much more likely that the temple of Victoria would be on the summit of the Palatine rather than half way up the side; the Victoria inscriptions could of course fall down hill. The "Clivus-Victoriae argument" can scarcely be used for either side. Is it possible that Huelsen's great argument, the finding of the torso, etc. of Magna Mater near the western temple, may be explained away as a memorial, perhaps in a chapel of the Victoria temple, to the Great Mother who had passed the first years of her residence in Rome in this very temple before her own was ready for her? If this possibility is admitted, then the greatest argument against Richter would seem to lose its cogency.

Next in interest to the Palatine are the four chapters (19, 20, 21, 22) on the Campus Martius. To any one who has not had the privilege of hearing Huelsen lecture on this subject the chapters will be an unmitigated joy. Those however who have heard those lectures will wish that the treatment had been more similar to that of the lectures, that is to say more strictly chronological. The local divisions into southern, middle, and northern part are difficult to preserve, and they fail to give an adequate idea of the genesis of the Campus Martius, especially of the rise of the suburbs outside of the Porta Carmentalis and the Porta Fontinalis. Incidentally one of these chapters (No. 20) contains several misprints in dates, which I take the liberty of correcting merely because the book is likely to be used by many of our students as an ultimate authority. P. 509, the temple of Juppiter Sospita is said to have been vowed in 197 (Liv. 32, 30, 10) and dedicated "vier Jahre spaeter", that would imply 193. But the Latin is quadriennium (Liv. 34, 53, 3) and means "drei Jahre", i. e. 194, which is actually the year under which Livy mentions it for the second time. P. 514, the great fire occurred in 213 (Liv. 24, 47, 15) not 212; p. 538, Metellus's triumph over Macedonia was in 146 not 149; p. 552, the temple of Bellona was vowed in 296 not 298.

Several other small matters may be worth mentioning: p. 114, the restoration to honour of Venus Obsequens and CIL X 885 and XIV 3569 is very valuable and on this question no one's word is comparable to Huelsen's. P. 115, the location of the temple of Sol outside the "Rennbahn" seems to presuppose that the temple was very old, and to neglect the connection between Sol (the quadriga) and Luna (the biga) and racing. P. 118, note 22, a reference would be in order on the disputed question as to whether the temple of Mercury was round or not. Richter's view that it was (Top. 180) has been refuted by Altmann, *Italische Rundbauten* (p. 21, Berlin, 1906). P. 159, there seems to be a failure to recognize the great age of the Minerva temple and her function as goddess of all handicraftsmen, to whom as a last touch centuries later the "scribae and histriones" were added. P. 522, the temple of Neptune was restored, not built by Ahenobarbus, cp. Liv. 28, 11, 4 in conjunction with Dio Cass. frg. 56, 62 Melb.

As one would expect from Weidmann the book is well printed. The maps however are disappointing, being rather confused and rather curiously cut up (cp. what is perhaps the best of them, No. 1 the Palatine, with the corresponding map in Richter, *Taf. 12*); it goes without saying that they are nevertheless extremely valuable.

We have every reason to be profoundly grateful for the publication of this book. It is a storehouse of information whose completeness for the parts covered leaves little to be desired. But we are importunate enough to look forward to the day when

Professor Huelsen will present us with a complete topography, aus einem Gusse, whose maps and other accompaniments will be worthy of the words of him who more than any living man has advanced the knowledge of the topography of ancient Rome.

Rome, April, 1907.

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.

Aegina. Das Heiligtum der Aphaia. Unter Mitwirkung von Ernst R. Fiechter und Hermann Thiersch herausgegeben von ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER, mit 130 Tafeln, 1 Karte, 6 Beilagen und 413 Abbildungen im Text. München, 1906. 2 vols. 4°. Pp. IX, 504.

Among recent archaeological publications this monumental work holds properly a high rank. The treatment of the subject is thorough, and the technical execution, both of text and plates, is excellent. Its appearance so soon after the conclusion of the excavations deserves much commendation and makes the reader lenient in criticism of the many misprints and errors of reference. The lack of an index is less easy to pardon. According to the division of labor among the authors, Fiechter contributes the chapter on architecture, Thiersch has charge of the pottery, bronzes and other smaller finds, while Furtwängler writes the important chapters on the name and sculpture of the sanctuary.

Since the announcements of discoveries, which were published from time to time in the course of the excavations, the name of Aphaia in connection with this temple has become familiar, but a full presentation of the question appears now for the first time. In regard to the deities formerly associated with the sanctuary, mention is made of the recovery of the forged inscription on which rested Cockerell's theory in favor of Zeus Panhellenios, who is thereupon dismissed; but the claims of Athena are discussed at considerable length. Since the time of Ross she has been regarded generally as the Goddess of the temple from the witness of several boundary stones with the inscription *ἑσος τεμένους Ἀθηναίας*, but Furtwängler shows that only one of these stones was found *in situ* far from the temple and close to the town, while the same inscription is cut in the living rock in a valley on the southern point of the island at the farthest possible distance from the temple. So he is undoubtedly right in declaring that these inscriptions can have no reference to any temple of Athena, but probably come from the time of the Peloponnesian war when the Athenians, after expelling the Aeginetans and settling their island, devoted certain portions of land to their Goddess.

But it is not justifiable to argue against Athena on the ground that as the patron of Athens she was the foe of Aegina. Such an

idea is wholly foreign to the polytheistic religion of the Greeks, who could afford to scorn no God, and in fact indulged in a practice just the opposite of that suggested. Cp. the famous instance in *Il.* VI 297 ff. The enmity between Athens and Aegina was not *primaeval*, but merely the result of mercantile rivalry beginning in the early sixth century. There is no *a priori* reason why the Aeginetians should not have worshipped Athena ages before that date. There is further not the slightest proof that they regarded her as a foe, but on the contrary we find her mentioned as their friend by Pindar, *N.* VII 143. The next point against Athena which rests on the silence of Pausanias is hardly more convincing if we remember that such omissions in Pausanias are not rare and that the temple was deserted in Roman times. But Pausanias does in fact mention a sanctuary of Aphaia which he locates on the way to the mountain of Zeus Panhellenios. This description does not fit the position of the present temple, and Furtwängler's suggestion that these two were the only sites worth seeing in the interior of the island and that one therefore was on the way to the other from the visitor's point of view is of course pure assumption. The next argument in favor of Aphaia is startling and shows that the author is willing to resort to extreme measures in order to support his case. In Herodotos III 59 where reference is made to the dedication of certain captured prows *ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ* he believes that *Ἀφαιίης* should be substituted for *Ἀθηναίης* on no other ground apparently than that such a sanctuary of Athena in Aegina is irreconcilable with his theory. These arguments are unconvincing, and Aphaia would not be considered in the matter were it not for the testimony of the inscriptions. In all only eleven were found in the sanctuary, on two of which the name Aphaia is fully preserved, while two others give it in part. The most important is the great archaic inscription which reads: "In the priesthood of Kleoitas the house (*οἶκος*) and the altar were built for Aphaia, the ivory was added and the precinct constructed". This is strong evidence, and yet the arguments for Athena have not been silenced and no word has been said about the statues of Athena found in the precinct. The matter is not yet satisfactorily settled.

We come next to Fiechter's admirable chapter on the architecture of the sanctuary which discusses the measurements and proportions of the earlier buildings as well as those belonging to the fifth century. Particularly instructive are the comparative tables which show at a glance the relation of the present temple to various others of the Doric order in their architectural properties. In this way it is proved that the date of the temple falls between that of the Athenian treasury at Delphi (510-490) and that of the Zeus temple at Olympia (470-457), while the degree of relationship shows that it is nearer to the former than the latter, a view which is substantiated by the style of the sculpture.

Very ingenious is Fiechter's explanation of the fact that all the columns of the peristasis are monoliths with the exception of three on the north side. Here was the best approach for the conveyance of the massive architectural members, and therefore the great monoliths were placed on the stylobate, and the cella walls were raised to an equal height before the opening on the north was closed. As there was no longer room for handling monoliths the final columns were constructed of drums. Another interesting detail of the building is the presence of a door in the west cella wall connecting the temple hall proper with the opisthodomos, where there is a stone table which would indicate that the opisthodomos was also used for sacrificial purposes. On the cella floor were found marks of the basis of the cult statue, which show that it was a small and probably seated figure, but give no further clue toward its identification. As no piece of the metopes was found, it is reasonable to accept the view that they were constructed of wood.

The heart of the book is devoted to the treatment of the sculpture which was the primary cause which led to the present excavations whose most conspicuous success rests on the light thrown by the new fragments on the existing groups. Beside the pieces of sculpture a few blocks of the floor of the pediment were found, which show the marks where the plinths of the statues were placed and thus furnish important evidence for the new arrangement. Furtwängler begins the chapter with a brief sketch of the history of the marbles referring to his *Beschreibung der Glyptothek* in Munich (1900) for all details. They were discovered by Cockerell and von Haller in 1811, and through a misunderstanding on the part of the English, were purchased by Bavaria, and after restorations had been made by Thorwaldsen were deposited at Munich in 1828. The new reconstruction rests on the recent discoveries, on the original notes of Cockerell and von Haller, and on a close study of the weathering of the marble. Its most important element is the determination of the position of a group of combatants on either side of Athena instead of the group in the centre which has hitherto been assumed as fixed. The discovery under the south half of the west pediment of a right hand holding a stone which lies on a block is an indication of the presence of a fourth fallen man in that pediment. This is further supported by the marks in a block of the pedimental geison of the west front which show a compact group of three persons, two facing each other over a third between. And finally, the necessary four combatants are supplied by the observation that the head on a fallen figure in the Glyptothek has a helmet with an ancient cutting at the top in proof that it belonged to a figure standing under the right slope of the pediment roof and that it was turned to the left. The warrior preserved, who is rightly turned to the left, as the weathering shows, has his original head; and hence there were two combatants turned to the left who demand

two opponents. Thus this grouping is well attested for the west pediment and while, as Furtwängler says, a similar arrangement is probable for the east, there is slight evidence for it.

Of the other figures in the west pediment there is a shifting of position in the case of each pair. Those in the corners exchange places because immediately under the south corner a right lower leg was found and identified as the piece missing from the figure in the Glyptothek which has always been placed in the opposite end. The new position agrees with Cockerell's original drawing which was made at the time and based on the place of discovery. The position of the next figure is fixed on the north side since a piece of the left leg and the left arm were found under that end and it was thus placed by Cockerell. The upright combatant is moved from the right to the left side and the bowmen exchange places on the witness of Cockerell alone. In the case of the bowmen the weathering proves that they were headed toward the corners, while those in the east pediment are shown in the earliest sketches as facing the centre. Again on the testimony of Cockerell the corner men in the east have their feet toward the corner, and the so-called "Zugreifender" in each case occupies the third place from Athena.

Such in outline is the new reconstruction which is final as far as it is based on facts though it may be doubted if it is legitimate to lay so much weight on the position reported by Cockerell. The main difference between the pediments is that there are two distinct groups on either side of Athena in the west in contrast to the single group in the east. The arrangement in the west is well supported and fairly satisfactory but in the east it rests chiefly on theory and is not convincing in all details. In the general style and execution of the individual figures the west pediment is more archaic than the east, which leads Furtwängler to the belief that the sculptures are the work of two different artists.

In addition to these works the new excavations have brought out the remarkable fact that the sanctuary contained another series of sculptures showing the hand of several other artists. Thirty-eight fragments were found on the east terrace of the precinct which indicate that there were other warriors very similar to those in the pediments in style, size, plan and conception, which yet could not have been in the pediments. There were found also pieces belonging to a third Athena and fragments of a third akroterion. As there is no building to which they could belong Furtwängler maintains that they were made in competition with those finally accepted for the temple and later bought and dedicated in the sanctuary, where there are great foundations on either side of the altar. This is a startling idea and it is hardly a comfortable parallel to refer to the Amazon statues bought after competition by the fabulously wealthy sanctuary of the Ephesian Artemis. Beside a slight difference in style the fragments are too numerous to be assigned to the pedimental groups, but there

is no proof to support the theory suggested. Further it is clear that in the position he selects the author himself furnishes an argument against the Aphaia theory, for no self-respecting Goddess would allow a hostile Athena to stand directly over her altar.

On the interpretation of the sculpture and the meaning of the groups the traditional view has been largely followed. Apart from the central figure in each group, Athena, the only member that can be identified is Herakles in the east pediment, who, though without the lion's skin, wears its head on his helmet. The statement that this representation of Herakles and a similar figure on a metope of the Athenian treasury at Delphi are the only examples of such representation in the whole realm of ancient art is distinctly extravagant in view of the vase at Bonn and the other instances cited by Körte (*Arch. Jahrb.* VII, p. 68 and VIII *Arch. Anz.*, p. 199), which at least leave the question an open one. A new interpretation is given to the so-called "Zugreifender". The discovery of his original arm which held a helmet and was raised at a different angle to the body, together with an examination of the evidence literary and monumental, has led Furtwängler to the conclusion that these figures are not there to seize the fallen body but are squires (*ὑπηρέται*), bearing the extra weapons of the master. But as the group arrangement of the east pediment is based only on theory any attempt to explain this puzzling figure seems futile. Athena, the dominating figure in each group, is declared by the author to have no relation to the temple but to be present only as the Goddess of battle (p. 310). This is surprising when taken in connection with the description of her as the foe of Aegina and inconsistent with the custom of representing the deity in the sculpture which was followed without exception in temples of the fifth century as far as our limited knowledge goes (see A. J. A. VIII, p. 18 ff.). If Furtwängler's arguments are sound, Athena is the most inappropriate deity that could have been placed in these pediments.

In his discussion of the position of the sculptures in the history of art our author is very successful, and we have interesting and instructive chapters on the development of pedimental sculpture in general, which our modern artists might study with much profit, the relation of the Aegina works to the vase paintings and their close connection with the Samian school of art. This last point is emphasized in an effort to prove that there was a school of marble sculpture in Aegina which was strongly influenced by the Samian artists. But it is remarkable that no word is said of the unmistakable signs of bronze influence on the statues themselves in view of the bronze tradition for which the island is famous.

The painting of the sculpture is treated at some length but without satisfactory result. From the few traces of color which remain Furtwängler argues that only two colors, red and blue, were used with perhaps the merest touch of gold for occasional contrast on a blue ground. As the works on the Akropolis show green and

yellow this does not seem very probable, but the theory is not as shocking as are the shades of red and blue which are selected. The whole matter is of course largely subjective and allowance must be made for the difficulty of reproducing on plates the colors of the models, but still the result is inconceivably harsh. Perhaps the most distressing detail is the Athena of the east pediment. Here Furtwängler in defiance of accepted theory and precedent paints the linen Ionian himation a single color, deep red, because there was found a small fragment of the lower edge of the back of the garment that was painted red. The author passes lightly over the aversion of the Greeks to paint completely large surfaces of their Parian marble and is little troubled by the fact that no Akropolis maiden shows any such himation, but rests his case on the parallel with the Apollo in Olympia whose mantle is painted red. This fact is mentioned several times, but it seems strange to compare the bit of color on the Apollo which was added only to break the glare of the marble with the great mass of Athena's garment. Further, there is too great a contrast between this figure and all the other female figures on the temple to whom are given garments painted like those of the Akropolis maidens in borders and rosettes. No one will disagree with Furtwängler in his declaration (p. 304) of the great need that is now felt for a satisfactory work on polychromy in Greek sculpture.

Among the briefer chapters, contributed by Thiersch, those on bronzes and on vases must be mentioned on account of their importance and the excellent way in which they are treated. Because of the division of labor it is inevitable that there should be some disagreement among the authors which makes some passages inconsistent with others. So, for example, we read in the last chapter (p. 490) that a view expressed by Fiechter in the early part of the work is false. Now Thiersch, agreeing with the common belief that there was a famous bronze school in Aegina, is surprised that no large bronzes and few small images even were found in the sanctuary. This fact leads him to the conclusion that it was an "ärmliches Landheiligtum", a view which is hard to reconcile with Furtwängler's description of a great national sanctuary in which captured prowls would be dedicated and treasure stored, and which could buy numerous pedimental statues not needed for the temple. Most of the bronzes found are articles for personal use and adornment, such as rings, pins, mirrors, knives, nails, etc., and of these by far the largest group is that of the pins used for fastening garments. This has led Thiersch to give a sketch of the history of the use of these pins from the early type of the straight stick pin to its gradual development into the fibula. It is an important study, but there is one point which should be criticised. Thiersch advances the theory that these pins were not dedicated alone but together with the garments in which they were used. But Herodotos (V 88) says that Aeginetan women dedicated chiefly

clothing pins to a particular sanctuary after the Athenian women had stabbed to death the sole survivor of the Aeginetan expedition, and there is a verification of this in the inventory of the treasure of the temple of Mnia and Auzesia which mentions over three hundred pins and then states that a few (thirteen in all) were dedicated on the garments. There is no reason for assuming a greater proportion in the case of other sanctuaries.

The chapter on vases is little more than a catalogue, as Furtwängler reserves the material for his own use in reconstructing the history of the sanctuary. They begin with the late Mycenaean period, ca. 1200, and practically cease with the Attic ware. The large number of groups represented is proof of the great mercantile activity of the people of the island. One point that should be mentioned, on which there is again a difference of opinion between Furtwängler and Thiersch, is in regard to the home of the Proto-Corinthian class. Both of the authors reject Professor Hoppin's theory expressed in the Argive Heraeum and Thiersch thinks that Aegina itself as well as Sikyon may be suggested as the place. The claims of Aegina, however, are denied by Furtwängler in his concluding chapter, who believes with Dragendorff that the greatest evidence now is in favor of Sikyon. But cp. A. J. P. XXVI, p. 465.

The last chapter, the history of the sanctuary by Furtwängler, is to some extent a summary of what has preceded. Worship on the site was begun about 1200 B. C. but no building of any kind was erected until the second half of the seventh century. This temple was superseded by a larger one in the first third of the sixth century which was burned perhaps by the Persians, and the great new building was constructed between 490 and 480. The cult declined rapidly in the Hellenistic age and in Roman times the sanctuary was totally deserted. This is an interesting section and a notable illustration of the information that can be gleaned by the expert from a careful excavation and exact study of successive deposits of pottery, of innumerable dedications and of architectural remains.

The book is the complete final publication of an archaeological unit, and in spite of some points that are open to criticism, is a brilliant and inspiring work of the highest value not only to artists and archaeologists but to all students of classical antiquity.

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REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK, VOL. IX. Second Half.

Pp. 353-354. E. Wölfflin, Das Adverbium recens. Recenter and recente are late and rare. Cases of recens in which the word may not be taken as an adj. are very scarce. The passage recens scrip. cited by Charisius, p. 216. 28 K is doubtful, since scrip. may stand for scripsit (= conscripsit) a usage found in Sall. and imitated by Julius Valerius. Another reminiscence of Sallust in Valerius is found on p. 30. 3 Kübler = 1. 20.

354. E. Wölfflin, Suilla. Sulla. The diminutive suilla (caro), beside porcina, bubula, etc., is first found in Varro, LL. 5. 108, an example which is not cited by the lexicons. The diminutive may be due to the fondness of the Romans for that meat. Suilla may also be the correct reading in a speech of C. Gracchus cited by Charisius, 197. 27 K. The suggestion is made that the personal name Sulla is derived from suilla rather than from sura.

355-446. G. Landgraf, Glossographie und Wörterbuch. An examination of the material in the fourth and fifth volume of the CGL. with reference to its use in the lexicons. Careful consideration of each case is necessary, since many apparently archaic or vulgar forms are mere errors of copyists, while on the other hand genuine words may be recovered from such erroneous forms. After illustrating these points by examples, the writer considers a large number of glosses in alphabetical order with the result of finding many new words and rare forms. An index follows of the words not treated in alphabetical order.

446. G. Landgraf, Die Accusativform inguinem bei Ennius. An example from Ennius in Corp. Gloss. V. 581. Also two others from the Corp. Gloss.

447-452. E. Wölfflin, Die Lokalsätze im Lateinischen. An examination of the various forms of these clauses. The mood is the indicative, except in the indefinite second person singular, but in silver Latin the subjunctive is used of repeated action and in late Latin without discrimination.

453-457. O. Hey, Accessus. Accido. Lexicon articles.

458. E. Wölfflin, Der generelle Plural der Eigennamen. This is mostly found in cases and declensions where no ambiguity is possible, thus Camillos and Scipionibus but not Catilinae. Exceptions occur especially in Greek names.

459-463. Miscellen. O. Hey, Acessio—acessus. Explanatory notes to the lexicon article on pp. 453-457.

E. Lattes, Hirquitallus. Formed from *hirquita, fem. of hircuus, hircus (cf. Neverita, ALL. VIII. 496). Would class these words with Geneta, Moneta, etc., and derive from nomina agentis gene-, mone-, etc. which are lost in Latin but occur in some cases in the other Italic Dialects.

J. v. d. Vliet, Compilare. Concipilare. Examples of the confusion of these two words, the former in the sense of verberare, with notes on some passages in Apuleius.

F. Abbott, Valde in den Briefen an Cicero. The fact that valde occurs in many of the correspondents of Cicero makes it improbable that its use was due to imitation, but suggests that the usage existed in the sermo cottidianus of educated men of Cicero's time and was introduced into literature (rhetorical and philosophical works) by him.

C. W., Decies milies. A note on the article in ALL. IX. 177 fol.

464-480. Review of the Literature for 1894 and 1895.

481. Bericht der Kommission für den Thesaurus Linguae Latinae über die Pfingstkonferenz zu München, 3 und 4 Juni, 1895.

484. E. Wölfflin. An appeal for special lexicons to the authors after Tacitus.

485-491. H. Blase, Amabo. Amplification and correction of the treatment of this phrase in the lexicons. The formula belongs to the everyday language of early times and is found especially in comedy. It was joined paratactically to an imperative clause, without restriction as to word order, and by ellipsis of a verb of saying to an interrogative sentence. It was at first volitive, then by omission of the second personal pronoun became equivalent to "please". It is usually uttered by women to men. Plautus uses it seldom of men to women and generally for comic effect; only once of a man to a man. Cicero adopted the phrase in his letters, but without regard to the limitations in its use. He therefore differs in some particulars from the usage of early Latin.

492. E. Wölfflin, Est invenire. This phrase is the equivalent of the Greek ἔστιν εὑρεῖν and is found especially in writers influenced by Greek. Est videre, on the other hand, is preferred in prose, is earlier, and is not of Greek origin. ἔστιν εἰρεῖν is seldom or never translated into Latin. Examples of est videre are given additional to those cited in ALL. II. 133 fol. The earliest example of a deponent inf. in such a phrase appears to be magis sit opinari quam scire in Cic. ad Att. 9. 7⁴. 2 (Balbus).

492. C. W., Infinitiv auf -uiri bei Augustinus. In Epist. XXVIII. 4. 6, p. 112. 13 Goldbacher, prosperat uiri of cod. Pari-

sinus (fourth century) should be written prosperatui. G. reads prosperatum iri.

493-521. E. Wölfflin, *Die Latinität des Benedikt von Nursia*. The *Regula Monachorum* of Benedict of Nursia is especially adapted to give testimony to the Latinity of his period (6th century) because it appears in MSS of the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries. The work is subjected by the writer to a careful examination, under the usual heads. The first edition of the work, best preserved in cod. Oxoniensis, gives us the natural language of Benedict, unaffected by classical influences, that is to say, the popular language of the day.

521. E. Wölfflin, *Redaedifico in der lex Ursonensis*. An example in tab. 2, line 20, where the stone has *rearaedificaturum*.

522. E. Wölfflin, *Inauratura*. An example of this word in Cantor's edition of the *Agrimensores* (Leipzig, 1875, p. 213, § 25) in the sense of the surface of a sphere. The word is used later in a technical sense in the writers on geometry.

522. E. Wölfflin, *Didascalia apostolorum*. Vulgar and rare words from this work (4th century) of which fragments were discovered by Hauler and Studemund in cod. palimpsest. Veron. LV (53).

523-526. L. Havet, *Vulba. Viuenna, buuile, rauula, rauilla*. These words, of which the correct spelling is given in the title, are misspelled in modern times, through errors arising from the confusion of b and consonant u in later Latin.

527-545. E. Wölfflin, *Das Duodecimalsystem mit den Probeartikel duodecim und sexaginta*. The contest between the system of reckoning by decades and the duodecimal system began in pre-literary times and in the classical period both existed side by side. The writer regards the decimal system as the older. An examination of the uses of duodecim and sexaginta and variations on these is followed by lexicon articles on the two numerals.

546. C. W., *Glossographisches zu Archiv IX*. 355 fol. Some notes on the article of Landgraf.

547-548. O. Schwabe, *Zwei unedierte Deklamationen des Calpurnius Flaccus*. These are found in the cod. Chigianus (H VIII 261), but are not found in the edition of Burmann nor in cod. Monac. 309. The first forms the conclusion to Burmann's 31 and the beginning of a new declamation, the conclusion of which is the present conclusion of Burmann's 31. The second is a new declamation inserted between 43 and 44.

549-565. G. Landgraf, *Ueber die Latinität des Horazscholasten Porphyrio*. Porphyrio shows characteristics of African Latin corresponding with that of the earlier African writers, Apuleius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius and Lactantius, as well

of the earlier translations of the Bible. Hence the assignment of his life to the first half of the third century is made very probable.

565. G. Landgraf, Zu S. 355 ff. "Glossographie und Wörterbuch". Corrections furnished by Schmitz and Stowasser.

566. G. Landgraf, Quocirca, idcirco, quapropter. Quocirca appears first in Varro, who is followed by Cicero, while Caesar avoids the word. Idcirco occurs in Plautus and Terence and is used twice by Caesar, once in the Bell. Gall. It is found once in Sall., and more frequently in Cic. Quapropter, which is found in early Latin poetry and was introduced into prose by the Auct. ad Herennium, is also most frequent in Cicero. It is not used by Caesar.

567-573. E. Wölfflin, Zur Alliteration. Notes on the principles of the subject, suggested by O. Keller's Grammaticische Aufsätze (Leipzig, 1895) pp. 1-72. In Greek alliteration is practically unknown, on account of the accentual system of the language. In Latin not a few cases of so-called alliteration are due to chance, as Venus Victrix beside numerous unalliterative epithets, and more maiorum, where no other choice of words is possible; cf. on the other hand Venus volgivaga (Lucr.). Praenomina are often chosen for alliterative effect, but in the case of names the alliteration is often accidental, as in Cato Censorinus, Metellus Macedonicus, etc. In the case of words compounded with prepositions the alliteration is not always with the preposition, as Keller maintains. Alliteration of aspirates with *tenuēs* is found in the period when the aspirates did not exist in Latin and also in later times. Occasionally *tenuēs* and *mediae* are found in alliterative relations, as *carus* and *gratus*, *cor* and *genium*, and also two or more consonants at the beginning of a word. Anaphora must be distinguished from alliteration. The latter is not common in compound words, on account of the rarity of these in Latin, and where it is found, it is not easy to say whether it is accidental or intentional. The same thing is true of formulas like *ex senati sententia*. The signification of a word is sometimes affected through its use in alliterative combinations, for example *vanus* (cf. *vacuus*) through contrast with *verus*. Alliteration is most frequent in early Latin, while alliteration of three or more words is rare in prose. Complete lines in which each word begins with the same letter are found as early as Naevius.

574. E. Wölfflin, Zum S. C. de Bacanalibus. *Magister* (line 10) is epicene. *Magistra* is found first in Terence. In line 12 *quisquam* should be read instead of *quiquam*.

574. E. Wölfflin, *Convivalis*. *Convivalis*. The former is derived from *conviva* or *convivo* contrary to the statements of Forcellini, Klotz and Georges, the latter only from *convivium*. The former is not found earlier than Livy, and the examples of the latter are for the most part doubtful or false.

575-577. O. Hey, *Accidens-Accidentia*. Lexicon articles.

577. P. Geyer, *Männliche Verbalsubstantiva mit dem Casus des Verbums*. In the *Passio Perpetuae*, p. 62. 5 (ed. of Armitage Robinson, Cambridge, 1891) *cod. Casinensis* gives *administratur* which should be retained as a noun of agency (cf. French nouns in *-teur*) or altered to *administrator*. Other examples of such nouns with objects are cited from late Latin.

578. E. Lattes, *Faluppas*. The existence of this word in Latin is shown by *Ital. faloppa* (cf. *ALL. IX. 416, 445*).

578. J. H. Schmalz, *Sorte ductus*. The earliest example of this phrase is found in *Cic. De Rep. 1. 51*. It is first cited by the lexicons from Sallust. The original construction must have been *sortem ducere*.

579-585. E. Wölfflin, *Accidia—accludo*. Lexicon articles.

585. A. Sonny, *Ortus = Quelle*. An example from Avienus, *Or. Marit. 61*.

586. P. Geyer, *Oratio = Gebet*. This meaning, which is found in Tertullian, is doubtful for Minucius Felix.

586. E. Wölfflin, *Accieo*. Would read this word in *Sen. Thyest. 983*. Other examples.

587-591. A. Funck, *Accipiter. Acclamatio. Acclamo*. Lexicon articles.

591-592. A. Zimmermann, *Dunc. Quandon?* Two new instances of the former (*CIL. VI. 11252* and *18086*). The latter, which is parallel to *donecum*, appears in *CIL. VI. 22275, 25905, 27546, 29910*, and in *Orelli, II. c. XX. 4374*.

592. A. Zimmermann, *Lateinische Tiernamen aus Menschennamen*. This usage, familiar in German, is found also in Latin. Some examples are given.

593-599. *Miscellen. K. Dziatzko, Zu den Helmstedter Glosarfragmenten*. Corrections of the publication of these in *CGL. II. 559 ff.*

W. Heraeus, *Zu Keils Juvenal-Glossen*. Some additions to these (*CGL. V. 652 ff.*) as well as some from Horace and Persius. *Imaguncula (icuncula, plaguncula)*. Additional examples of the first. The other two words have no place in the lexicons. *Primum pilum deducere*. This phrase occurs occasionally as a variant reading for *primum pilum ducere*. The word-play in *Ovid, Amor. 3. 8. 27 proque bono versu primum deducite pilum* suggests that it may be the correct reading in some cases. *Paeidus*. The examples of the word cited by the lexicons are doubtful. A genuine instance in *Apul. Met. 5. 10. Oculis contractare*. Some additional examples. The use of the phrase in *Lact. Opif. D. 1. 15* is unique in not being used of lascivious

glances. Milia mit dem Genetiv. Additional instances. The usage appears first apparently in Lucilius. Verg. Aen. 1. 491 mediis in milibus ardet and Hor. Sat. 1. 6. 111 milibus aliis are bold uses which do not seem to be paralleled elsewhere. Praeverto und praevertor. The former in the sense of 'prefer' in a fragment of Sallust in CGL. V. 136. 23. The perfect of the latter (contrary to Georges) in Fronto, 129 N.

W. M. Lindsay, Spätlateinische Randglossen in Nonius. The cod. Harleianus contains two series of glosses, of which one is not known from other sources. Some examples of these are given. M. Bréal, Stantes Missi. In this phrase, which occurs in two inscriptions, the meaning is "liberty to the victor" and stantes (stans) is the opposite of cadere, succumbere.

600-623. Review of the Literature for 1895.

623-625. Necrology. Karl Ernst Georges and Martin Hertz, by the Editor.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

PHILOLOGUS, LXV (N. F. Bd. XIX), 1906.

I, pp. 1-23. O. Immisch, Ein Gedicht des Aristoteles. (Fr. Aristot. 673 Rose ed. min.) Summary on p. 12: Aristotle is the donor of the altar which stood by Plato's tomb. The inscription has come down to us. Aristotle himself has told us about it in a poem to the Rhodian Eudemos. Into it he has inserted the pentameter of the inscription without change. Olympiodoros knows of the poem, the others of the distich alone; only in the Vita Marciana is any allusion recognizable to the poem. Immisch proposes εὐσεβίαν σεμνήν φιλήν in vs. 2 and οὐδ' ἔτι in the last.

II, pp. 24-90. A. Roemer, Zur Würdigung und Kritik der Tragikerscholien. An attempt to sift and test by various norms the material offered by the scholiasts. 1. Comparison of our sources. 2. The plan of the ὑπομήματα of the Alexandrine philologists on the Greek dramatists. 3. Treatment of Mythology in the scholia to the tragedies. 4. The same in later time. 5. Contradictions and attempts at harmonizing. 6. The critics of Euripides and the Sophocles-enthusiasts. 7. Treatment of dramaturgy by the ancient commentators. 8. The διδρασι (the περίπατοι) of Euripides. 9. Estimate of πιθανότης. 10. The problem of morality. 11. Scenic questions. 12. Homeric citations. 13. Principles of this spurious philology.

III, pp. 91-96. A. Holder, Zu Avianus. Collation of the Reichenauer Codex LXXIII at Karlsruhe, saec. X.

IV, pp. 97-127. A. Klotz, Ueber die Expositio totius Mundi et gentium. Over against Sinko, A. L. L. XIII, 1904, p. 531-574, Klotz maintains (p. 114) that the work is a translation from the Greek, as has generally been accepted.

V, pp. 128-141. W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Athen zur Königszeit*. Reply to E. Drerup, *Philol.* (1905, p. 66 ff.) on the Pelargikon, the Pnyx and Thukydides' testimony as to the oldest Polis. Page 138-141 D. summarizes his views given at length before in *Athen, Mitt.* 1895, p. 189 ff.; *Rh. Mus.*, 1896, p. 127 ff. At the time of the Kings Athens was a fortified castle, whose wall had been built by the ancient Pelasgians. The citadel consisted of an upper and a lower fort, which were still extant at the time of the Persian war. Themistokles substituted for the lower fort a new fortified lower-city. The big lower-city now became the new Polis, the enclosed part of the ancient Polis, the acropolis. The shrines originally lay only inside the citadel as far as there was room; those outside were close to the gate on the slope of the hill. Just outside the gate was the spring Kalirrhoe.

VI, pp. 142-153. L. Radermacher, *Griechischer Sprachbrauch* (cf. *Philol.* LXIII. 1), cites an additional reason for athetizing Eurip. *Elektra* 17, and for reading *δοπολῶν* in *Kyklops* 74,—namely a characteristic ellipsis. In *Ion*. 98 f. *ιδίαις* is supported by the usage in Demosthenes *adv. Mid.* 52. The words *καίρια*, *ὑμνος* (in late writers = sermon), *περίοδος* (in Dion. of H. as 'strophe').

Miscellen.

1. pp. 154-156. M. Wundt, *Antigone* v. 569. The allusion is to dowry; *γύης* refers to a landed estate.

2. pp. 156-157. K. Horna, *Kritische Miscellen zu Plato. Laches*, 187.

3. pp. 157-159. R. Reitzenstein, *Zu Laevius*. Laevius at the close of his *Erotopaignia* had a poem to Venus in the form of a *Pterygion Phoenicis*. In this he imitated the "Wing of Eros" of Simmias, which without serving any real mystical purpose dealt with mystical representations.

4. pp. 159-160. O. Crusius, *Alpheus-Olphius* (*Martial IX.* 95). The pun is on the phrase alpha-omega, the first and the last.

5. p. 160. O. Crusius, *ΓΕΡΡΑ ΝΑΞΙΑ*, a pun, either *γέρρα Νάξια* or *γέρρ' ἀνάξια* ("worthless jokes").

VII, pp. 161-192. C. Hentze, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Finalsätze auf Grund der homerischen Epen*. An examination of (1) the final use of the infinitive. (2) the future participle. (3) *μή* clauses with subj. and cases of parataxis. (4) *ῥῥα* compared with *ἵνα*. (5) explanation of the final use of *ῥῥα* from the temporal use. (6) *ἵνα* (never with *κέν* or *ἀν*), and most frequently with *μή*. 7. Final use of *ὥς* (without *κέ* or *ἀν*). 8. *ὅπως*. 9. *ἔως* (*Odys.* alone). 10. From this usage the following results are found (p. 192). Books B-I agree with the accepted later books of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; whereas *ΑΠΙΧ* belong to an early age.

VIII, pp. 193-247. D. Müller, *Analyse des Zwölften und Zehnten Buches der Odyssee*. After laying down his principles

of investigation, M. treats successively of the motive of Helios' Wrath; Circe's instruction to Odysseus; the ancient ground-work (a) the lay of the Sirens; (b) Skylla and Charybdis; (c) the adventure on Thrinakia. 5. The Circe-lay. 6. Character and tendency of the revision. General summary of results, p. 246-247, in ι , κ , μ there are two different strata of tradition, an older stratum, over which rests and into which occasionally enters the later elaborate revision of the poet of our Odyssey. In this ancient stratum there is nothing Trojan or Heroic, nothing specifically 'Homeric.' It would seem more likely that an older work of different sort had been adapted by the poet of the Odyssey.

IX, pp. 248-282. S. Eitrem, Der homerische Hymnus an Hermes. The results of the analysis are given on p. 282. Many paths lead us to Attika and the century of the great tragedians for the place and time of the origin of this hymn. The occasion was probably the feast of the *terpadiotai*. There is no deeper religious significance in the poem.

X, pp. 283-288. L. Erhardt, Zum Text von Tacitus' Germania. Emendations to the text as given in Müllenhoff's edition. C. 8 would retain *nobiles* of the MSS; so c. 30 he would retain *Romanae* (for *ratione*); in c. 23 he reads *vincerentur*; c. 45 *degenerarunt*; in c. 37 would omit *et ipso et ipse*, and in c. 4 omit *aliarum nationum*.

XI, pp. 289-306. A. Müller, Exkurs zu Tacitus' Histor. I 46. On the authority of centurions to grant furloughs to the private soldiers (the right belonged to independent commanders only), on the remission of *munera* or *munia*; the decree of Otho to pay from the *fiscus vacationes annuae* of the centurions; on the *stellatura*, etc.

XII, pp. 307-316. Th. Stangl, Sprachliches zu Florus 'Vergilius orator an poeta.'

Miscellen.

6. pp. 317-318. J. Baunack, *ἀμαρα* = sincere.

7. p. 318. H. Deiter, Zu Cicero pro Roscio Amerino 5, 11 reads *e . . . dimittendis suis*.

8. pp. 318-319. H. Deiter, Kritische Bemerkungen zu Ciceros philosophischen Schriften.

9. p. 320. Cr. Analogien zur homerischen Skylla in der mykenischen Kunst.

XIII, pp. 321-356. A. v. Domaszewski, Beiträge zur Kaiser-geschichte. 1. The Dacian wars of Trajan on the reliefs of the Column. 2. Aristides' Speech *εἰς βασιλέα* (35 Keil=9 Dind.). It is by the Athenian Sophist Callinicus of Petra, the *προσφωνητικὸς Γαλιηνῶ*.

IV, pp. 357-381. M. Wundt, Die Schlusscene der Sieben gegen Theben. An argument for the genuineness of the scene.

It is an anachronism. There can be no doubt that the fight over the burial of the traitor Polyneikes possessed a very real interest at that time. The question was, was Polyneikes really a traitor? Whether he ought not to have yielded to his foes, while the gods of his home remained propitious to him.

XV, pp. 382-387. L. Gurlitt, Timotheos und sein Gedicht zu Ehren der Opis zu Ephesos. In Macrob. Sat. V. 22, 4 in the second Greek pentameter read χρυσείων δέκ' ἐπὶ ἃν δὴ τότε χιλιάδα. The sum received was 10 gold shekels.

XVI, pp. 388-396. A. Körte, Zum attischen Erbrecht. The grandfather could prefer his grandchildren before his nephews—he had only to adopt them, but this he did not do in Isaïos VIII, 36.

XVII, pp. 397-409. K. Linde, Beiträge zur Erklärung und Kritik des Platonischen Phädon. I. Cases where the MS authority is kept. II. Lacunae. III. Interpolations.

XVIII, pp. 410-424. R. Asmus, Vergessene Physiognomonika. In Vol. II of the *Scriptores physiognomonic*, p. 233 f. Förster in his *Sylloge locorum physiognomonicorum* omits some passages relating to the emperor Julian of interest partly for the knowledge of his person, partly for the interpretation of his writings. I. The portrait of Julian in Gregorius Nazianzenus. II. The love-sick Antiochus in Misopogon, pp. 447-8. III. Diodoros of Antioch. IV. Racial types. V. The Jews.

XIX, pp. 425-463. R. Hildebrandt, Rhetorische Hydraulik. An attempt to obtain from poetic and rhetorical sources new light on the subject of the water-organ, and at the same time to discover how close the several writers kept to the well-known principles of ἐκφρασις.

XX, pp. 464-471. J. Oeri, Oberrheinisches bei Horaz. The person referred to in Hor. Sat. I. 10, 35; II. 5, 40 and ars poet. 14 ff. is taken to be a Furius (different from Furius of Antium and Furius Bibaculus) from Cisalpine Gaul, who is here said to have written a description of the course of the Rhine from its Alpine source, which would suit all the passages.

Miscellen.

10. pp. 472-474. K. Lincke, Zu Parmenides *περὶ φύσεως*, v. 31 f. reads *χρη' ὀδυκέως*.

11. pp. 474-475. J. Baunack, Zur ältesten Grabinschrift aus der Megaris. In the insc. publ. by Wilhelm, Athen. Mitt. XXXI (1906), 89-93, read *ἐλπίδες* for *ἐνπίδες*.

12 pp. 475-477. F. Hommel, Zu Uranios und Glaukos. Glaukos wrote about 200 A. D., hardly later, in case he was not a contemporary of Ptolemy. Uranios is at the earliest to be placed in the fourth century.

13. p. 478. A. Zimmermann, Randglossen. Other instances like Alfius-Olphius are discussed (cf. above, p. 159 f.). The latter is a case where for purposes of derision a Roman name is grecized.

14. pp. 478-480. M. Manitius, Dresdener Priscian Fragmente.

XXI, pp. 481-489. L. Büchner, Hafen Panormos und Vor- gebirg Palinuros auf der Insel Samos. Livy's Panhormus Samiae terrae is the harbor of Wathy and the promontory "Palinurus" is Domús Burnú.

XXII, pp. 490-544. M. Mayer, Zur Topographie und Ur- geschichte Apuliens. 1. Pliny's description of Apulia needs careful textual revision, and must in any case be used with great caution. 2. Topographical studies. 3. The oldest Japygian cities and tribes. 4. The alleged Italic elements among the Japygians.

XXIV, pp. 545-557. W. Nestle, Der Dualismus des Em- pedokles. We find in E. a dualism carried out logically, on the one hand, the world of matter in eternal change through mingling and separating of the elements according to mechanical laws; and on the other, the incorporeal world of spirits. It differs from Plato's in that in the former matter is of more importance, and is the object of serious empirical investigation.

XXV, pp. 558-566. W. Schmid, Uebersehenes Citat eines griechischen Troiaromans, Synesios (Encom. calv. 19, p. 1197 D. Migne). It is traced back to Dares; if this is not accepted it would at any rate go back to a Greek Dictys.

XXVI, pp. 567-603. M. Rabenhorst, Die Indices auctorum und die wirklichen Quellen der Naturalis historia des Plinius. (Study of the sources of the N. H. part two). Brunn's law does not hold that the citations of authors are as a rule made in the same order as their names appear in the *indices*. R. holds that Pliny made these indices in order to give the appearance of erudition and also to make it as difficult as possible to check his use of his chief sources. These chief sources date from the early empire, not from the republic.

XXVII, pp. 604-629. Th. Zielinski, Textkritik und Rhyth- musgesetz in Ciceros Reden. Examination of 39 passages from the Pompeiana. The rejected M is shown to be one of the best MSS.

XXVIII, pp. 630-636. R. Herzog, Dorier und Ionier (on IG. XII. 5, 225) emends the inscription, ἀκούρη and δούλωι. The long hair is taken to be in contrast to the Dorians. Foreigners and slaves were kept from participation in the religious worship. Miscellen.

15. p. 637. W. Schmid, AMATA. Cf. p. 317. The sense is *ipsissimus*.

16. pp. 637-8. J. Baunack, ἐνίωρα "in die Höhe". Emends an inscription in Arch. Anzeig. Bd. XXI (1906), p. 24.

17. p. 638. E. F. Krause, Zu Horaz Sat. I. 8, 39 emends Iulius to Vilius.

18. pp. 638-9. A. Becker, Eine Virgilreminiszenz in Wielands Oberon.

19. pp. 639-640. O. Crusius, Vergilius und Kleio. On the spelling in German of the name of the muse.

Indices.

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Janvier.

Gédéon Huet. La Version néerlandaise des Lorrains: Nouvelles études. 23 pages. This interesting article is divided into the following sections: I. Date du poème néerlandais; II. Le poème néerlandais est-il original ou traduit du Français? III. Données nouvelles sur le contenu de la branche néerlandaise; IV. Notes supplémentaires: *a.* Récits légendaires sur Hasting; *b.* Sur un épisode des Lorrains néerlandais.

P. Meyer. Notice du ms. 9225 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (Legendier français). 20 pages. This article is one of a series describing manuscripts which contain collections of Old French lives of saints and similar legends. The present collection is compared with other similar collections, and a detailed description of its contents is given.

D. de Bartholomæis. De Rambaut e de Coine. 11 pages. This poem is a *jeu-parti* dealing with a question of love. It is published in a critical edition with a full commentary.

A. Thomas. Le Roman de Goufier de Lastours. 11 pages. This is a Latin prose text published from two Paris manuscripts.

John Taggart Clark. L'Influence de l'accent sur les consonnes médiales en Italien. 21 pages. The theory propounded by Meyer-Lübke is here opposed at considerable length. This article is an extract from a Harvard thesis written under the guidance of Prof. Charles H. Grandgent.

Mélanges. P. Meyer, De quelques manuscrits français conservés dans les bibliothèques des États-Unis. P. Meyer, La chanson des Clowecons. P. Meyer, L'inscription en vers de l'épée de Gauvain. Jessie L. Weston, Wauchier de Denain and Bleheris (Bledhericus). A. Thomas, Pour un "Dictié de la Vierge Marie": Fait divers parisien (1401). A. Thomas, Anc. franç. loirre, loitre. A. Thomas, Anc. franç. rousseruel, roseruel. A. Thomas, Anc. franç. rovent. J. Désormaux, Savoyard viorba, viorbe.

Comptes rendus. Gaston Paris, *Sur l'Appendix Probi.* III (M. Roques). Lucy Allen Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (A. Jeanroy). Nicola Zingarelli, *Dante* (Paget Toynbee). Ernst Hoepffner, *Eustache Deschamps: Leben und Werke* (G. Raynaud). W. Heymann, *Französische Dialektwörter bei Lexikographen des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (A. Thomas). Eugène Lintilhac, *Histoire générale du théâtre en France: I. Le théâtre sérieux du moyen âge* (A. Thomas). A. Tobler, *Etymologisches* (A. Thomas). Paul Sébillot, *Le Folklore en France: I. Le Ciel et la Terre* (P. Meyer).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXVIII. 5 (M. Roques, with discussion of etymologies). *Romanische Forschungen*, XIV (M. Roques). *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, I-XVIII (P. Meyer). *Revue de philologie française et de littérature*, XVII-XVIII (P. Meyer). *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, I (P. Meyer).

Chronique. Obituary notice of Baron d'Avril. Burning of the Turin library. Simplification of French orthography.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 30 titles. *L'origine et le parler des Canadiens français*, Québec, 1903. *Le roman de la Violette: a Study of the Manuscripts and the Original Dialect*, by Douglas Labaree Buffum. *A Contribution to the Study of the French Element in English*, by Jules Derocquigny.

Avril.

A. Thomas. *Gloses provençales inédites tirées d'un ms. des Derivationes d'Ugucio de Pise* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 7622). 29 pages. These glosses were made in the Latin manuscript by various Provençal readers in explanation of difficult Latin words in the text.

G. Huet. *Sur quelques formes de la légende du Chevalier au Cygne*. 9 pages. This article is divided into the following sections: I. *Le récit du Dolopathos: son origine*; II. *Sur certaines versions du groupe "Beatrix"*.

P. Meyer. *Notice du ms. 305 de Queen's College, Oxford (Légendier français)*. 22 pages. This French manuscript of the fifteenth century is the most bulky of all the French collections of lives of the saints that have come down to us from the Middle Ages. It is here compared with the somewhat similar manuscript at Paris, Bibl. Nat., fr. 987, although the latter is a much smaller work.

Raymond Weeks. *Études sur Aliscans (suite)*. 41 pages. This instalment of the article contains: V. *Foucon de Candie*; VI. *La chanson de Willame*; VII. *Témoignage des autres chansons de geste au sujet de l'emplacement de la bataille*; VIII. *Témoignage des chroniques*; IX. *Les étapes de la légende*.

Mélanges. P. Meyer, L'inscription en vers de l'épée de Gauvain. Gaston Raynaud, Une nouvelle version du fabliau de La Nonnette. A. Thomas, Ponthus de la Tour-Landri. A. Thomas, Normand caieu "moule". A. Thomas, Français milouin. A. Thomas, Prov. colonhet et colonhier "fusain". Albert Dauzat, Provençal bodosca, bedosca. C. Nigra, *Trekawda (Haute-Savoie), trekawdé, trakudé (Aoste), etc.

Corrections. A. Mussafia, Per il Tristano di Beroul, ed. Muret.

Comptes rendus. Mélanges de philologie offerts à Ferdinand Brunot (A. Thomas). G. Durville, Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Musée Thomas Dobrée, Tome I^{er} Manuscrits (P. Meyer).

Dr. Robert Kaltenbacher, Der altfranzösische Roman "Paris et Vienne" (P. Meyer). L.-H. Labande, Antoine de La Salle, nouveaux documents sur sa vie et ses relations avec la maison d'Anjou; Werner Söderhjelm, Notes sur Antoine de La Sale et ses œuvres (Gaston Raynaud). J. Trenel, L'Ancien Testament et la langue française du moyen âge (E. Bourciez). Franz Settegast, Quellenstudien zur galloromanischen Epik. Edward Porębowicz, Études sur l'histoire de la littérature du moyen âge (J. H. Reinhold). Dr. Leo Wiese, Die Lieder des Blondel de Nesle, kritische Ausgabe nach allen Handschriften (A. Jeanroy). C. H. Grandgent, An Outline of the Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal (A. Thomas).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXVIII. 6 (M. Roques, with discussion of etymologies). Romanische Forschungen, XV (M. Roques). Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris, IX-XII (A. Thomas). Bulletin de la Société liégeoise de littérature wallonne, XLII.

Chronique. Obituary notices of Giusto Grion and Marcel Schwob. M. Henri Marcel has succeeded M. Léopold Delisle as Administrateur de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 8 titles. Ch. H. Haskins, The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century. Stanley Leman Galpin, "Cortois and Vilain": A Study of the Distinctions made between them by the French and Provençal Poets of the Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. Juillet.

A. Thomas. Le Nominatif pluriel asymétrique des Substantifs masculins en ancien Provençal. 11 pages. The grammatical peculiarity here treated of is in strong contrast to Old French usage.

H. Omont. Notice sur quelques Feuilletts retrouvés d'un manuscrit français de la Bibliothèque de Dijon. 11 pages. Thirty-seven leaves were cut out of this manuscript many years ago, and twelve of them have recently been discovered in various

places. What has become of the remaining twenty-five leaves is unknown.

Arthur Piaget. *La Belle Dame sans Merci et ses Imitations*: VIII. *Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*; IX. *Les Erreurs du jugement de l'amant banny*; X. *L'Amant rendu cordelier à l'observance d'amours*. 54 pages. The first of these poems is preserved in four manuscripts, the second in one manuscript, and the third is already well known to the scholarly world.

Paul Meyer. *Fragments de Manuscrits français*: I. *Fragment de Garin le Lorrain*; II. *Fragments de Girbert de Metz*; III. *Fragments de Girart de Vienne*; IV. *Fragment de la branche XI de Renart*. 29 pages. Fragments of Old-French texts such as these are frequently of great importance in determining the history of the text.

Mélanges. J. Derocquigny, *Anc. franç. besuchier*. A. Thomas, *Franç. élanguer, élangueur*. A. Thomas, *Franç. dialectal fenerotet*. A. Thomas, *Franç. rancune*. A. Thomas, *Anc. franç. renformer*; *franç. mod. renformir*.

Comptes rendus. Prof. Dr. Carl Wahlund, *Die altfranzösische Prosaübersetzung von Brendans Meerfahrt* (P. Meyer). Émile Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle* (Marius Sepet). Ivor B. John, *Notes on Celtic Studies* (J. Bédier). Ugo Levi, *I monumenti del dialetto di Lido Mazor* (A. Mussafia). Jean Passy, *L'origine des Ossalois* (A. Thomas).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXIX. 1-2 (M. Roques). *Revue des langues romanes*, XLVI-XLVII (P. Meyer). *Bulletin de la société des anciens textes français*, 1904.

Chronique. Long obituary notice of Adolf Mussafia by P. Meyer. Literary notes.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 12 titles. *Littérature espagnole*, par J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, traduction de Henry D. Davray. *Die Auffassung der Jungfrau Maria in der altfranzösischen Literatur*, von H. Becker. *Canzonette musicali francesi e spagnuole alla corte d'Este*, per G. Bertoni.

Septembre.

A. Jeanroy. *Poésies du Troubadour Gavaudan*. 43 pages. This is a critical edition of one of the most obscure of the Provençal lyric poets, whose works comprise ten short poems.

A. Thomas. *Nouveaux documents inédits pour servir à la biographie de Pierre de Nesson*. 19 pages. The legal documents here published are all dated after the poet's death, and hence were overlooked by the editor when publishing a previous article on the same subject.

A. Piaget. *La Belle Dame sans merci et ses imitations*: XI. *L'hôpital d'amour par Achille Caulier*; XII. *Le traité de Ré-*

veille qui dort; XIII. Le débat sans conclusion; XIV. Le des—
conseillé d'amours, par Henri Anctil; XV. Le loyal amant
refusé; XVI. La desserte du desloyal; XVII. La sépulture
d'amour; XVIII. Le martyr d'amour par Franci; XIX. Le dé—
bat de la dame et de l'écuyer; XX. Poèmes divers; XXI. Con—
clusion; Appendice. 44 pages.

A. Delboulle. Mots obscurs et rares de l'ancienne langue
française (suite). 15 pages. With appended footnotes by various
scholars. Other remarks on words in this series are promised
in a later article.

Comptes rendus. Renward Brandstetter, Rätoromanische
Forschungen. I (Jakob Jud). J. Gilliéron et J. Mongin, Étude
de géographie linguistique: "Scier" dans la Gaule romane du
Sud et de l'Est (Albert Dauzat).

Périodiques. Revue de Bretagne, II (Gaston Raynaud).
Piccolo archivio storico dell' antico marchesato di Saluzzo, I-II
(P. Meyer). Bulletin historique et philologique, 1900-1904
(P. Meyer).

Chronique. Obituary notice of Jules Gauthier. Literary
notes.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 10 titles. A Comparative
Study of the Aesopic Fable in Nicole Bozon, by Ph. Warner
Harry. Some Examples of French by Englishmen in Old
French Literature, by Jno. E. Matzke. Une source française
des poèmes de Gower, par Mlle. R. Elfreda Fowler.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

BRIEF MENTION.

The advance of conventionality, of regularity, is an old complaint. It is found everywhere in literature, everywhere in art. The decline of picturesqueness in the Paris of 1831 is the burden of Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame*. The day was coming, he said, when Paris from a bird's-eye-view would present a vision of 'ce je ne sais quoi de grandiose dans le simple et d'inattendu dans le beau, qui caractérise un damier'. And that was long before the invasion of the Osmanlis, as the Parisians of my youth called the minions of Haussmann. A few months ago a writer, who seemed to know Spain well, declared that the kerchief and jacket and sash that one looks for as the appropriate costume of the Spanish landlord of the interior, had given way to the London-made suit, and he was cruel enough to go into details and add verisimilitude to his statement by specifying a well-known tailor of Sackville Street, and the price £8. I myself have joined in the chorus and said that 'In the movement of modern life <the unworldly type of professor> is becoming less common even in Germany, once the habitat of intellectual oddities and unpractical dreamers. For this change the Empire may possibly be responsible, but certain it is that such a figure as Freytag's Professor Raschke in the "Verlorene Handschrift" will soon be as extinct as the dodo' (*Essays and Studies*, p. 128). But these words were written under the first impression of a visit to Germany (1880) after an interval of twenty years. Residence might have corrected the impression, and every now and then returning students tell stories about their German professors that make me less forlorn. But will there ever be another Franz Ritter with his strange pathetic utterance, his peculiar pronunciation, his queer way of getting his tongue twisted, his 'Manso's Vermisste Sriften', and his 'gelungener Lohndiener' instead of 'gedungener Tagelöhner'? A volume might be written about Ernst von Leutsch, who was not only a source of innocent merriment to others, but a well-spring of joy to himself, for which he seems to have got little credit. The Preface to his 'Grundriss zu Vorlesungen über die griechische Metrik' is highly characteristic of the man, and one shares his delight over the 'Klippen und scharfe Ecken' he had prepared for the 'fingerfertige Nichtkenner', who should undertake to get up a book out of his material. After Krüger passed away, the well-meaning Pökel ploughed up a lot of the torpedoes that were hidden in the old Krüger grammars and corrected texts which Krüger had distorted, or detorted, in order to blow up the smaller sex or hoist

unwary copyists. All dustmen are not as dry as the dust in which they deal. There are quotable bits in Lobeck and pawky parentheses in Veitch. The satire may be petrified satire, and the fun, cryptic fun, but who will begrudge the poor carver of gurgoyles the little joke that only the benevolent sky will see? It is a pleasure to put the diaphragm of a comma between two learned references. Remove the diaphragm and something like a mild explosion of merriment will ensue. But who removes diaphragms, who verifies references? In the long quest of passages that will not only illustrate, but also prove the points that are made, the weary way is often lighted up by the will o' the wisps of fun and fancy. Fix them and the jest is lost. There is a certain satisfaction in citing passages to prove one thing that have been steadily used to prove just the opposite. There is a certain satisfaction in citing an example that seems to contradict, and yet does not contradict the principle laid down. And yet there is danger in this, danger to one's reputation, as if that mattered. I have pointed the finger of scorn more than once at the sentimentalists who have attributed to Aristophanes a line which Aristophanes borrowed from Pindar (Eq. 1329), and I have been waiting for some critics to point out that Ar. Ran. 1152 (S. C. G. § 141) is a quotation from Aischylos, as if quotation and parody conveyed no lesson in syntax.

This is a portentously long introduction to an apology that I desire to make to the Manes of Professor Paley, assuredly a portentously long introduction for me because I am always ready to make amends without further ado. And yet a word more is necessary. In my S. C. G. § 193 I cite Eur. Phoen. 81: *ἔριν λύουσα*, as an illustration of the conative present participle. Why this passage above all others? Because Dindorf follows Valckenaer in reading *λύουσα* against the MSS and in foisting an un-Greek construction on Euripides. Nauck cites Valckenaer's 'emendation'. Later editors justly scorn to mention it but as long ago as 1859, Paley scented a solecism, as his commentary shows, though, to be sure, he had not the right vision of the phenomenon. Another illegitimate, though not so utterly illegitimate, future participle has crept into some texts of Euripides through a conjecture of Markland's, who wrote for the MS *θανοῦσαν* Eur. I. A. 1516 *ῥανοῦσαν*. Dindorf has adopted Markland's conjecture, and this is one of the points at which Mr. C. E. S. Headlam in his edition of 1889 forsakes the text of Kirchhoff, being as unappreciative of the character of the future participle as Dr. WALTER HEADLAM has since shewn himself to be (A. J. P. XXVIII 111). Now this limitation of the future participle is a very simple matter and very easily explained, on the theory that the future is originally modal, and that the future participle

is originally modal. The future infinitive may have been modal or it may have come in like the future optative to fill up the scheme of *oratio obliqua*, but the fut. participle is distinctly modal in Homer and is found only in the company of verbs of motion as Monro has duly emphasized (H. G. § 244). The future participle is never simply predictive except in ὥς with the future participle, the latest form of *oratio obliqua*, and after verbs of intellectual perception, which, however, from Homer on prefer the ἵτι construction. No conditional sense, no causal sense, no adversative sense, no genitive absolute, or at most with rare exceptions. And yet when the latest much lauded 'Go-cart for good little Grecians' counts up the usages of the participle, no hint is given of the coyness of the future participle as there is no explanation of ὥς οὐ.

Thirty years ago discussing ὥς οὐ with the participle (Just. Mart. Apol. I c. 4, 18), I urged as an argument against the conditional conception not only the neg. οὐ but the use of the future participle. I was cautious enough to say that it is not *regularly* used as the protasis of an abridged conditional sentence, and it was well that I was so cautious, for a correspondent sometime afterwards confronted me with Dem. 24, 189: μὴ περὶ τούτων ὑμῶν οἰσόντων (= εἰ μὴ οἴσετε) τὴν ψῆφον, τί δέϊ ταῦτα λέγοντα ἐνοχλεῖν με νυνί; but everybody knows Demosthenes' love of περιβολή (A. J. P. IX 142), and this lonely example ought not to count in the face of the steadiness of the language in this regard.¹ A rare anarthrous future participle is found in Ar. Pax 756: κολάκων ἀμωξιμένων, where Mazon has a note, but Sharpley and Van Leeuwen pass over it dry-shod. By the way, Van Leeuwen's syntactical notes are by no means up to the mark he has attained elsewhere as an interpreter of the mind of Aristophanes.

The eighteenth fascicle of the Schanz *Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache* (Würzburg, Stuber) deals with

¹ 'It may well be questioned whether another such example can be found in Greek' says Spieker, who after a diligent search in the orators, has found only two other genitives absolute with the fut. part. in the orators unaccompanied by ὥς (A. J. P. VI 325). 'It must never be forgotten', says an eminent physicist, 'that theories are only useful so long as they admit of the harmonious correlation of facts into a reasonable system. Directly a fact refuses to be pigeon-holed, and will not be explained on theoretic grounds, the theory must go or it must be revised to admit the new fact'. Now, a severe rule like this is hardly applicable to a thing so freakish as language, so feminine as language, of which we may say as Renan says of religions, '<Elles> sont des femmes dont il est très facile de tout obtenir, si on sait les prendre, impossible de rien obtenir, si on veut procéder de haute lutte'. An artist in language may make language do anything by coaxing. But there are those who do brutal violence to language and there is no Lynch-law to sweep the offenders and the offence out of the world of literature.

Die Kausalsätze im Griechischen bis Aristoteles I Die Poesie, and the author, MARTIN P. NILSSON, begins with a justification of the method pursued in these studies, a justification that is by no means superfluous. During the slow evolution of the *Beiträge* the syntactical basis has shifted a good deal. The whole elaborate structure is slipping into 'the deep channel of woe' *βαθὴν ὄχτρον ἄρας* men call psychology, and the conjunctions, which used to serve as the markers of research, have been ruthlessly plucked up by students of linguistics like Professor Morris, whose advent on the syntactical field seems to have frightened so many of the old-fashioned investigators out of their propriety. In his *Principles and Methods* (p. 26), Professor Morris cites with approval from Probst the doctrine that the conjunction or particle acquires its meaning from the sentence, not the sentence from the conjunction, and NILSSON gives Morris the credit for this bold statement, which loses much of its boldness when one reflects that we call the same conjunction temporal, conditional, causal or adversative, according to the quicksand of the context, and that so thoughtful a grammarian as Lange found himself reduced to defining *et* as an 'adhibitive' particle, a definition that would answer for any particle under the sun.

As my own investigations have dealt chiefly with the manners and customs, the social behavior of the language, have dealt with the Herakleitean *ἐν* rather than the Parmenidean *ἐν*, or else with the sophistic juggling of *ἐν* and *ἐν*, my results, if I dare speak of results, have not been affected by recent developments, and I welcome every new theory in explanation of the phenomena as I do every new aspect of the Homeric Question. My life has not been long enough to answer a tithe of the questions I have asked myself as to the range and sphere of usage. The establishment of a catena is a laborious task, the problem of the missing link is often one that taxes the syntactical imagination, and the evaluation of the facts for stylistic purposes calls on all the resources of the 'Feinfühligkeit philologischen Nachempfindens', to use a happy phrase of the lamented Üsener. Of course everybody is a psychologist nowadays. Indeed I myself have been accused of being a psychologist *malgré moi*, doubtless to the infinite amusement of the real psychologists, to whom I have opened wide the portals of the Journal. This being the state of things, it is not surprising that NILSSON finds it necessary to defend himself and the *Beiträge* generally by an introduction on the influence of logical needs on language, the introduction itself being introduced by a *captatio benevolentiae* addressed to the psychologists, to whom the great advance in the modern science of language is attributed.

The grammatical type, says NILSSON, has a psychological basis but logic intrudes; logic narrows the range of each type

and enriches its content. This is most clearly the case in literary language especially in prose, so largely subject to logical processes. Psychologically an absolute parataxis is very rare. The logical tendency is to subordinate one sentence to another. Hence the tendency to fix the relation by grammatical subordination. And as an instructive example of the victory of grammatical subordination NILSSON cites the much discussed *δέ αποδοτικόν* in which psychological parataxis holds its own against grammatical hypotaxis. As soon as the grammatical type establishes itself firmly, *δέ* is felt as a coordinating conjunction, and disappears from the apodosis. This *δέ αποδοτικόν* does not stand alone and NILSSON emphasizes the *τε—καί* use, the so-called *cum inversum* use in temporal sentences as Xen. An. 2, 1, 7: *ἤδη τε ἦν περὶ πλήθουσιν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἔρχονται κήρυκες*. This is a favorite construction in naive or would-be naive narrative, and the tone is worth noting, but from my point of view, wherever we have correlation we have a manner of subordination, so that there is no use of discussing the fusion of parataxis and hypotaxis in sentences like these (A. J. P. XXIII 254).

The causal sentence is one of the most difficult subjects in the whole range of syntax, and I am not to be betrayed into a discussion of it in the narrow precincts of *Brief Mention* with the whistle of my steamer in my ear. The English language is a living monument of the slowness of the popular mind to clarify its conception of the causal nexus, and we have been fain to borrow our chief causal particle from the French. The inner object *that* (*δὲ*), which is the native form, is still dominant with verbs of emotion but does not satisfy the causal feeling and *for that* is also unsatisfactory. The temporal sentence has a causal connotation but the nice distinction, once set up between 'sith' and 'since', does not hold. In Greek, as is well known, *ἐπεὶ* which corresponds to 'since', is the leading causal particle and it is to *ἐπεὶ* chiefly that NILSSON's paper is devoted, but I fail to see that he has made any use of Zycha's elaborate article on *ἐπεὶ* and the *ἐπεὶ* group in the Wiener Studien VII 82-115; and in his discussion of other temporal particles, used in a causal nexus, such as *ὅτε* and *ὁπότε*, NILSSON stops short of the generalization that all temporal particles with present and perfect indicative have, as a rule, a causal connotation, and among them particles of temporal limit, a point, which, like so many others, was hidden from the eyes of NILSSON's associate, Fuchs (S. C. G. § 366; A. J. P. IV 416; XXIV 389, 394, 400, 405; XXV 230). But the second part of NILSSON's treatise will give me an opportunity to discuss the whole subject more fully.

'Syntax and no end!' I hear the unsyntactical reader of *Brief Mention* say: 'No matter how a paragraph begins, it is sure to

bring up against a syntactical nostrum, very much like the advertisements of quack medicines that are inserted in the reading columns of a newspaper for the fooling of the unwary'. Now I am a sympathetic soul and, as Charles Lamb hissed his own farce of 'Mr. H.' in unison with the pit, so I am often at one with my critics and not unfrequently become so tired of other people's syntactical disquisitions that I am fain to renounce my own. But when Mr. CORNFORD speaks of his *Thucydides Mythistoricus* as an attempt to understand, not the syntax, but the mind, of Thucydides the syntactician in me revolts against this attitude of superiority. He who does not know the syntax of Thucydides does not know the mind of Thucydides. Syntax has been called the 'Parademarsch' of language, and we are all in the procession. He who sneers at the study of Thucydidean syntax fails to do justice to the conditions of Thucydidean thought. It might not be going too far to say that the two foci of the elliptical orbit of the great historian are points that fall within the range of syntactical study, the conception of causality and the domination of the abstract noun (A. J. P. XXIII 17). A well-known Homerist has written a noteworthy essay on 'Eine Schwäche der homerischen Denkart', and Mr. CORNFORD's book is an impugment of 'Eine Schwäche der thukydideischen Denkart'. The great historian, it seems, had not the same insight into the causes of the Peloponnesian war, as is possessed by Mr. CORNFORD, for the historian of to-day is largely concerned with economic causes. Corinth reaches forth, Athens reaches forth, both reach forth westward, the only open quarter. Conflicting interests bring about the struggle. There is nothing startlingly new about this. More than ten years ago in a study of the Peloponnesian War from the point of view of an old Confederate, I did not fail to draw the business parallel between the two conflicts (Atlantic Monthly, May, 1897), and the Peloponnesian line was represented thus:

'The famous Megarian decree of Perikles, which closed the market of Athens to Megarians gave rise to angry controversy, and the refusal to rescind that decree led to open war. But Megara was little more than a pretext. The subtle influence of Corinth was potent. The great merchant city of Greece dreaded the rise of Athens to dominant commercial importance and in the conflict between the Corinthian brass and the Attic clay the clay was shattered. Corinth does not show her hand much in the Peloponnesian war. She figures at the beginning and then disappears. But the old mole is at work the whole time, and what the Peloponnesians called the Attic war and the Attics the Peloponnesian war might have been called the Corinthian war.'

But economic causes do not explain everything. The final cause is the primal conception of causes. It is, if you choose, a 'Schwäche der menschlichen Denkart'. We cannot escape the emotional element, the personal element. The study of the Greek causal sentence which I have just put aside is an indispensable introduction to the study of the historian of the Peloponnesian war. Economic causes resolve themselves into *πλεονεξία* and *πλεονεξία* becomes an *altría* and the famous Thucydidean *πρόφασις* is a surface

alría, but not merely a surface *alría*. There is a *μηνις* in every struggle. The *alría* incorporates itself. To call it a policy does not clear up matters. Those who have lived *αισθανόμενοι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ* through a great war may be presumed to know more about such matters than cloistered speculators and can do justice to Homer with his Wrath of Achilles, to Herodotos with his Eternal Feminine, and to Thukydidēs with his Everlasting Abstract. For it is the abstract noun—not Perikles—that ‘lightens and thunders and makes a stir-about’ of Greek history—that semi-personification, in which the half is more potent than the whole, that abstract noun, which plays havoc with the critic as well as with him criticized (A. J. P. XVIII 368).

W. P. M: Students of Theocritus and Virgil will be interested in an excellent book by Mr. WALTER W. GREG, ‘Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama’, xii + 464 pp., London, 1906. The real subject of the work is the pastoral drama in Elizabethan literature, but a good deal of space is devoted to a preliminary account of European pastoralism in general. This preliminary account is probably the best critical study of the subject in English—a remark which one would like to emphasize in a brief notice which aims only at suggesting a few corrections and additions. The surprising statement occurs twice (pp. 5 and 13) that we owe the conception of the Golden Age to the Roman poets of the Augustan period. The conception is at least as old as Hesiod. It is misleading to say (p. 39) that Boccaccio’s *Ameto* “set a fashion in literature, namely the intermingling for purposes of narration of prose and verse”. Boccaccio may have consciously imitated the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius, and the fashion itself was as old as the *Satira Menippea*. The statement (p. 62) that Marot’s greatest influence on Spenser is to be found in the November eclogue of the *Shepheardes Calender* might be modified after a careful comparison of the December eclogue with Marot’s *Éclogue au Roi*. It is unnecessary (p. 80) to allow Alexander Barclay any special credit for originality in his fifth eclogue. This is based on Mantuan’s sixth eclogue (with a passage borrowed from Mantuan’s seventh), and follows its Latin model quite as closely as any of the others.

Perhaps the weakest page in the volume is the one which is devoted to Calpurnius and Nemesianus. The seventh poem of Calpurnius can hardly be said to “contrast the life of the town with that of the country”. Even if it could, it is not worth saying that Calpurnius appears to have been the first to treat the direct comparison of the two. There is a direct comparison of the two toward the close of Virgil’s second *Georgic*. We are told, also, that it is not easy to trace any direct influence of these later bucolic poets. But at least one passage of Calpurnius (vi 32–45) is imitated in Sannazaro’s *Arcadia*, *prosa iv*. This is the proposal

to stake a pet stag on the result of a singing match. The animal may be identified by its collar, an ornament which it retains even when it passes on from the page of Sannazaro to Ronsard's first eclogue. Thus, Calpurnius has

ubi pendulus apri
Dens sedet et nivea distinguit pectora luna ;

Sannazaro adds another detail: "e quel monile, che hora gli vedi di marine conchiglie, con quel dente di Cinghiale, che à guisa d'una bianca Luna dinanzi al petto gli pende"; and the augmented description is faithfully reproduced in Ronsard:

D' un carquan enrichy de coquilles de mer,
D' ou pend la croche dent d' un sanglier, qui ressemble
En rondeur le croissant qui se rejoint ensemble.

A poem by Hieronymus Fracastorius, 'Alcon, sive de cura canum venaticorum', is clearly modeled upon Calpurnius, Bucol. V. One gets a different impression of the influence of Calpurnius and Nemesianus from Menéndez y Pelayo, *Origenes de la Novela*, i 415: 'los imitaron en gran manera todos los bucólicos italianos y españoles del siglo xvi, comenzando por Sannazaro y acabando por Valbuena y Barahona de Soto.'

G. L. H.: Attention has been called to Professor C. H. Grandgent's admirable manual of *Provençal Phonology and Morphology* (A. J. Ph. XXVI, 364). His *Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (pp. XVIII, 220, D. C. Heath & Co., 1907), which appeals to a wider circle of scholars, can be equally commended. Mr. Grandgent's book is the first attempt to present as a whole a subject, of which the material is widely scattered, and the problems manifold. Certain phases of the subject have been exhaustively treated, and the results of these investigations are presented in a succinct form in their due places; and Mr. Grandgent is as careful to cite his authorities, as he is cautious in accepting their theses. Written especially for Romance students, the practice of noting the survival of Latin forms and constructions in the various Romance languages is another valuable feature of the book, and a detailed Table of Contents, and an Index of thirty pages, facilitates the use of the book for purposes of reference.

D. M. R.: The need which archaeologists have long felt for a complete history of the study of Greek inscriptions has been supplied by CHABERT, *Histoire sommaire des études d'épigraphie grecque* (Paris, Leroux, 1906), a reprint of a series of articles which have already appeared in the *Revue Archéologique*. The introduction discusses the peculiarities of Greek epigraphy, showing especially the superiority of stone originals over copied

manuscripts. Chapter I gives a survey of the oldest collections which preceded any idea of a *Corpus*, taking up first the ancient authors, Philochorus, Craterus, Polemo, Alcetas, Aristodemus, Neoptolemus, etc. After these men for over 1500 years there was silence and ignorance until Cyriac of Ancona (1391-1457) became the Schliemann of Greek epigraphy, and was followed by many others. Chapter II deals with the attempts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to form a collection of all Greek inscriptions; Chapter III with the *Corpus* of Boeckh, the *Expédition de Morée*, the work of Le Bas, Ross, Franz, etc. Chapter IV treats of the permanent archaeological institutions in Athens. In Chapters V and VI will be found in convenient form the new arrangement and numbering of the new *Corpus (Inscriptiones Graecae)* proposed by Wilamowitz in June, 1903, and since adopted by most scholars. Chapter VII (wrongly numbered VI), with the title *L'état des choses*, is devoted to publications and manuals, to excavations and explorations, and to the future of epigraphical studies. The hope is expressed that the *I. G.* may soon be completed, but with the loss of Von Prott, Benndorf, and Dittenberger, this can hardly be expected.

It is a pleasure to see how thoroughly acquainted Chabert is with the entire field of Greek epigraphy, and how impartial his treatment is. To be sure he speaks (p. 51) of the *pillages brutaux* of Lord Elgin, but Wilhelm, Sterrett and others are mentioned with the highest esteem. Chabert's knowledge of things American, however, is somewhat deficient. The first director of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens was not Prof. Waldstein (pp. 146-7), but Prof. Goodwin. Chabert has evidently not seen Prof. Seymour's Bulletin on the First Twenty Years of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, as he has the work of Radet on the French School, and that of Michaelis on the German School. Otherwise something would have been said about the American excavations at the Argive Heraeum, Eretria, Corinth, etc.

D. M. R.: A dramatic and popular account is given by TUCKER in his *Life in Ancient Athens* (Macmillan, 1906) of social and public life in Athens in the period of her greatest glory. There are chapters on Athens and its Environment; Public Buildings, Streets, etc.; Citizens, Outlanders, Slaves, Women; House and Furniture; The Social Day of a Typical Citizen; Woman's Life and Fashions; Boyhood,—Education and Training; Army and Navy; Religion; Festivals and the Theatre; Council and Assembly; An Athenian Trial; Burial; Athenian Art; Modernness of the Athenian. The eighty-five illustrations are from secondary sources, many from the plates used by Macmillan for Hill's Illustrations of School Classics. The book is of value to the general

reader, but disappointing to the student of Greek life and literature, because of its inaccuracies and meagre knowledge of Greek antiquities, and owing to the fact that Professor TUCKER has not acquainted himself with the standard works of Bauer, Blümner, Dörpfeld, Droysen, Giraud, and Fougères. Since Professor TUCKER aims to leave a true and sound impression of the period to which he limits himself (440 to 330 B. C.), a view (p. 33) of the Athenian acropolis as it appeared in the second century A. D. is out of place. In the fifth century the ascent to the acropolis was a winding path and not the marble flight of stairs as is stated p. 31 (cf. the restoration in Fougères Athènes, p. 34). A plan of a Delian house of the second century B. C. (p. 93) gives a wrong notion of a classical Greek house which had no peristyle. Due study of the latest research and of the houses of the fourth and third centuries B. C. excavated at Priene, the Greek Pompeii, would have furnished better examples and would have convinced Prof. Tucker that Greek houses were not built around more than one court (cf. pp. 91, 97). There is no evidence that "the Parthenon was apparently lighted by openings in the roof" (p. 37). A Greek temple was verily the house of God and not a meeting-place of a congregation, and received sufficient light through the large door, the light in Greece being very strong. Windows were rare, and only used where there were paintings, as in the Propylaea and Erechtheum. P. 48, the passage quoted is not from Dicaearchus, but probably from Heracleides of the second century B. C. P. 195, the statement about a leather garment worn from the waist and a corselet in two halves fails to recognise the difference between the metal corselet in two parts and the leather corselet with flaps at the bottom, consisting of one piece, the ends of which are brought together in front. In Chapter XII (pp. 227, 229, 232) Haigh's reasonless compromise between a high stage and no stage is adopted, but even in a popular handbook Dörpfeld should no longer be ignored. The Athenian theatre held not more than 17,000 spectators, certainly not 30,000 (p. 227). High-soled boots were probably not used by actors of the fifth and fourth centuries, as is stated, p. 235 (cf. Harvard Studies XVI, p. 123 f.). In Chapter XVI the Hermes of Praxiteles, busts of Pericles and Plato, and the Laocoon group (sic) are chosen to illustrate Athenian Art from 440 to 330 B. C. P. 290, the Attic-Ionic style of architecture is used to illustrate the Ionic.

D. M. R.: An excellent selection of 230 Greek inscriptions, taken mostly from Dittenberger, and dating from the seventh century B. C. to Roman imperial times, has been made by JANELL, *Ausgewählte Inschriften* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1906). The introduction deals with the use, material, content, form, language, alphabet, numerical signs, dialect, place of erection of inscriptions

and with epigraphical collections. No reference is made, however, to Cagnat, Reinach, Roberts, Hill's revised edition of Hicks' Historical Inscriptions or to the *Tituli Asiae Minoris* and Dr. JANELL (p. 5) does not know that the inscriptions of Delos (I. G. XI), as well as those of Delphi (I. G. VIII), will be published by the French. The first part contains documents from the public life of the Greeks arranged in chronological order and according to subject matter (dedications, oaths, decrees, treaties, letters, chronica, edicts, etc.) The second part, arranged according to material only, embraces notices from religious life (dedications, temple inventories, lists of priests; inscriptions concerning sacrifices, manumission and punishment of slaves, religious organizations, oracles, cures, curses; and grave-inscriptions). The omission of all signs for restorations and lacunae and changes from the text of the stones, and failure to keep the original spelling, will not conduce to accurate and scientific knowledge, which should be the aim even of a book meant for high-schools and laymen. A charming text binds together the inscriptions which are paralleled by German translations. Many modern terms, often not equivalents of the Greek, are used; cf. p. 29, der oberste Priester for *στεφανηφόρος*, p. 33 das Amt eines Konsuls for *προξενία*, p. 39 Dukaten for *χρυσούς*, p. 67 Kammerherr for *τῶν πρώτων φίλων*, Jugendspiele for *σύντροφον*, Oberscharfrichter for *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου*, pp. 107, 108 Chaiselongue for *χαμῆνα παράκολλος*, Schlafrock for *ἱμάτιον*, p. 118 ungläubiger Thomas for *ἄπιστος*, p. 127 Herzog for *ἀρχηγέτας*. The verse-translations of the grave-inscriptions are fairly good, but the other translations are frequently inaccurate. The worst example is perhaps, p. 73, where *ἔδεισαν τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν ἐξετασίαν τῶν δούλων οἱ φεύγοντες τὴν δίκην* is rendered *die in den Prozess verwickelten Sklaven*, although the subject of *ἔδεισαν* is Eubouleus and Tryphera who are not slaves. There are also many inaccurate statements. To cite only one or two cases, p. 7 *Παρθέιον* (who is Athena) is called Iphigenia. P. 12, "die Datierung auf den Monat wird durch die Prytanie gegeben". P. 93, the important epithet *Τιάμων* is omitted after *Μηνί*, and p. 145 Janell says it has not yet been explained, but cf. Harvard Studies VI, 68 f. P. 97 the idea is given that no. 125 (I. G. I, Suppl., p. 78, 334 a) is quoted by Herodotus V, 77. The inscription quoted by Herodotus will be found in I. G. I, p. 178, and Lolling, *Κατάλογος τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐπιγραφικοῦ Μουσείου*, p. 66, no. 95. It is *stoichedon* and the order of the couplets is the reverse of that in no. 125, which is the original inscription to be found also in the *Anthologia Lyrica*, p. 266, no. (188). P. 117, note 3 JANELL places the scene of Aristophanes' *Plutus* in the Peiraeus. It is more probably in the Asclepieum which has been excavated on the southern slope of the Athenian acropolis. Most of the many misprints correct themselves, but Soundso (p. 19 for So und so) is a peculiar name for a *proxenos* and benefactor of Athens.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

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I.—THE STELE INSCRIPTION IN THE ROMAN FORUM.

II.

The first inscription on the Stele, although occupying more lines, nine as against seven, including *loiquiod*, has fewer letters preserved, approximately 56 as against 64. It is accordingly more perplexing and I confess that I feel less confidence in the supplements, which I am about to propose. In fact my main purpose has been to fit what remains into a plausible context, to determine the general character of the inscription. It would be foolish to claim certainty for the particular phrases which I have suggested, and indeed in some cases I myself have made alternative proposals. Skutsch¹ remarks that "die erste Seite sich vor den andern durch Regelmässigkeit und Schönheit der Züge auszeichnet". The first line has, without interpuncts, the letters QVOIHO followed by the first hasta of a letter which may be M or N. Comparetti would read, *Quoi honce*, but *Quoi hom* is more probable, as this would explain the lack of interpunctuation, *hom* being enclitic; cf. *quoiha* in l. 13.² *Hom* survives, according to the view now generally held, in *eccum* = *ecce hom*. We should be greatly helped in the interpretation of the inscription if we knew to what *hom* refers. Comparetti supplied *logom*, forgetting that the earlier form would be *stlokom*. Enmann proposed *terminom*, but scholars have found a difficulty in explaining how any ordinance concerning a *terminus* should be in place in this part of the forum or in connection with the tomb of Romulus.³ A very

¹ Vollmöller, Jber. Rom. Philol. VI 1, 454.

² Thurneysen, Rhein. Mus. 55, 485.

³ One does not need to believe in an actual Romulus to find it plausible that the reputed eponymous founder of the city should have a tomb in the forum, the

natural supplement would be *kípom* = *cippum*. Greek inscriptions often contain definite directions for the setting up of one *στήλη*¹ or of several, and occasionally name the penalty to be incurred for any violation of the same. Thus, in an inscription of Rhodes of the third century B. C. (ZP. II, n. 145), provision is made for the erection of three *στάλαι* at different points. An interesting feature of this inscription is the formula near the end, *ὅτι δὲ καὶ τις παρὰ τὸν νόμον ποιήσῃ, τό τε ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος καθαιρέτω καὶ ἐπιρεζέτω, ἢ ἐνοχος ᾖ τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ*. (Compare *sakros esed* and *loustratio*, which I read in l. 5). An inscription found near the village of Remoustapha in Messenia (ZP. II, n. 59) has at the end, *τὰν δὲ ῥήτραν ταύταν γράψαντες ἐν στάλαν λιθινὰν ἀνθέντω τοὶ βίδνιοι ὑπὸ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Δάματρος*. Compare Dessau 139 (Cenotaphium Pisanum), l. 29, *cippoque grandi secundum aram defixso hoc decretum cum superioribus decretis incidatur insculpturue*. An inscription given by LeBas-Waddington, 1764 a (Oeonaea), contains these words: *ὅς δὲ τὴν στήλην ἀφανίσῃ ἢ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ*

old market-place. We find references to graves in the market-places of many Greek towns, of distinguished men, in some cases attended with divine honors; e. g., at Elaea, of Thersander (Paus. 9, 5, 14); at Amphipolis, of Brasidas as founder and preserver (Thuc. 5, 11); at Syracuse, of Timoleon (Plut., Tim. 39); at Elis, of Oxyllus as founder (Strabo 10, 463; cf. Paus. 6, 24, 9); at Mantinea, of Podares (Paus. 8, 9, 9); at Sicyon, of Aratus (Plut., Arat. 53, *τόπον ἐξελέμενοι περίοπτον ὥσπερ οἰκιστὴν καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς πόλεως ἐκήδευσαν καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ θυσίαν, τὴν μὲν, ἣ τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλλαξε τῆς τυραννίδος ἡμέρα καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐκείνην Σωτήρια προσαγορεύουσι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ μνηὸς ἐν ᾧ γενέσθαι τὸν ἀνδρὰ διαμνημονεύουσι. Τῆς μὲν οὖν προτέρας τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος καθήρχετο θυηπόλος*); at Megalopolis, of Philopoemen, attested by an insc., Dittenberger,² 289 (*ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ εἰς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς τὸ μνᾶμα καὶ κτίσαι μετὰ ταυνίας τὰ δοτέα καὶ βωμὸν κατασκευάσαι λευκόλιθον ὡς κάλλιστον καὶ βοῦθυτεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταῖς Διὸς Σωτήρος*; so Ditt.). Perhaps the sacrifice of oxen to Jupiter Territor may have been connected in a similar way with the cult of Romulus. See also Roscher's Lex. I 2, col. 2516 ff., Die Heroisierung verstorbener Menschen; Rohde, Psyche³ I, p. 159 ff.; II, p. 350 ff.

¹ Compare Dittenberger² 635 (Athens), l. 23, *ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα . . . ἐν στήλῃ λιθινῇ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ταῖς τεμένει τοῦ Διονύσου*. Collitz-Bechtel 4530 (Laconia), l. 35, *ἀναγραφάντω . . . εἰς στάλαν πετρίναν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος*. See also Athen. VI 27, *κάν τῷ ἀνακείῳ ἐπὶ τινος στήλης γέγραπται 'τοῖν δὲ βοοῖν τοῖν ἡγεμόνοι τοῖν ἐξαίρουμένοι (cf. *uxmentis capia*), τὸ μὲν τρίτον μέρος εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὰ δὲ δύο μέρη τὸ μὲν ἑτερον τῷ ἱερῷ, τὸ δὲ τοῖς παρασίτοις'*. It is not without interest to note that this inscription refers to the Dioscuri, whose worship, according to Helbig, was introduced very early in Rome, probably before the fifth century. With the cult probably came the *leges sacrae*.

γεγλυμμένα ἢ μετάρη αὐτήν, αὐτὸν ἐξώλῃ καὶ γένος αὐτοῦ.¹ An inscription from Olympia (Jahreshefte d. Oest. Arch. Inst., 1898, p. 197), closes with the words αἱ δὲ τῆς ἀδελφότητος ἐν τὰν στάλαν ὡς ἀγαματοφώραν ἔοντα πάσχον, which Szanto translates "Wenn aber jemand auf der Stele auslöscht, so soll er Strafe leiden wie ein Dieb von Götterbildern". Similarly, Dittenberger² 602 (Iasos), ἣν δὲ τις τὴν στήλην ἀφανίσῃ ἢ τὰ γράμματα, πασχείτω ὡς ἱερόσυλος.³ These two inscriptions have suggested to me a restoration to which I shall recur later, *Quoi hom . . . violasid patitod quam sei sakros esed*; but it must be granted that such a formula, if relating to the *cippus* itself, would be more in place at the end than at the beginning of an inscription.⁴ For this and for other reasons, which will appear later, it seems to me more probable that the inscription has to do with a sacred grove or a sacred tree. "The groves were God's first temples", says our American poet Bryant, and Pliny before him had written (N. H. 12, 1) "Haec fuere numinum templa priscoque ritu simplicia rura etiam nunc deo *praecellentem arborem* dicant, nec magis auro fulgentia atque ebore simulacra quam *lucos* et in his silentia ipsa adoramus". In the Liber Coloniarum (Lachmann, Grom. I, p. 241), under *Provincia Dalmatarum*, we read, "In quibus locis arbores intactae stare videntur, in his locis veteres sacrificium faciebant".⁴ The sacred

¹ This formula must be very old. Lehmann (Klio 3, 325) says of it, "Sie sind die wörtliche Uebersetzung der ständigen Fluch-formel der babylonisch-assyrischen wie der ihnen nachgebildeten vorarmenisch-chaldischen Keil-inschriften", referring also to Zeits. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch., 1902, p. 109, where he gives a translation of an inscription of Chaldea of the seventh century B. C., which I quote only in part, "wer diese Stele zerstört, wer sie beschädigt, wer ihren Standort verändert, wer sie mit Erde bedeckt, wer sie ins Wasser wirft, . . . die Götter mögen seinen Namen, seinen Samen, seine Nachkommen aus den Landen vertilgen". Compare Collitz-Bechtel 5632 (Teos) at the end, Ὅς ἂν τασήλας ἐν ἡσιν ἡπαρὴ γέγραπται ἢ κατὰξαι ἢ φοινικία ἐκκόψει ἢ ἀφανέας ποιήσει, κείνον ἀπάλλωσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείνον. Cf. Ziebarth, Der Fluch im griechischen Recht, Hermes 30, 57-70.

² Compare CIL. VI 29938, qui vendiderit sive titulum eraserit; VI 29913, 29923, and Wamser, De Iure Sepulchrali Romanorum quid tituli doceant, p. 30 ff.

³ That a piacular offering might be made in connection with the restoration of an inscription appears from CIL. X 8259, et scripturam tituli at pristinam formam restituere *piaculo prius* dato operis faciendi *sive atra*, but here there is reference to the removal of a tomb, and a piacular offering in connection with the violation of a grove is certainly much more probable in our inscription.

⁴ Cf. Livy 3, 25, 7; Ovid, Fasti, 3, 295.

groves¹ of Rome have been well treated by Giorgio Stara-Tedde (Bull. Arch. Comm. di Roma, 1905, 189-232). The number of such groves was great; and although we may not be able to prove the existence in the earliest period of a grove or sacred tree near the Stele, there is nothing to disprove it, and the existence of such a grove or tree in connection with a heroon is *a priori* most probable.² At the foot of the Capitol was the grove of Silvanus. Aust (Religion der Römer, p. 41) says, "Vielleicht waren auch die heiligen Bäume Roms, wie die alte Eiche auf dem Capitol, und der Feigenbaum, *Ficus Ruminalis*, auf dem Comitium, nur die letzten Zeugen eines reicheren heiligen Waldbestandes". Festus, p. 62, says, "Fagutal sacellum Iovis, in quo fagus arbor, quae Iovis sacra habebatur" (cf. Varro, L. L. V 49). For inscriptions in connection with such trees see Pliny (N. H. 16, 237), "Vetustior autem urbe in Vaticano ilex, in qua titulus aereis litteris Etruscis³ religione iam tum dignam fuisse significat". Possibly

¹ On the general subject of tree worship, besides the well-known work of Boetticher "Ueber den Baumkultus" see the article on *Arborus sacrae* in Daremberg-Saglio, Curtiss, Primitive Semitic Religion today (1902, p. 90 ff.); Winter, Die Birke im Volksliede der Letten (Arch. f. Relig., Wiss., II 16 ff.); Hirt, Die Indogermanen, p. 738 ff.; Rohde, Psyche³ I, p. 191.

² Whoever has read the articles of Boni, Hülsen, Pais, Studniczka, Pinza, Petersen, and others on the *lapis niger* and the various monuments associated with it, will know how little agreement has been reached among archaeologists as to the date of these objects. In the latest article known to me, Petersen (Roem. Mitteilungen 21, pp. 193-210, Comitium und Rostra) defends the position taken in his earlier work (Comitium, Rostra, Grab des Romulus, Rome, 1904), in which he claims that the Stele is older than the tomb in its present position. In his diagram, p. 10, the position of the earlier tomb (Grab I?) is marked by *a*, and is at quite a little distance from the present tomb (Grab II=E). But if the tomb was renewed, it is possible that the *cippus* was renewed too (see Studniczka Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst., 6, 155), and that its inscriptions were copied from an earlier *cippus*, perhaps already in a mutilated condition. Thus perhaps might be reconciled the view (e. g., of Pais) which puts the inscription in the fourth century, with the view which, on account of the language, puts it in the sixth or seventh century. It is to the earlier date that my contention for the sacred tree would apply.

³ Dionysius (IV 26) says of an old *στήλη* in the temple of Diana on the Aventine, "ἀντὶ δέκεταινεν ἡ στήλη μέχρι τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ κεκμένη, γραμμάτων ἔχουσα χαρακτήρας, οἷς τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐχρήσθη". Either Pliny's description or that of Dionysius might have been used of the Stele of which, in the first official notice, Gamurrini (Not. d. Scav., 1899, p. 159) says, "incisa in grandi lettere di forma arcaico-greca assai somigliante a quella delle più antiche iscrizioni etrusche dell' Etruria marittima".

then our inscription refers not to a *lucus*, but to a single tree, and in connection with the tomb of Romulus one naturally thinks of the *ficus* or *caprificus*. Pais goes so far as to say (Storia di Roma, p. 739), "Romolo non è, come da taluni si è pensato, un puro e vuoto 'eponimo', creato dagli antichi eruditi, ma una sol cosa con 'Iupiter Ruminus', Aug. d. c. d. VII 11, il dio onorato sotto forma di fico, analogo all' 'Iupiter Viminus' del Viminale Varro, L. L. V 51". While we cannot follow Pais here and elsewhere in his etymologies after the brilliant proof of Schulze (Eigennamen 580 ff.) that the names Roma and Romulus are of Etruscan origin, the importance of the *ficus* or *caprificus* in the legendary account of Romulus and the founding of Rome is not to be doubted. In the fresco discovered at Pompeii in 1903¹ the *ficus Ruminalis* appears, and according to Pais the *caprificus* is represented more than once in the landscape.² Of course it will be objected that *hom fikom* is impossible, as *ficus* is fem.; but there are not a few instances of *ficus* masc., and this may have been the original gender. Aufrecht (Rhein. Mus. 35, 320), in discussing *maritus*, which he derives from *mas*,³ says, "Um nur das grammatische im Auge zu behalten, scheint daraus zu folgen, dass weder *arbos* noch die Baumnamen der *o*- und *u*- Stämme ursprünglich im Lateinischen feminina sein konnten. Ausnahmen von der Regel giebt es ohnehin manche. Unser *Baum* blieb immer masculin, und im Skr. sind *vriksha*, *druma* und alle grossen

¹ See Not. d. Scavi, 1905, p. 93 ff.

² See Pais, Ancient Legends of Roman History, p. 47 ff., and for a more popular account, The Century, Vol. LXIX, p. 597 ff., with a color drawing after the original in the Naples Museum. On p. 601 Pais says, "The ancients considered the fig-tree but as a symbol of fruitfulness. A wild fig-tree, or, as the ancients called it, the *caprificus*, was present in nearly all the most sacred places of Rome, such as the Comitium, near the temple of Saturn, and at the Lacus Curtius. The shape of the fruit, and the milk which it gives, caused the ancients to apply to it the same name as that given to the breasts; namely, *ruma*. In its turn the conception that trees were sacred and animated by divinities caused the belief that the fig-tree at the base of the Lupercal was sacred to Jupiter Ruminus and to the pastoral goddess Rumina. All favors the belief that, just as there were cities in Latium called Ficana and Ficula, so the most ancient community of the Palatine should have been called the city Rome from the sacred tree near the Lupercal and near the Porta Romanula".

³ Walde, Et. Wtb., abandons this derivation of *maritus*, but it seems to be entirely adequate for *marita* (*vitis*) and was without doubt the popular etymology; cf. Isidorus, Or. 9, 7, 2. See Brugmann, I. F. 21, 315, Die griechischen und italischen femininen Substantiva auf *-os*.

Bäume gleichen Geschlechtes". I may add that *vaṭa*, the banyan, or Indian fig-tree, and *pippala*, the holy fig-tree, are masc.; and Max Müller (India, What It Can Teach Us, 1883, p. 50) says of modern India, "In most villages there is a sacred tree, a pipal-tree (*Ficus Indica*) . . . generally supposed to be occupied by one of the Hindu deities". In Greek *συκή* is fem.; but both *ἐπιτεός*,¹ and *τράγος* = *caprificus* (cf. Paus. 4, 20) are masc. *Arbor* in Latin is to be sure almost universally fem. The Thesaurus gives a few late exx. of the masc.,² and in CIL. XIII 1780 we find *aram et signum inter duos arbores* over against Pliny, N. H. 11, 83, *inter duas arbores*. Cato, Agr. 42, has *de eo fico* and Lucilius (198, Marx) has *primos ficos* of the fruit.³ I attach, however, especial importance to Macrobius, Sat. 3, 20, 3, "Tarquitius autem Priscus" in *Ostentario arborario* sic ait:

arbores, quae inferum deorum avertentiumque
in tutela sunt, eas infelices nominant
alternum sanguinem filicem *ficum atrum*.⁴

In the same passage we have *pirum silvaticum*, although Varro, R. R. I 40, has *pirum silvaticam*. Paton, in a recent article (Rev. Arch., 1907, p. 52), speaking of caprification⁵ says, "The wild fig, although this is not a physiological fact," was regarded as the

¹ Conon in the passage cited later uses *ἐπιτεός* both as m. and f.

² Appel, De genere neutro intereunte in Lingua Latina, p. 40, gives later exx. of *arbor* masc. and shows that names of trees are masc. in the Romance languages. So *fico* is masc. in Italian and the French speak of *le figuier ruminal*; cf. Daremberg-Saglio, l. c., p. 357, where two medallions of Antoninus Pius are given showing the *ficus Ruminalis*. In foot-note 13 are given the passages in which there is reference to a sacred fig-tree in Rome.

³ For other exx. of *ficus*, the fruit, masc. see Neue⁴ I 936 and ALL. X 256. On the other hand *ficus tuae* occurs in a Pompeian insc., IV 1820; and *ficus innata* in the Acts of the Arval Brethren, CIL. VI 2099.

⁴ On Tarquitius Priscus see especially Thulin, Italische Sakrale Poesie und Prosa, p. 1 ff., and for this passage p. 71.

⁵ Hipponax, Frag. 34, Bergk, has *Συκὴν μέλαιναν, ἀμπέλον κασιγνήτην*.

⁶ Cf. Reitzenstein, Der Anfang des Lexikons des Photios, p. 137, ἀνθράστος *συκή*, where *ἐπιτεός* occurs as masc.

⁷ In direct opposition to this statement Hehn,⁷ Kulturpflanzen, p. 99 (cf. pp. 550 and 577), says, "Der sogenannte *Caprificus*, welcher sich vorzugsweise im wilden Zustande vorfindet, ist nicht, wie Graf Solms-Laubach anzunehmen geneigt war, die einzige wilde Urform der Kulturficus, sondern er ist, wie Fritz Müller betonte und nachher Graf Solms (Bot. Zeitung, 1885, Nos. 33-36) bestätigte, die männliche Pflanze, die Essficus, die weibliche Pflanze, welche in der Kultur weiter ausgebildet und fixiert wurde". Ramsay (Pauline and

male tree, the cultivated fig as the female. Helladius says the male Pharmakoi wore *black figs*, the female *white*". Frazer (Lectures on the early history of the Kingship, 1905, p. 270), discussing the *Nonae Caprotinae* and caprificatio, says, "The wild fig-tree is a male, and the cultivated fig-tree is a female"; (p. 272), "The association of the death of Romulus with the festival of the wild fig-tree can hardly be accidental, especially as he and his twin brother were said to have been suckled by the she-wolf under a fig-tree. The clue to the association is probably furnished by the old belief that the king is responsible for the fruits of the earth. We may conjecture that in like manner the Roman king was expected to make the fig-trees blossom and bear figs, and that, in order to do so, he went through a form of Sacred Marriage on the July day, when the husbandmen resorted to a more efficacious means of producing the same result". The term *figus ruminalis* does not reveal its gender, but I must admit that in all the Latin versions of the legend, with the exception of some variants in Serv., Aen. 8, 90,¹ the adjectives and pronouns in agreement with it are feminine. Dionysius also, 3, 71, in the legend of Attus Navius, has πλησίον τῆς ἱερᾶς συκῆς. Plutarch, however, (Romulus 4) has Ἦν δὲ πλησίον ἐρινεὸς ὃν Ῥωμῶνάλιον ἐκάλουν, (Romulus 29) Καπρατῖναι μὲν αἱ νῶναι καλοῦνται διὰ τὸν ἐρινεὸν καπρίφικον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀνομαζόμενον; cf. Plut., Camillus 33. Conon, c. 48 (cf. Rhein. Mus. 4, 529), evidently under the influence of Roman writers, has ἐρινεὸς both masc. and fem.: αὕτη (σκάφη) δὲ μετὰ πολλὴν φορὰν περὶ προβχουσάν ἥ ὄνα κατίσχηται ῥίξαις ἐρινεοῦ, ὃς μέγας ἐκείσε ἐπεφύκει, and a little further on, δέκνυται δὲ μαρτυρία τῶν τότε παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐρινεὸς ἱερά, τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κυκλίσαι χαλκαῖς περιειργομένη.² Pais (Storia di Sicilia, pp. 186 and 612) calls

other studies, p. 190) says, "The wild fig-tree, or male fig, is in appearance exactly like the fig-tree, so far as the ordinary person can detect. It very often grows on walls or stony places". How Pais is able to distinguish the *caprificus* from the *figus* in the Pompeian fresco, I do not know.

¹ Thilo gives "*figus ruminalis*, ad quam eieci sunt Remus et Romulus, quae (quæ, ASM) fuit ubi nunc est lupercal in circo quamvis ficum Ruminalem alii a Romulo velint dictam (dictum, F).

² On the basis of this and other passages (cf. Livy 1, 36) Hülsen, Formae Urbis Romae antiquae (III A 1), has indicated the *figus* by a tiny tree to the left of the steps of the Curia Hostilia. This, of course, does not make against the possibility of a *figus* or *caprificus* existing 600 or 500 B. C. near the site of the Stele. A *caprificus* might spring up anywhere; cf. Hor., Epod. 5, 17, *sepulcris caprificos erutas*; Propertius 4, 5, 74; and Mayor's note on Juv. 10, 144.

attention to the fact that both the founding of Tarentum (Diodorus 8, 21) and that of Rhegium (Dionysius 19, 2) are connected in legend with a *caprificus*. In the former passage *τράγος* is used; in the latter, where there is reference to the union of vine and fig-tree, we have the words *ἀρρενα δὲ τὸν ἐρινεόν*. As we have evidence for *figus* masc., I see no reason why *caprificus* should not have been masc. in the earliest Latinity; cf. *oleaster* masc. and *pirus siliaticus* cited above. *Caprificus* is not found in Plautus, Ennius, Cato or Varro R. R. In Terence, Ad. 577, where it first appears, it is fem.; and there Donatus refers to Il. VI 433, where we have *παρ' ἐρινεόν*. Evans, on "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult" (Jour. of Hell. Stud. 21, p. 128), discussing the *Ficus Ruminalis*, says, "But there is nevertheless some interesting evidence that Rome herself was indebted to prehistoric Greece for some of the oldest elements of her religion;" and again, "The Sacred Fig-Tree in fact is in a very different case from the beech of Fagutalis, the oak of Feretrius, or the cornel of Quirinus, the cult of which may well have been brought with them by the Latin immigrants from the north of the Apennines. The sanctity of the fig-tree belongs essentially to the more southern Mediterranean climes. It was, as has been shown above, a sacred tree of the Mycenaean world; and its veneration was preserved to historic times on Laconian and Attic soil. At Rome too we find it traditionally connected with the most primitive element of Greece".¹ Wissowa, discussing Baumkultus in Pauly, col. 166, says, "Die Sitte, Bäume um das Grab zu pflanzen, ist uralt und schon durch Homer, Il. VI 419, bezeugt,² . . . und findet sich noch heute in Griechenland und in Kleinasien, namentlich bei den Gräbern von vornehmen Türken oder mohamedanischen Heiligen". A writer in Folk Lore (XVII, 1906, p. 199), speaking of Egypt, says, "The Shêkh's tomb generally has a tree standing by the side of it, as the sacred tree stood beside the chapel of the local deity in the Egypt of the Pharaohs". Ramsay (Pauline and other Studies, p. 173), speaking of Asia Minor, says, "The tree nearest the spring

¹ Cf. also Karo, Altkretische Kultstätten, Arch. f. Relig. Wiss. 7, 142 ff.

² The parallels which he then gives to the fabled suckling of the twins are interesting but I have not room to quote them. It may of course be urged that all these legends are late inventions.

³ Keil (Rhein. Mus. 17, 67), discussing the spurious Calchas inscription, quotes the scholion of Tzetzes to Lycophron 980, ὁ Κάλχας αὐτοῦ κατεγέλα δδεν ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ἑρακλῆς πατάσας αὐτὸν κονδύλῳ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἐθαψε περὶ τὸν ἐρινεόν.

is hung with patches of rag, fastened to it by modern devotees. The peasants' language is as poor as their ritual. If you ask them why they hang their rags on the tree, the one explanation is '*dede var*', 'there is a dede'. There can be little doubt that the idea of the sacred tree is older than the sculpture. *Dede* = 'father of the tribe or settlement'. With this primitive custom still preserved, may we not compare Romulus, the father of the settlement, and his sacred tree, the *figus*?¹

Pais (Ancient Legends, p. 34) says, "That the abyss of the *Lacus Curtius* extended toward the Volcanal and the *niger lapis* is deducible, I think, from the fact that Curtius was supposed to have precipitated himself into the abyss by starting from the temple of Concord, which overlooked the Volcanal and the Comitium". Again, on p. 283, "I think I have demonstrated that the marsh called Caprea was originally situated in the Roman Forum, where the *Caprificus*, or wild fig-tree, was, near the *puteal* of Navius and the tomb of Romulus. See my *Storia di Roma* I 2, p. 741. Indeed, as I have stated in the chapter on the 'Origins of Rome', all the evidence favors the belief that the *pallus Caprea* was at the foot of the *figus Ruminalis*; that is, in the Velabrum Maius".² I would then propose to read, tentatively, *Quoi hom (honke ?) kaprifikom violasid* or, if one prefer, *loukom*. The form *loukom* is required by the Osc. *lúvkei* and by the Lex Spoletiana (Dessau 4911), which I quote here entire for convenience of reference, "honce loucom ne qu[i]s violatod, neque exvehito neque exferito quod louci siet, neque cedito, nesei quo die res deina anua fiet; eod die, quod rei dinai cau[s]a [f]iat, sine dolo cedre [l]icetod. Sei quis violasit, Iove bovid piaculum datod; sei quis scies violasit dolo malo, Iovei bovid piaculum datod et a. CCC moltai suntod. Eius piaculi moltaique dicator[ei] exactio est[od]".

¹ For graves planted with trees see Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, p. 260 ff.; Rohde, *Psyche*,³ I 230.

² I need hardly say that this view does not accord with Hülsen, *Das Forum Romanum*. All that I am anxious to prove is the natural association of some *figus* or *caprificus* with the tomb of Romulus. The tree itself may have disappeared early, perhaps at the time of the Gallic invasion, and left no record of itself in literature. The *figus Ruminalis* was represented on the Ara Pacis (Not. d. Scavi, 1903, p. 553). A sacred fig-tree, not the *Ruminalis*, is represented on one of the balustrades of the Forum (Platner, *Topography of Ancient Rome*, p. 250; Hülsen, *Forum*, p. 88; see also p. 157, the relief of the temple of Vesta in the Uffizi, Florence).

The law against digging up olive trees in Athens is given by Pseudo-Demosthenes against Macartatus (1074).¹ Many Greek inscriptions give the penalties attaching to the violation of a sacred grove.² So PZ. II, n. 58 (Andania, about 90 B. C.), § 15, *μηδεὶς κοπτεῖται ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τόπου· ἂν δέ τις ἄλλῳ, ὁ μὲν δοῦλος μαστιγούσθω ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὁ δὲ ἐλεύθερος ἀποτεισάτω ὅσον καὶ οἱ ἱεροὶ ἐπικρίνωσι*; PZ. II, n. 34 (Attica, fourth cent. B. C.), *μὴ κόπτειν τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνος μηδὲ φέρειν ξύλα μηδὲ κοῦρον μηδὲ φρύγανα μηδὲ φυλλόβολα ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, followed by different penalties for slave and free man; PZ. II, n. 81, l. 11 ff., *μηδὲ τῶν ἐνδημούντων ξένων δένδρα κόπτειν ἐν ταῖς διασαφουμένῃσι τόποις μηδὲ κολοῦειν* (Ziehen renders *κολοῦειν* by *violare*). See also ZP. II, n. 87, n. 107, and n. 153; Dittenberger³ 929, l. 82; Collitz-Bechtel 4629, l. 128, *αἱ δὲ τίς καὶ ἐπιβῇ ἢ νίμει ἢ φέρει τι τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱσιῶσι γαῖαι ἢ τῶν δεινδρέων τι κόπτηι*, etc.; cf. Collitz-Bechtel 5027. *Violare* is supported, not only by the Lex. Spolet., but by the following passages: Paulus, p. 46, Capitalis *lucus*, ubi si quid *violatum est*, caput *violatoris* expiatur; Ovid, Met. 8, 741,

Ille etiam Cereale nemus *violasse* securi
Dicitur, et lucos ferro temerasse vetustos.

Cicero, pro Rabirio 7; Ovid, Fasti 4, 649, Silva vetus nullaque diu *violata* securi; Livy 29, 18, 18, Sed et nunc et saepe alias dea suam sedem suumque templum aut tutata est, aut a *violatoribus* gravia piacula exegit. *Violare*³ is especially common in sepulchral inscriptions. Compare CIL. I 1081 and 1241, VI 29913, V 7475; Dessau 8177, 8178, 8184, 8197, quicumque *violaverit* sive inmutaverit, sentiat iratos semper sibi. *Violavesit* might be read if space demanded, but *violasit* is supported by the Lex Spoletiana.

Pliny, N. H. 17, 267, says of Cato, "Idem arbores religiosas lucosque succidi permisit *sacrificio prius facto* cuius rationem precationemque eodem volumine tradidit". The passage referred to is Agr. 139, Lucum *conlucare* Romano more sic oportet, *porco piaculo* facito, sic verba concipito, 'si deus, si dea es, quoniam illud sacrum est, uti tibi ius est, *porco piaculo* facere, illiusce sacri coercendi ergo harumque rerum ergo, sive ego, sive quis iussu meo fecerit, uti id recte factum siet, eius rei ergo te hoc *porco piaculo inmolando* bonas preces precor, uti sies volens propitius

¹ Cf. also Paus. 2, 28, 7.

² Recently Hasluck has published a unique inscription from Cyzicus (Journ. Hell. Stud., 1907, p. 66). Ἰούλιος Πρεῖως παραγγέλλει πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν λευκτὰν κόπτοισιν [δοῖναι ?] ὀρνέειν καὶ . . .

³ Accordingly one might read, *hom tumolom violasit* or *hom stlokom violasit*.

mihi domo familiaeque meae liberisque meis, harumce rerum ergo macte hoc *porco piaculo immolando esto*'.¹ The Acts of the Arval Brethren² are full of references to expiatory sacrifices (often prospective) made necessary by the felling of trees, or the removal of trees which had fallen through decay or been struck by lightning. In the earliest inscription (CIL. VI 2023) preserved of the year 14 A. D. we have these words, as restored by Henzen: "*cum arbor vetustate in luco deae Diae cecidisset, ut ad sacrificium consumeretur neve quid ligni exportaretur*". Reference to a piacular sacrifice is first made for the year 38, April 18 (2028), "ob ramum vetustate delapsum in luco deae Diae *sacrificium piacularare* fecit ramumque exportari iussit". Similarly in 2029 (39 A. D.), 2053 (72), *piaculum* factum in luco deae Diae ob arborem quae a tempestate deciderat *per calatorem et publicos*; 2054 (75), 2059 (80), 2060 (81), 2065 (87), l. 20, *porcas piacularares* duas luco coinquendi et operis faciendi immolavit; and again, l. 55, quod ramus ex arbore ilicina ob vetustatem deciderit *piaculum factum est per calatorem et publicos*; cf. l. 65; 2066 (89), 2067 (90 and 91), 2068 (91 and 92), 2074 (101), 2075 (105), 2076 (117), 2078 (118), 2079 (119), 2080 (120), 2082 (125), 2083 (130), 32379 (145), 2086 (155 and 213), 2095 and 2096 (anni incerti), 2099 (183), quod in fastigio aedis deae Diae *ficus innata* esset, eruendam et aedem reficiendam, immolavit *suovetaurilibus maioribus*; also May 19, *porcilia piacularares* II luci coinquendi, etc.; and 184 A. D., May 18, 2104 (218), 2105 (221), 2107 (224), 2110 and 2116 (an. incert.).

In 2104 (218 A. D.), the same inscription which contains the Carmen Arvale, we find "Item IIII Kal(endas) Iunias in luco deae Diae Alfenius Avitianus promag(ister) ad aram immol(avit) porcil(ias) piacul(ares) II luci coinqu(ue)ndi et operis faciund(i); ibi vacc(am) honorar(iam) imm(olavit) et inde in tetrastylō revers(us) subsellis consed(it). Deinde reversus ad aram *extas* reddidit *porcilar(es)*. Item in circo in foculo arg(enteo) cespiti ornato *extam vacc(inam) redd(idit)*. In 2105, of 221 A. D., we have *piaculum factum* . . . in luco deae Diae ob ferri inlatione scripturae et sculpturae marmoris per Fl(avium) Archelaum c(larissimum) v(irum) fratrem Arval(em) et public(os) et a sacris, *porcam piacular(em)* struib(us) fertis et agnam, quorum *extae redditae* sunt. In 2107, of 224 A. D., ob ferri inlationem scriptur(ae)

¹ For a translation of this passage into Italian see De Marchi, *Il Culto Privato di Roma Antica* I, p. 132.

² Cf. Weisweiler, JJ. 139, p. 39 ff.

et sculptur(ae) marmor(is) causa immol(ante) ipso mag(istro) porcam et agnam struib(us) et fertis et *extas reddidit* ad aram. We have thus four examples of *extae* used as fem.¹ In the protocol of the year 87 (VI 2065) we have *exta aulicoccta*² *reddidit*. The neut. *exta* and the fem. *extae* may both go back to an early period; cf. *serta* and *sertae*, *arva* and *arvas* (Naevius). With *extae* = *exsectae* we may supply *carnes*³ or *partes*.⁴ For *exta* cf. Seneca, Medea 733, *exsecta vivae viscera*; for the variation in gender, *prosciciae* and *proscitum* (Paulus, p. 282), quod praesecatam proicitur. That the fem. was in use is shown also by Placidus (CGL. V 67, 28), *Extorum intestinorum, extorum dicere debemus non extarum*. Compare also the gloss (V 21, 23 and 67, 23), *exte: esse = extae: escae*.⁵ Outside of the Acts of the Arval Brethren, in inscriptions as in literature, *exta* seems to be used; cf. II 2395, *exta intra quadrata contra cremantur*; but it is not found in the index to the first volume of the Corpus. I propose to read, in l. 4, *extas porcil IASIAS = porciliarias = porciliares*, just as Enmann proposed *familiarias = familiares*. For the early use of *-arius* for *-aris* see Lindsay's note on Captivi 96, "The suffix *-arius* was much in vogue in early Latin, though later it was often supplanted by *-aris*". For the inscriptional use of *-arius* and *-aris* see Olcott, Studies in the Word-formation of the Latin Inscriptions, p. 183.⁶

¹ It is worthy of note that the protocol containing the Carmen Arvale, in which *extae* first occurs, contains other forms not found elsewhere; e. g., *lumemulia*, explained by Buecheler (ALL. I 109); *sumpui*, defended by Brinkmann (ALL. XV 142).

² Paulus, p. 17, has *aulicoccta*, which may be correct, containing *coquia*, a verbal adjective like *loiquios* (cf. *lumemulia*). Plautus, Stich 251, has *exta cocta*. According to Johannes Schmidt the n. pl. *exta* might originally have been a collective fem. sg.; cf. Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 400. I of course am aware that there are many cases of a late change to fem. sg. from n. pl.; cf. ALL. 13, 467.

³ For *carnes* = *partes* cf. Walde, Et. Wtb.; Buecheler, Rhein. Mus. 38, 479, and ALL. I, 104.

⁴ Compare the gloss CGL. V 197, 1, *exta mediae pecudum partes*.

⁵ But see ALL. I, 115 and VI 277.

⁶ Cicero uses *volgaris*, but *volgarius* is found in earlier writers. In a phrase like pro Quinct. 56, *volgaria et obsoleta sunt*, *volgaria* might come from *volgaris* or *volgarius*; and confusion may have arisen in this way. It is not necessary to assume for every case a shortening of *-arius* to *-aris*; cf. Mohl, Chronologie du latin vulgaire, p. 285, and Neue³ Formenlehre 2, 158 ff.

The use of the pig as an expiatory offering, and to chthonic deities, is common to both the Greeks and the Romans. In a poem ("Contra clericos inherentes et desides") quoted by Usener (Rhein. Mus. 24, 391), occur the amusing lines:

Qui non exercet mentem corpusque coerchet
Est similis porco Libitina dignus et Orco.

In the sacrificial Calendar of Cos to which I have frequently referred in the first part of this paper, ZP. I, n. 8, B., l. 4, we have preserved the words *καθαλπεραι χοίρωι*.¹

The technical word used in connection with offering *exta* is *reddere*.² Servius, commenting on *reddimus exta*, G. 2, 194, says, "sacerdotum usus est verbo: *reddi* enim dicebantur *exta* cum *probata* et elixa arae superponebantur". In the Acta Lud. Saec. of the year 204 we find *splanchna reddere*.³ Sueton., Aug. 1, has *exta Marti redderentur*; and Tacitus, Hist. IV 53, *lustrata suove-aurilibus area et super caespitem redditis extis*.⁴

At the end of l. 3 and the beginning of line 4 the letters preserved are *akros es/ed Sora*, although there is some doubt about the last letter.⁵ Scholars generally read *sākros* = *sacer*, but there is a difference of opinion as to the form *esed*. Dessau explains by *sacer sit*, which, so far as the form is concerned, is impossible; one would expect rather *sied*. Skutsch⁶ says, "*esed* (der Bedeutung nach *esto*, der Form nach schwerlich = *esset*, das in solcher

¹ The use of pig's blood in purification is abundantly illustrated by Frazer, Pausanias, Vol. III, pp. 297 and 593; and by Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States IV, p. 303, where he says of the pig, "It was preëminently the piacular animal". Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 153, says, "The pig of purification was a ritual element so important that when Eleusis was permitted (B. C. 350-327) to issue her autonomous coinage, it is the pig that she chooses as the sign and symbol of her mysteries". The pig is often represented in reliefs; see Petersen, Ara Pacis, p. 56; Altmann, Die römischen Grabaltäre, p. 96. Hirt, Die Indogermanen, p. 289, finds it significant that in the *suoveaurilia* the *su* takes the first place.

² Cf. Blecher, De Extispicio, p. 229; Wissowa, Religion 353; von Grienberger, Das Carmen Arvale, I. F. 19, 146.

³ Ephem. Epigr. VIII, p. 286.

⁴ For *dare exta* cf. Cato, Agr. 134; Ovid, F. 4, 908; Martial, II, 57, 4; for *porricere* (*proicere*), Macrobius, Sat. 3, 2, 2; Livy, 29, 27, 5; Varro, R. R. 1, 29; Servius, Aen. 5, 238.

⁵ Cf. Rhein. Mus. 56, 163.

⁶ Vollmöller, l. c., p. 457, with a reference to Ceci, Rendiconti d. Ac. d. Lincei, 1899, 550.

Bestimmung ja kaum verständlich wäre, sondern vielleicht = *erit*, das hier wegen seiner ursprünglich konjunktivischen Natur noch die Secundärendung bewahrt hätte). Das Ganze also wie *patronus* si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto (Serv., A. VI 609); si parentem puer verberit . . . , puer divis parentum sacer esto (Festus); und anderes in den sog. Königsgesetzen und den 12 Tafeln".¹ We might explain *esed* as *esset* if *censuere* preceded, as in the S. Cons. de Bacch., corresponding to ἰδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ in Greek inscriptions. I have proposed above (p. 375) a reading possible with *essed* on the analogy of πασχέτω ὡς ἱερόσυλος: *Quoi hom loukom (fikom) violasid patitod quam sei sakros esed*. Servius, A. 3, 57, commenting on 'sacra fames', says, "alii 'sacra' devota accipiunt unde et *ver sacrum*, alii *sacrum* pro *scelestum* vel *sacrilegum*". The active form *patitod* could be defended by Cic., de Leg. 3, 4, 11, "doceri a magistratibus privatisque patiunt". In a corrupt passage, de Leg. 2, 57, Cicero has "*porcam* heredi esse contractam, et habendas triduum serias, et *porco femina piaculum pati*;" *patitor* is used twice by Plautus in As. 375. For *quam sei* compare CIL. II 1963 c, XXIX, tam iustus tutor esto, *quam si* is civis Romanus et adgnatus proximus civis Romanus *tutor esset*. One may also compare Charisius, K. I. 143 f. siremps lex esto *quasi sacrum (sacram, codd.) violaverit*;² Lex Agraria (CIL. I 200 c, 27), de eo agro *siremps lex esto quam sei* is ager . . . publicus fuisset; Lex Bantina (197, l. 12), *siremps lexs esto quae sei sei* is haace lege pecuniam . . . exegisset. One might then propose *sirempse lex estod quam sei sakros esed*, but this would probably exceed the space, and for so early an inscription a more direct form seems probable. Moreover, we can support the use of a fut. *esed* = *erit* from Greek inscriptions. Dionysius, to be sure (VI 89), translates *sacer esto* by ἱεράγιστος ἴστω, and the imper. is doubtless more frequent in Greek. Reinach has recently published (Rev. d. Ét. Gr., 1906, p. 260 ff.) a series of sepulchral inscriptions of the Roman period from Aphrodisias in Caria. In n. 154 we have the formula ὁ ἐπιχειρήσας τοιοῦτό τι ἴστω ἀσεβῆς καὶ ἑπάρατος καὶ τυμβωρύχος καὶ ἀποτεισάτω τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ ἀργυρίου δηνάρια βφ, etc. This formula is repeated with more or less variation in some fifteen inscriptions, but in n. 155 we find ὁ τοιοῦτό τι τολμήσας ἴσταται ἑπάρατος, etc.; in n. 168 and n. 177,

¹ For a full discussion of the formula *sacer esto* see Lange, Kleine Schriften II 91-125.

² For *siremps* see Ritschl, Op. 4, 56, and Plaut., Amph. 73.

ἀποτίσει. In n. 184 *ἔσται* is due to conjecture.¹ In the XII tables 1, 4 we have “*adsiduo vindex adsiduus esto; proletario iam civi quis volet, vindex esto*”; but Cic., de leg. 2, 19, has “*Qui secus faxit, deus ipse vindex erit*”. Compare Collitz-Bechtel 5267 (Kyme, Euboea), *ἥδ' ἂν με κλέψῃ, θυφλὸς ἔσται*. Sometimes we have imp. and fut. combined; cf. Cagnat, Insc. Gr. ad res Rom. pertinentes 599 (Lycia), *ἄλλ' ὃς μὴδενὶ ἐξέστω θάψαι τινα ἢ ἀσεβῆς ἔσται καὶ ἱερόσυλος καὶ ἀποτεισάτω*, etc.; 696 (Apollonia), *ἄλλ' ὃς οὐδενὶ ἐξείναι ἐγκηδεῦσαι τινα, ἢ ἀμαρτωλὸς ᾗτω θεοῖς χθονίοις καὶ ἐκτείσει*, etc.² Accepting *caprificus* we might read, with an average of eighteen letters to the line,³

QUOI HOM[kaprifikom
violasid s]AKROS ES
ED SORA[noi nei redide
sid extas porkil]IASIAS

Here *Soranoi*⁴ would correspond to the *θεοῖς χθονίοις* of the Greek inscription just given. For I accept Servius' statement (Aen. 11, 785), “*Soranus vero a Dite, nam Ditis pater Soranus vocatur, quasi lupi Ditis patris*”.⁵ In case *loukom* be accepted rather than

¹ For many similar inscriptions see Rohde, *Psyche*,² 2, p. 342 f. G. Hirschfeld (Königsberger Studien, 1887, 83-144) has shown that such inscriptions imposing a fine are especially common in Lycia, and that the original formula is at least as old as the third century B. C., occurring in an inscription from Pinara (C. 4259), *ἐὰν δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ ἀμαρτωλὸς ἔστω θεῶν πάντων καὶ Διτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ προσapoτεισάτω τάλαντον ἀργυρίου*. Similarly in another Lycian inscription, which can be dated about 240 B. C., from Telmessus (Bull. de Corresp. Hell., 1890, p. 164), which provides for an annual sacrifice (*θεῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν . . . βοῖν τριετήν*), we find *ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἔστωσαν θεῶν πάντων*.

² In Lat. sepulchral inscriptions, where a fine is imposed, we find *det, dabit, dare debet, inferet*, etc. For exx. see Wamser, *de iure sepulchrali Romanorum*, p. 33.

³ Let me say in advance that in regard to such forms as *rediderit* I feel quite uncertain as to the ending. Before rhotacism took place *-iso* rather than *-eso* may have continued to be the form of the fut. perf.; see Sommer, *Handbuch der Lat. Laut- und Formenlehre* 620 f. I do not accept *jovaset* of the Duenos insc. as = *inverit*, and consequently that furnishes no proof of the ending *-set*, which may, nevertheless, be correct.

⁴ The dat. *Soranoi* is supported by Numasioi, by Faliscan *Sextoi* (cf. Schmidt, K. Z. 38, 31), and by the Ligurian (?) *tehialai, pivotialui* (cf. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, p. 564).

⁵ Wissowa makes a vigorous protest against Soranus (BPW., 1904, col. 1052) and Skutsch follows him. In the same year with the Stele was discovered the only insc. referring to *Soranus* (Not. d. Scavi, 1899, p. 48), giving *Sancto Sorano Apollini*. Basiner's discussion of Soranus in his “*Ludi Saeculares*”

fikom (*fikum* if 4th decl.) or *caprifikom* one might read *Quoi hom loukom conloukasid, coinquesid* combining with asyndeton,¹ such as is frequent in legal inscriptions, the *conluere* of Cato, Agr. 139, with *coinquere*, so frequent in the Arval Acts. Whether *coinquesid* or *coinquisid* should be read or what would be the corresponding form of this verb in the early period is of course doubtful. In the Lex. Spolet. a distinction is made between the involuntary and voluntary violation of a grove and the word *sacer* is not used. In case of a violation done wittingly (*sciens, dolo malo*), in addition to the piacular offering, a fine is imposed. Whether such a commutation was allowed in the early period in Rome is doubtful. The evidence of the writers is against it, but the point seems to have been a debatable one. Macrobius, Sat. 1, 16, 10, says, "Praeter multam vero adfirmabatur eum qui talibus diebus *inprudens* aliquid egisset *porco piaculum* dare debere, *prudenter* expiare non posse Scaevola pontifex adseverabat, sed Umbro negat eum pollui, qui opus vel ad deos pertinens sacrorumve causa fecisset, vel aliquid ad urgentem vitae utilitatem respiciens actitasset".² Arnobius, 7, 8, scornfully says, "Quae causa est ut si ego *porcum occidero*, deus mutet affectum animosque et rabiem ponat?" I have not added *sciens*,

(Warsaw, 1901, in Russian) I only know from a review in Arch. f. Religionswissenschaft 8, p. 312, from which I quote in part: "Als Sonnengott konnte Soranus heitere und düstere Züge erhalten und an Dis wie Apollo angeglichen werden. Ebenso ist seine Genossin Feronia bald Juno, bald Persephone, denn sie ist Mondgöttin. Die Geschichte bei Verg., Aen. 8, 563 ff. (dazu Servius), Servius, Aen. 7, 800, sind astrale Mythen. Der doppelte Charakter des Latinischen Kultes, stimmt zu dem gleichen Charakter der Säkularfeier, auch weisen andere Tatsachen darauf hin, dass die Valerier von Alters her Sonne und Mond verehrten. Soranus und Feronia also brachten die Valerier aus ihrer Sabinischen Heimat mit nach Rom." Babelon, Mélanges Numismatiques (Troisième Série, 1900, p. 196), discussing the gens Valeria, takes a similar view. "Le culte de Jupiter enfant et de Veiovis était particulièrement en honneur à Faléries et dans le pays étrusco-sabin berceau de la gens Valeria". "Quant à Véjovis il était assimilé à Apollon Soranus, qui avait un sanctuaire fameux sur le mont Soracte au pied duquel Faléries était bâtie". Solinus, 2, 26, says, "hi (Hirpi) sacrificium annuum ad Soractis montem Apollini faciunt"; cf. Silius It. 5, 175; 7, 662; 8, 492. It must be admitted that our knowledge of Soranus is very limited.

¹ Cf. Cic., de leg. 2, 62, si quis bustum aut monumentum aut columnam violarit, laeserit, fregerit.

² Cf. Varro, LL. 6, 30; Cic. de leg. 1, 40; Fowler, Roman Festivals, 299; De Marchi, Il Culto privato di Roma Antica, 246 ff.

for one could hardly be said *conluere lucum* without intention; but as in the case of the Arval Brethren, he might escape guilt by performing beforehand the piacular sacrifice. For *nei* (= *ni*) *redidesid*, compare laws of XII Tables 7, 7, *viam muniunto, ni sam dilapidassint*, qua volet iumenta agito; and inscriptions like VI 10298, *ni ita iurassit*, multa esto. Instead of a proviso with *ni*, some may prefer, on the analogy of some of the Greek inscriptions cited above, late as they are, to read *sakros esed Soranoi redet(d?)que extas porkiliasias*. Possibly in so early an inscription *exsektas* should be written, which would give three more letters. In case one is unwilling to accept *extas porkiliasias* on the ground that *extae* is a late, and not an early form, it might be suggested to read *hostias kaviasias* = *hostias caviarses*. *Caviarses* is only known to us from Festus, p. 40, "*Caviarses hostiae dicebantur quod caviae, id est pars hostiae cauda tenus, dicitur, et ponebatur in sacrificio pro collegio pontificum quinto quoque anno*". This seems to point to a *lustrum*. Harper's dictionary says, "*victims* so called from *caviae*, the excrementary canal of animals". But I think Walde must be right in suggesting that *cauda tenus* is 'Volksetymologie' and that *caviae* = "Brandopferstück zu gr. *καία*". *Caviae* would then be another verbal adjective like *loiquios*, and would be supported by Hesychius, *κῆια* καθάρματα, and by *κηῖαν* in ZP. II, n. 75, l. 34.¹

¹ The passage is unfortunately not complete and not clear. After and before a gap Z. reads *ἐς ἐφοδὸν θύεν ἐν Ἀνεμαίαις τρικτεῖαν κῆαν. τῷ τρικτεῖαν κῆαν*. I give a part of Ziehen's comment (II, p. 233), "*ἐς ἐφοδὸν θύεν* sc. τοῦς ἱερομνύμονας antequam fines Delphorum *ingrediebantur*. . . . τρικτεῖαν haud dubie idem atque Atticum τρίττοια. . . . Sacrificium lustrale dici iam Boeckh, coll. Hes. s. v. *κῆια* καθάρματα statuit et eiusdem sacrificium in introitu terrae sacrae fieri par est". Michel, n. 702, supplies Ἀπόλλωνι after τῷ. I leave to some one else the task of defending a reading like this for the Stele: Quoi hom stlokom (loukom)endo[grediatur sakros es]ed Soranoi nei redide[sit] hostias kaviasias. I give him the benefit of the following suggestions, which amused me in a tired moment, when I was trying to solve the puzzle presented by Dionysius I, 87 and 3, 1, and the much quoted passage from Festus on the Niger Lapis (cf. Otto, ALL. XII 104; Pais, Ancient Legends, p. 281). Dionysius, I, 87, says of Faustus, *Τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸν λέοντα τὸν λίθινον, ὃς ἔκειτο τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ χωρίῳ παρὰ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις, ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι τοῦ Φαιστούλου τεθῆναι φασιν, ἐνθ' ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐρότων ταφέντος*; and in 3, 1, in similar language, but not as explicit, says of Hostilius, *θάπτεται πρὸς τῶν βασιλέων ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τόπῳ στήλης ἐπιγραφῇ τὴν ἀρετὴν μαρτυροῦσης ἀξιοθεῖς*. Otto says, "Es hat nämlich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die Varronische Zeit noch jene auf Hostus Hostilius bezogene

ZP. I 5 (Cos Calendar), l. 30, has *ἔπειτα ἄγοντι τὸν βοῦν καὶ τὸν κευτὸν*, etc., where von Prott comments: "Immolatur solitum piaculum *porculus* apte *κευτὸς* appellatus quia *δλοκαυτεῖται*"; cf. ZP. I, n. 6 (Cos), l. 12: *Ζητὶ Μαχαῆς βοῦς κρύνεται . . . καθάπερ τοῦ Βατρομίου*

Inschrift gesehen, und aus einem für sie zweideutigen Worte eine Beziehung teils auf jenen, teils auf Faustus herausgelesen. Das scheint die scharfsinnige Ergänzung des Festusbruchstücks, p. 177 M., die wir Detlefsen verdanken, zu beweisen,—'Niger lapis in comitio locum funestum significat, ut ali, Romuli morti destinatum, sed non usu ob<venisse, ut ibi sepeliretur, sed Fau>stulum nutri<cium eius, ut ali dicunt Hos>tilium avum Tu<lli Hostilii Romanorum regis> cuius familia e<Medullia Romam venit post destructio->nem eius',—und die doppelte Deutung auf Hostus Hostilius und auf Faustus wäre von dem auf der Inschrift gelesenen Namen Hostus für *Fostus* ausgegangen". If *Fostus* were written FHOSTLVS this shrewd guess would gain in probability. Let us suppose however that the Stele had not remained intact down to the time of Varro, but had been broken in two, say during the Gallic invasion, and that the other part, much more mutilated, had been set up not far off. Weather-beaten, moldy inscriptions *in situ* are often not easy to read nowadays, although a little scraping and cleaning sometimes brings out the letters very distinctly. Of the first line of the second side of our inscription in this other part all that would remain might be SIT(?)HOSTIASKA (V would probably be illegible). Imagine some dim-eyed enthusiastic antiquary, by craning his neck, being able to make out the letters HOSTI ASKA (I leave out of consideration *sit*, being uncertain of the ending. It may have been broken off from the upper part of the Stele. If present, he may have interpreted it as *situs* or *sita*). It does not take him long to solve the puzzle. He sees no interpuncts. HOSTI is of course the genitive of Hostus. And ASKA? Why *aska* is the archaic form of *arca*, as *asa* of *ara*, *Lases* of *Lares*, not to mention other words that he knows in which *s* stands for *r* (being an ancient Italian, he is not familiar with the conditions of rhotacism laid down by 'la scuola di Lipsia'). At once he reports to a Learned Society that the monument marks the tomb of Hostus Hostilius commemorating his virtues (see Dionys. 3, 1). For *arca* cf. Pliny, N. H. 13, 84, Cassius Hemina vetustissimus auctor annalium—prodidit Cn. Terentium—effodisse *arcam* in qua Numa *situs fuisset*; and see the inscriptions quoted by Ruggiero (Dizionario epigrafico) s. v., *arca C. Sitti*, etc. Pardon the *jeu d'esprit*, grave critics, which I have thrust into a foot-note lest it be taken too seriously. With similar perverse ingenuity one might propose to read in l. 10 and following:

POPLIFϷJCIOD IO VXMEN
ENOITALOTSJVATOD: AIPAK AT
M

letters of line 11 should have of course the retrograde form). Our antiquary, if he could only make out the end of the first line and the beginning of the second in the separate fragment, would find FϷVSTOL and, taking the old form Ϸ as an A, get *Faustol*, which he might interpret as Faustus. *Usto-latio* (the early form of *ustulatio*) might be regarded as a compound of *usto* = *κευτὸν*, *καυστόν* (cf. *κηβαν*) and *latio* = literally 'burnt-offering', not

τῷ Ζηνὶ τῷ Πολιῇ κρίνεται καὶ χοῖρος προκαυτεύεται καὶ προκα-
ρύσσεται καθάπερ τῷ Πολιῇ. In Vergil VI 253, we have a reference
to a holocaust to an infernal deity like *Soranus* :

Tum Stygio regi nocturnas inchoat aras
Et solida inponit taurorum viscera flammis
Pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis.

A part of Servius' comment I have given in discussing *viscera*. At the end he says, "quamquam *alii* pro parte totum velint, ut per *exta totum animal* intellegatur". If we could accept this view of '*alii*', which does not seem probable, and equate *hostiae caviares* with *καυτόν* = *porculus*, *hostias caviarias* would not be so very different from *extas porkiliasias*. Skutsch says in regard to this line, "Vor dem ersten *ia* ist auf der Photographie der untere Teil eines L oder (eckigen) S zu sehen". If it would be impossible to read V, *Kaviarias* is ruled out, although in itself it seems plausible.¹ With the remainder of the

'sing-ing'. It would be a pretty pendant to *hostias kaviarias*. We may recall the burnt offering of Catullus 36, 7 f. :

Scripta tardipedi deo daturam
Infelicibus ustulanda lignis ;

and the compound *ustulatio* (cf. *oblatio*) may be earlier than the verb *ustulo*. It now remains for the archaeologists to determine by their precise methods what is meant by Dionysius' phrase ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τόπῳ and then dig for the missing fragments of the Stele. I prefer of course to read *Vitulationem*.

¹ I anticipate that the objection will be raised that in the Acts of the Arval Brethren *extas porciliares* is only another way of expressing *porcas piaculars* and that (granting that we connect *Soranoi* ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *sakros esed* and *redidestis*) female victims could only be offered to a female deity, and vice versa male to a male (cf. Krause, *De Romanorum Hostiis*, p. 8. In Greek we have, ZP. II, n. 57, Δεσποίνῃ χοῖρον ἄρσεν). But we are not certain of the restoration *Soranoi*, and *porkiliasias* may refer as well to a masc. **porcilus* (cf. Prellwitz, BB. 24, 97). Vergil, usually accurate in matters of ritual, has *porca*, A. 8, 641, where we might expect *porco*; see Servius, Quintilian 8, 3, 19, and the commentators. Corresponding to the diminutives *porcilia*, *porcellus*, we find in Greek in connection with the lustration of a theatre, PZ. II, n. 58, § 12, καὶ ὅταν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καθάριε χοιρίσκους τρεῖς (παρέχεν); cf. Pollux 8, 104 and Harpocration, s. v., καθάρσιον, ἔθος ἦν Ἀθηναῖσι καθάριεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰ θεάτρα καὶ ὅλως τὰς τοῦ δήμου συνόδους μικροῖς πάνν χοιριδίοις. -ιδιον is of course a secondary suffix, cf. Brugmann, Gdr. 2, p. 121. *Porcilus* is found as a proper name. May it not stand for *Porcidius*, with *l* for *d*, as in *consilium* for *considium*? Compare *Ovidius*, *Hirpidius*, *Cervidius*, *Parfidius*, *Picidius*, *Ursidius*. *Haedilia*, the only parallel cited for *porcilia* (cf. Heraeus, ALL. 12, 78) might easily arise by dissimilation from *haedidia*, but this seems less likely. Compare Schulze, Eigennamen, p. 234; Klio, 3, 258 ff.; ALL. 6, 271; 14, 426 f.

inscription I must deal more briefly. I would supplement so as to read:

RECEI LO[ustratio esed (estod)
comvorsoi ad l]EVAM
QVOS RI[te probasid pe
kudes per sovo]M KALATO
REM HAP? [etod i(n)molatos

Lustratio with the dat. is supported by CIL. VI 821, vici censori lustratio erit idibus Septembribus. In X 3792 (found in the amphitheatre at Capua) *lustratio* ad flumen occurs twice. The expression *lustrum*¹ *missum* occurs three times in the Acts of the Arval Brethren,² always of extraordinary ceremonies in connection with catastrophes to trees. I quote only essential parts. CIL. VI 2107, for Nov. 7, 224, "Fratres Arvales in luco deae Diae . . . convenerunt et ibi immolaverunt, quod vi tempestatis ictu fulminis *arbores sacri luci* deae Diae attactae arduerint, earumque *arborum* eruendarum, ferro fendendarum, adolendarum, commolendarum, item aliarum restituendarum causa operisque inchoandi aras temporales sacras deae Diae reficiendi, eius rei causa *lustrum missum* suovetaurilibus maioribus,"³ in the same year, Dec. 10, "quod ab ictu fulminis *arbores luci sacri* deae Diae attactae arduerint, earumque *arborum* adolefactarum et coinquendarum, et quod in eo luco sacro aliae sint repositae et arae temporales refectae, ferri efferendi, huius operis perfecti causa *lustrum missum* suovetaurilibus maioribus". For the year 183, although the words *lustrum missum* are not used, the same ceremony seems intended = VI 2099, May 13, "in luco deae Diae . . . magister operis perfecti causa, quod arboris eruendae et aedis refectae, *immolavit suovetaurilibus*; and Feb. 8, operis inchoandi causa, quod in fastigio aedis diae Diae *ficus innata esset*, eruendam et aedem reficiendam, immolavit suovetaurilibus maioribus. So also in the defective protocol of the year 218 (containing Carmen Arvale), VI 2104, immolavit suovetaurilibus maioribus.

¹ *Lustrum* occurs in CIL. VI 422 connected with the *lucus Furrinae*; see Comptes Rendus de l' Académie des Inscriptions, 1907, p. 152. Deecke (Rhein. Mus. 39, 640) interprets Etrusc. *lursθ* as *lustrum*.

² Compare the Commentary of Henzen, p. 143, the new fragment published in Not. d. Scavi, 1899, p. 268, and Pauly-Wissowa, Arvales Fratres, col. 1481.

³ Cf. Livy 21, 62, 7 and 10, Iam primum omnium urbs *lustrata* est, hostiaeque maiores quibus editum est dis caesae.

Of *-evam*, at the end of l. 6, Skutsch says, "*-evam* ist ganz unklar; nicht *d]evam*¹ da für so alte Zeit nur *deivam* denkbar, nicht *n]evam* neu, da der Wandel von *ev*: *ov* schon gemeinitalisch für unsere Inschrift auch in *iouxmenta* und *iovestod* belegt ist". No one has proposed *levam*, because we should naturally expect *laivam*;² and *levam* for *laivam* as *cedere* for *caidere* in Lex. Spolet. is not in the least probable. However Berneker (I. F. X 162) assumes *levus* to have been the original form. I give his words: "let. *lāuns* 'link, übel' *l'auna puse* 'die linke Seite', Ich vergleiche abg. *lěve* 'links' usw. Das let. weist auf **lěynos* (vgl. z. B. pr. *naunan* 'neu' aus **neynos* gegenüber *viós*). Die Bedeutung stimmt so trefflich, dass man entschieden bedauern würde, Slav. *lěve* auf **laivos* zurückführen zu müssen; nicht wegen gr. *laús* 'links', denn dieses kann auf *lěvíó* zurückgeführt werden, wohl aber wegen des lat. *laevus* 'links'. Sollte indes es wirklich unmöglich sein, dass dieses für *lěvus* stünde, und sein *ae* einer Beeinflussung von *scaevus* 'links' gr. *σκαίός* zu danken habe? Dann hätte das let. Wort, das sonst vereinzelt und unerklärt dastünde, eine voll befriedigende Etymologie".³ *Lěvir*, for which we should expect *laevir*, is not found in any early writer, and Nonius' etymology "*quasi levus vir*" has no value. So also his derivation (51 M.) "*levum significari veteres putant quasi a levando*",⁴ quoting Verg., Georg. 4, 7, with *leva*. The Palatine MSS of Plautus often have *levus*, but in view of the common confusion of *ae* and *e* this has little weight. In fact the spelling *laevus* must have come in early, and is the usual one in Inscriptions (*ad laevam* occurs, I, 1027); so VI 10242, 10241, 30506; III 567; V p. 617, no. 5; VIII 2581; Not. d. Scavi, 1899, p. 26, in a fragment of Acta Arv. *Leva* does occur in a late inscrip-

¹Cf. Walde, Et. Wb., s. v. We have to be sure CIL. I, 814, *Devas Corniscas* but the insc. is not early enough to afford proof. Enman reads *ad Deivam devam*, but the stereotyped order seems to be *Dea Dia*. As so much of my restoration depends upon the acts of the Arval Brethren, I was inclined at first to accept *deivam devam*, but I have found no satisfactory supplements with this reading. Others perhaps may be more successful.

²Ludwig however, Prague, 1901, p. 5, does suggest *laevam* (*scaevam*).

³For other etymologies of *laevus* see Walde, and Rhein. Mus. 43, 399; K. Z. 37, 279 and 285. Prellwitz³ has "*laús* link (Aesch.), **laifós* = lat. *laevus*, ksl. *lěvā* link. S. *λαρός*; oder zu *lěi*, *lěízomai*". English *left* is of course not connected.

⁴It was reserved to a later age to give *Levant* <*levare* the meaning of East. Compare Milton's "the Levant and the Ponent winds".

tion (589 A. D.) in II 3420. In the acts of the Arval Brethren a phrase frequently repeated is "magister fratrum Arvalium manibus lautis velato capite sub divo culmine¹ (columine) *contra orientem*". *Ad levam* I take in our inscription in the sense of *contra orientem*. When the Roman augur faced the south² (*ad meridiem spectans*, said of Attus Navius, Cic., de Div. 1, 31) he had the east on his left.³ Compare Varro, LL. 7, 7, "Eius templi partes quattuor dicuntur sinistra ab oriente", etc.; Festus, p. 502, "Varro, l. V epistolicarum questionum, ait, 'A deorum sede cum *in meridiem species ad sinistram* sunt parte mundi exorientes'"; Pliny 2, 142, "*Laeva* prospera existumantur, quoniam *laeva parte* mundi ortus est". Pliny follows this statement with a discussion of the Etruscan division of the *caelum* into sixteen parts. In view of the influence of Etruria upon Roman religion, it may be worth while to note that in the boustrophedon Etruscan inscription found at Capua, first published by Buecheler (Rhein. Mus. 55, 1 ff.), the word *leva*⁴ occurs in l. 4. Buecheler puts this inscription in the fifth century; Lattes makes it a century later.⁵ In the Agram inscription, which is certainly later than the Capuan, these words occur, which I give with Lattes' interpretation:⁶ "*Ides'*, laevi, *laeti*, in sinistra, *laevisca*, laeva, *Laiscla*, Inferae (*Laevisculae*; cf. Arnob., 'dii laevi' per inferi), *hampe-s' lae-s'* forse *campi laevi* in senso augurale".⁷

My ignorance of Etruscan is profound, and I shall not attempt to prove that *leva* in the Capuan insc. has anything to do with these words or with the Lat. *lacvus*. If it has, it proves that *levus* is the older spelling in Etruscan,⁸ and who knows but that the

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⁴ In l. 15 *levadtui* occurs; in l. 11, *is'umasuslevai* (*susleve* occurs several times in the Agram insc.).

⁵ Atene e Roma III, p. 199.

⁶ Cf. Lattes, Studi metrici intorno all' iscrizione Etrusca della Mummia, 1895, p. 95; Rhein. Mus. 49, 320, 1904; Stud. It. di Fil. Class. XII, 1904, pp. 93 and 105 f.

⁷ Cf. Lattes, Saggi ed Appunti, p. 23.

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graver was an Etruscan workman? Torp, *Etruskische Beitræge* 2, p. 32, says, 'Der Osten war aber bei den Etruskern die linke, der Westen die rechte Seite (Mue-De. sic, II 131)', but he gives to *ραχ* the meaning of 'left', and on p. 47 translates "*ραχθ тура nunθ en θ*" "wenn du links (opfer) giebst, sprich", which if correct would illustrate *convorsoi ad levam*. I write *com-* rather than *con-* because of *convalem*, CIL. I¹ 199, 8, and *convovise*, 196, 13 (Sen. Cons. de Bacch.). As parallels I would cite Verg., A. XII 172, *illi ad surgentem conversi lumina solem*, on which Servius remarks, "disciplinam caerimoniarum secutus est, ut orientem spectare diceret eum, qui esset precaturus" (cf. A. 8, 68); Ovid, Fast. 4, 777, *haec tu conversus ad ortus*; Cic., de Cons. 58 (Baehrens, Frag., p. 301), *solis ad ortum convorsa* (Juv. 4, 120, in *laevum conversus* in literal sense); Tertullian, Apol. 16, Denique inde suspicio quod innotuerit nos ad orientis regionem precari; Valerius Flaccus 3, 437 ff.,

imperat, hinc alte Phoebi surgentis ad orbem
ferre manus, totosque simul procumbere campis.
tunc piceae mactantur oves, prosectaque partim
tergora, per medios partim gerit obvius Idmon.

Servius, A. 6, 244, *vergere* autem est *conversa in sinistram* partem manu ita fundere, ut *patera* convertatur, quod in infernis sacris fit, haec autem pertinent ad victimarum *explorationem*, ut si non stupuerint, *aplae proebentur*; Seneca, Thyestes 642, *conversa ad Austros*; Soph., Oed. Col. 477, *χαῖς χείσθαι πάντα πρὸς πῶρην ἔω*; cf. Dionysius 2, 5. Petersen (Jahreshefte d. Oest. Arch. Inst., 1906, p. 309), discussing the Ara Pacis, says, "Der von Westen, der Eingangsseite, hinaufgestiegene Opferer blickte also, wie es üblich, gegen Osten".

the plebeian substratum of Latin is Ligurian, one might put in evidence for the vocalism at least that both Livy and Pliny speak of a Ligurian tribe of Laevi (some codd., *levi*). Schulze (Eigennamen, p. 178) cites Etruscan *leve levi* and (p. 33) *Leus = Levus* from Trident (CIL. V 5039, with *ae* preserved thrice in other words), of which he says, "es kann identisch sein mit dem Namen des am Ticinus sitzenden Ligurerstammes". *Livius* might be derived from *Lēvius*, as *filius* from *filius*. Cato, Orig. frag. 58, Peter, speaks of Egerius *Larvius* Tusculanus dictator, where many of the Priscian MSS point to *e* rather than *ae*. Gröber, ALL. 3, 512, says, *levisticum* statt *ligusticum* nach fr. *livêche*, ital. *levistico*, but this has no importance. However, the Indo-Germanic origin of the Ligurians is not yet proved; see Hirt, Indogermanen 563 ff. Modestov regards them as a pre-Aryan Mediterranean race (see Rev. Arch., 1907, p. 306).

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graver was an Etruscan workman? *Top. Etruskische Beiträge* 2, p. 32, says, "Der Osten war aber bei den Etruskern die linke, der Westen die rechte Seite (*Nies. Diss. II. 31*)", but he gives to *ra* the meaning of 'left', and on p. 47 translates "*wa, it* *non* *en* *θ*" "wenn du links (*opier*) *guckst*, *sprichst*", which is correct would illustrate *conversus ad levem*. I write *con-* rather than *con-* because of *comuleni*, CIL. I. 199. 8, and *concoria*, 199. 45 (Sen. Cons. de Bacch.). As parallel I would cite Verg. A. XII 172, *illi ad surgentem conversi* *luminas* *scien*, on which Servius remarks, "*disciplinam caerimoniarum secutus est, ut orientem spectare diceret eum, qui esset precaturus*" (cf. A. 8, 56); Ovid, Fast. 4, 777, *haec tu conversus ad ortus*; Cic. de Cons. 38 (*Beatum conversus in literal sense*); Tertullian, Apol. 16, Denique inde suspicio quod innotuerit nos ad orientis regionem precari; Valerius Flaccus 3, 437 ff.,

imperat, hinc alte Phoebe iugentis ad aethen
ferre manus, totosque simul procumbere campis.
tunc piceae mactantur oves; prociatque partim
tergora, per medios partim geti obrui iuvencos.

Servius, A. 6, 244, *vergere* autem est *convertere in sinistram* partem manu ita fundere, ut *palena* convertatur, quod in inferis sacris fit, haec autem pertinent ad victimarum *explorationem*, ut si non stupuerint, *aptae probentur*; Seneca, Thyestes 642, *conversa ad Austros*; Soph., Oed. Col. 477, *πρὸς πύκτα οὐρανὸν ἔω*; cf. Dionysius 2, 5. Petersen (Jahreshefte d. Ost. Arch. Inst., 1906, p. 309), discussing the Ara Pacis, says, "Der von Westen, der Eingangsseite, hinaufgestiegene Opferer blickte also, wie es üblich, gegen Osten".

the plebeian substratum of Latin is Ligurian, one might put in evidence for the vocalism at least that both Livy and Pliny speak of a Ligurian tribe of Laevi (some codd., *levi*). Schulze (Eigennamen, p. 178) cites Etruscan *len* *leni* and (p. 33) *Leus* = *Levus* from Trident (CIL. V 3039, with *ae* preserved thrice in other words), of which he says, "es kann identisch sein mit dem Namen des am Ticinus sitzenden Ligurerstammes". *Leni* might be derived from *Levius*, as *filius* from *filius*. Cato, Orig. frag. 58, Peten, speaks of *Egerius Laevius*; Tac. Gröber, ALL. 3, 512, says, *Leviticum* statt *ligusticum* nach fr. *Leviche*, ital. *Levico*, but this has no importance. However, the Indo-Germanic origin of the Ligurians is not yet proved; see Hirt, Indogermanen 563 ff. Modestov regards them as a pre-Aryan Mediterranean race (see Rev. Arch., 1907, p. 306).

The idea of reading *ad levam* was, however, first suggested to me not by the Acts of the Arval Brethren but by the Iguvian Tables. Compare the following passages, with Buecheler's translation:

I a 32, nertruku peři kapiře
peřum feitu. puni feitu. Api
sufuf purtiius, etc.

VI b 37, Persondro stafflare
nertruco persi fetu. Suront
capirse perso osatu, suror per-
snimu, puse sorsu.

VI b 39, enom vestisiam
stafflare nertruco persi, suru-
ront erus dirstu. enom peson-
dro sorsalem persome, pue
persnis fust, ife endendu,
pelsato.

ad sinistrum pedem¹ capidi
fossam facito, ubi porciliās por-
rexeris, etc.

Persontrum stabularem ad sin-
istrum pedem facito, item
capidi fossam facito, itidem
precator ut porcilia.

tum vesticiam stabularem ad
sinistrum pedem itidem erus
dato. tum persontrum por-
ciliarem in fossam ubi precatus
erit ibi imponito, pelsato.

Buecheler in his comment (Umbrica, p. 75) says, "porci solebant amburi in scrobibus, εὐστρα βόθρος ἐν ᾧ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐνοῦσι, εὐσανα δρυγμα ἐν ᾧ τοὺς θεοὺς βυθίζουσι (Aristoph., Eq. 1236, schol. Hesychius)." Paulus, p. 21, says, "altaria ab altitudine sunt dicta, quod antiqui diis superis in aedificiis a terra exaltatis sacra faciebant; diis terrestribus in terra, diis infernalibus in effossa terra". The scholiast to Eurip., Phoen. 274, says, ἐσχάρα² μὲν κυρίως ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βόθρος ἐνθα ἐναγίζουσι τοῖς κάτω ἐρχομένοις, βωμὸς δὲ ἐν ᾧ θύουσι τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις θεοῖς; Porphyr., de antr. nymph. 3, τοῖς μὲν Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς ναοὺς τε καὶ ἔδη καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρύσαντο, χθονίοις δὲ καὶ ἥρωσιν ἐσχάρας, ὑποχθονίοις δὲ βόθρους καὶ μέγαρα. Jane Harrison (Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 60) translates Athen. IX 78, 409 E, "Dig a trench (βόθρον = βόθρον) to the west of the tomb. Then look along the trench toward the west (πρὸς ἐσπέραν βλέπε), pour down water saying these words: 'A purification for you, to whom it is meet and right'. Next pour down a second time myrrh". βόθρος is found as a gloss of *fossa*, *fovea*, *scrobis*; βόθρον as a gloss of *fovea*, *scrobis* (compare Heraeus, Index Graeco-Latinus; CGL. VII 2). The scholiast on Statius, Theb. 4, 459, says, "tria sunt in sacrificiis deorum loca, per quae piationem facimus; *scrobiculo*

¹ So in speaking of the lustration of an army Livy, 40, 6, says, "caput mediae canis praecisae et pars ad dexteram cum extis, posterior ad laevam viae ponitur".

² On the meaning of ἐσχάρα see Furtwängler (Arch. f. Relig. Wissen. 8, p. 192).

facto inferis, terrestribus supra terram sacrificamus, caelestibus exstructis focus"; cf. Theb. 4, 502, "Laevaque convulsae (convulsa, Mueller) dedimus carchesia terrae (terra, M.)"; Ovid, M. 7, 243,

Haud procul egesta scrobibus tellure duabus
Sacra facit, cultrosque in guttura velleris atri
Conicit et patulas perfundit *sanguine fossas*.

Cf. Val. Flacc. 1, 735, in scrobibus cruor; and Sil. It. 13, 427 ff.,

Inducit iuvenem ferroque cavare refossam
Ocuis urget humum atque, arcanum murmur anhelans,
Ordine mactari *pecudes* iubet. ater operto
Ante omnis taurus regi, tum proxima divae
Caeditur Hennaeae casta cervice iuvenca.

Following these analogies one may perhaps prefer to read *fosad faktad ad levam, pateris*¹ *fuseis ad levam* or something similar. All things considered, I prefer *convorsoi ad levam*.

The phrase *rite probare* occurs in Ennius, Ann. 613 (Vahlen), ab laeva *rite probatum*. The reference is probably to an omen. Valmaggi (279) combines it with "tum tonuit laevom bene tempestate serena" = Vahlen, Ann. 527. Servius, commenting on Verg., Aen. XII 213 f.,

tum *rite sacratas*
in flammam iugulant *pecudes*,

says, "*rite exploratas* sollemnitate quam diximus supra". The reference is to Aen. 12, 170 ff.,

sactigeri fetum *snis* intonsamque bidentem
attulit admovitque *pecus* flagrantibus aris
illi ad surgentem conversi lumina solem
dant fruges manibus salsas et tempora ferro
summa notant *pecudum* paterisque altaria libant.²

¹ Cf. Stat., Theb. 4, 461 ff.,

iamque ardua ferro
signati capita et frugum libamine puro
in vulnus cecidere greges; tunc innuba Manto
exceptum *pateris* praelibat sanguen,

where the scholiast says, "primo est *sanguinem libare*, deinde immolare, tertio reddere, quarto litare". The Servius scholion on A. 6, 244, quoted above, with *in sinistram* partem, might be used to support the reading, *pateris fuseis* (*verseis* from *vergo*?) *ad levam*.

² Thus in Aen. 12, 170 ff. and 213 ff. we should have parallels for *convorsoi ad levam*, *rite probatis pecudes*, and *habetod immolatos*.

Servius' comment on 173 is "far et sal: quibus rebus et cultri aspergebantur et victimae, erant etiam istae *probationes* utrum aptum esset animal sacrificio". Compare Pliny, N. H. 8, 183, "quam ob rem victimarum probatio in vitulo ut (cauda) articulum suffraginis contingat, brevior non litant";¹ Serv., Aen. 6, 244, cited above (p. 395); Cicero, de lege Agr. 2, 93, erant hostiae maiores in foro constitutae, quae ab his praetoribus de tribunali, sicut a nobis consulibus, de consilii sententia *probatae* ad praecorem et ad tibicinem *immolabantur*"; Tertullian, Apol. 30, "ut mirer cum hostiae *probentur* penes vos a vitiosissimis sacerdotibus cur praecordia potius victimarum quam ipsorum sacrificantium *probentur*". On δοκιμασία see Plutarch, De Defectu Orac., c. 49; ZP. II, n. 58, l. 70 f., παριστάτω τὰ θύματα εἴτερα καθαρά ὀλόκαρα, καὶ ἐπιδείξάτω τοῖς ἱεροῖς πρὸ ἡμερῶν δέκα τῶν μυστηρίων τοῖς δὲ δοκιμασθέντοισι σαρμείων ἐπιβαλόντων οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ τὰ σαρμειωθέντα παριστάτω ὁ ἐγδεξάμενος; ZP. II, n. 94 c, l. 14 ff., δοκιμάζειν δὲ τὰ ἱερεῖα τοὺς προβούλους καὶ τὸν ταμίαν καὶ τὸν κήρυκα. Reading *quos rite probavit* we cannot, of course, supply *hostias* or *victimae*. *Sues*,² *oves*, *boves*, or *porcos* might be thought of; but I prefer *pecudes*, which is used as masc. by Ennius and other writers (see Neue³ Formenlehre I, 845). *Pecudes* and *pecus* are used in the Vergil passages cited above (Aen. 12, 170 and 213) and in Sil. It. 13, 429 to include various victims; and Servius, A. 12, 171, says, "primo adtulit, inde admovit *pecus*, id est *hostias*". Vitruvius, 1, 4, 9, has *pecoribus immolatis*. The Greeks had a convenient expression τρίτυνα, τρίττοια. Compare ZP. II, p. 10. For the separation of the relative *quos* from *pecudes* many parallels could be cited from early Latin; cf. Mil., Glor. 73, "*quos* consignavi hic heri *latrones*".³

Comparetti and Enmann both propose *per suom kalatorem*. The older form of *suom* would be *sovom*; cf. *soveis*, CIL. I¹ 1297; *sovom*, I¹ 588. In the Acts of the Arval Brethren *per calatorem* occurs frequently; cf. CIL. VI 2059 of 80 A. D., *piaculum factum per calatorem et publicos*; 2107 (225 A. D.), *immolavit ob ferri elationem scripturae et scalpturae et operis perfecti . . . per*

¹ On *litatio* cf. Blecher, de extispicio, p. 221, who, however, disapproves of Servius' explanation, A. XII 173.

² If we read *fosad fahlad ad levam* perhaps *sues* or *porcos* would be better, especially if we read in l. 4 *hostias kaviasias*.

³ For other exx. see Prescott, Thought and Verse in Plautus (University of California Publications, 1907, p. 254), and for Oscan and Umbrian see Altenburg, De Sermone pedestri Italicorum vetustissimo, p. 530.

Porcium Philologum *calatorem* et per publicos fratrum Arvalium.¹ Compare Tac., A. 12, 8, 4, addidit Claudius sacra ex legibus Tulli regis piaculæque *apud lucum* Dianæ *per pontifices* danda. As to the reading *hap* < *etod* for *hab* < *etod* I have nothing new to add; see Otto, ALL. II, 432; and for Oscan and Umbrian *hap*-, Buck, Grammar, p. 167. It might be explained if we suppose the graver to have been an Etruscan, although B appears occasionally in Etruscan monuments; *sipi* is found in CIL. III 4850, although the same inscription has *sibi*. The use of *habere* with the perfect participle has numerous parallels in literature¹ and in inscriptions. In the first volume of the Corpus, I note the following examples: 198, 14 and 18, *scriptos—discriptos habeto*; 58, *scriptum*; 206, 16 and 34, *propositum*; 54, *constratam*; 70, *inmolitum*; 71, *saeptum clausumve*. In the Laws of the XII tables 3, 4, *qui eum vinctum habebit*; cf. Dessau 6087, LXI, *Jure civili vinctum habeto*; CIIII, *ne quis limites decumanosque opsaeptos neve quit immolatum neve quit ibi opsaeptum habeto*. Compare Macrobius, S. 3, 9, 9, in a *carmen devotionis*, 'uti vos eas urbes agrosque capita aetatesque eorum *devotas consecratasque habeatis*'; Cicero, de leg. 2, 21, *templa liberata et effata* (augures) *habento*.

I have written *inmolatos* because the unassimilated form seems more likely for so early a period. Dorsch decides for *immolo* in Plautus. Keil adopts *inmolo* for Cato and Varro, R. R., with more or less support from the MSS. The index of Vol. I¹ of the Corpus does not give *immolo*, but similar forms are unassimilated. In the Ludi Saeculares insc. *inmolandarum, inmolanda, and inmolavit* occur. In the Acts of the Arval Brethren there are a few cases of *inm-* but *imm-* prevails largely. I have noted other cases of the unassimilated form in CIL. XII, 4333; XI, 3303; IX, 5845; VI, 30934; and I do not doubt there are others. In the Fasti Praenestini, I¹, p. 312, 10 & 17 *inmoletur* and *inmolant* occur. Festus, p. 7, has *agonium* dies appellatur quo *rex* hostiam *inmolavit*, but occasionally he too has *inm-*. Of course, if we accept the assimilated form we should write *imolatos* and save a letter.

To conclude, of the several forms of restoration, which I have proposed, I do not wish to give here the preference to any one, although in some cases I have already indicated my own prefer-

¹ For a historical treatment of this usage see ALL. 2, 372-423, 509-549, and 3, 532 ff.

² Cf. Thulin, Ital. Sak. Poesie and Prosa, p. 56.

ence. I believe that the inscription refers to a sacred tree or grove, the violation of which involves a curse and a piacular offering (*extas porkiliasias* or *hostias kariasias*). As a consequence also a *lustratio* is prescribed to be conducted by the *rex*, who, after the selection of the proper victims (*rite probasid pekudes*), causes them to be sacrificed by his *Kalator*.

For convenience I give together the restorations proposed on p. 387 and p. 392 for lines 1-9.

QVOI HOM [kaprifkom
violasid s]AKROS ES
ED SORA [noi nei redide—
sid extas porkil]IASIAS
RECEI LO[lustratio esed
comvorsoi ad l]EVAM
QVOS RI[te probasid pe—
kudes per sovo]M KALATO
REM HAP? [etod i(n)molatos

I crave pardon of my readers for so long a paper. It would have been longer, had I taken up in detail the proposals of other scholars, or given all the conjectures as to *havelod* and other words that have occurred to me. Although I have read all the literature on the subject on which I could lay my hands, I may not have given due credit to other scholars for profitable suggestions. If this be so, I regret it. I realize that I have raised many new problems without settling them. Where I have failed, I hope others will succeed. Above all it is to be hoped that other early inscriptions of similar character will be found, which will clear up all our doubts.

NOTE.—The above treatment of the Stele inscription is the elaboration of a paper read in Washington, January 3, 1907, at the joint session of the Archaeological Institute of America and the American Philological Association. Brief abstracts of this paper have been printed in the American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XI, p. 61 f., and in the Proceedings of the Philological Association, Vol. 37, p. XXXIII f.

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II.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF HOMERIC METRE.

I.—METRICAL LENGTHENING AND THE BUCOLIC DIAERESIS.

The title of this paper is a translation of the heading of the first section (pp. 3-70) of Solmsen's *Untersuchungen zur griechischen Laut- und Verslehre*, Strassburg, 1901, and the paper is devoted to a criticism of the view there advanced. The question under discussion is the extent of the admissibility of metrical lengthening of the second syllable in words of which the original form was 1. $\cup\cup\cup\cup$, 2. $\cup\cup\cup\cup$, or 3. $\cup\cup\cup\cup$. Schulze, in his *Quaestiones Epicae*, in his effort to reduce the phenomena of metrical lengthening to as rigid a scheme as possible, had denied the metrical lengthening of the second syllable in words of the second and third types except for $\delta\acute{\iota}\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ which he ascribed to the influence of $\delta\acute{\iota}\phi\iota\lambda\epsilon$ a word of the first type. For this type he admitted a double method of treatment, they becoming either $-\cup\cup$ ($-$) or $\cup - \cup\cup$. The great merit of this section of Solmsen's work is that, in addition to the increase of our knowledge of Greek etymology, it brings the proof for the metrical lengthening of the second syllable in words of all three types. This fact it may be noted is in harmony with the view established by Danielsson, *Zur metrischen Dehnung*, p. 33, that it is extremely improbable that words of the types $\cup - - \cup$ and $\cup\cup\cup$ are treated on different principles according as the last syllable ends in a vowel or a consonant. Solmsen has, however, advanced an explanation of the cause of this peculiar form of lengthening, which, while at first sight perfectly satisfactory, proves on further examination to be, in my opinion, untenable. Under this conviction I have undertaken a criticism of Solmsen's explanation of the facts, in the hopes of removing what I believe to be, on account of the very merits already recognized, a barrier to a truer understanding of the phenomenon.

The material involved comprises the following words of the second and third types: $\delta\acute{\iota}\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, $-\omicron\nu$, $-\omicron\iota$; $\mu\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma$; $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$,

συντέμεν; ὑπείρεχον, ὑπείροχον; ἐρείομεν; ἐλούεον; γελοιόν, ὁμοίος, -ον; μυρτῖκινφ; τιθήμεναι, τιθήμενον; ἀρόμεναι; καλήμεναι, Καλήσιον; ποθήμεναι; βεούμενοι; Θεοφίλη; ἀγείρατος. To these examples Solmsen adds a number of words in which the desired form has been secured not by metrical lengthening but by an analogical modification, f. i. τετεύχεται for *τετυχαται. The two phenomena, however, should be kept apart, as the use of convenient analogical forms is not subject to the restrictions that govern metrical lengthening, cf. f. i. μαμαῶτος, and notice that analogy even produces at times forms, f. i. θυγατήρος, that are repugnant to the metre. Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae*, p. 15, makes the distinction very clearly, as does also Danielsson, *Zur metrischen Dehnung*, p. 6, anm. 4, and Solmsen would not have been led into disregarding it, had it not been for his observation, p. 19, that the supposed cause of this form of metrical lengthening applies (for reasons which will be clear later) also to these analogical formations. Words of the first type that show a lengthening of the second syllable, are: διτόφλε; μμῶστε; ἀφ-, ἐν-, μεθτε; ὑπεῖρ ἄλλα, ὑπείρεχε; καλήτορα, Καλήτορα; θεμειλια; ἀλείατα; Μακηδόνα; θαλύσια; ἐρύετο and ἐπώχετο if for *ἐώχετο. Analogical formations are again added. These words are discussed by Solmsen, pp. 3-41, and I may refer to his work for the citation of the passages and the etymologies. To these instances are to be added, cf. pp. 47-59, the proper names: Κρονίανος, Μολίονα, Μολίονα, Νομίονος.

Whether the long vowel of *δομαι* is due to metrical lengthening or not is considered doubtful. For it, Solmsen offers two explanations, without deciding between them. We may start with *δFισ-ω which will become δῖω and explain the forms with long iota as the result of metrical lengthening; or we may start from *δFισ-ιω which will yield δῖω. Then, as Schulze's suggestion that δῖω is due to the influence of δῖω is extremely improbable, and the form οῖω is guaranteed by the metre in a number of passages, Solmsen suggests that οῖω be read throughout thus removing all supposed instances of the short vowel in this verb. I believe that there are additional reasons for deciding definitely in favor of the second of these alternatives. The instances in the *Iliad* in which οῖω must be read are all passages which have been considered for various reasons late or of Ionic origin: Ε 252. Ι 315. Κ 105. Λ 763. Ο 298. Ρ 709. Τ 71. Υ 362. Φ 533. Ψ 310. Ω 727, and the passages in which δῖω now stands are all of the same type: Α 558. Ε 894. Κ 551. Λ 609. Μ 73. Ν 153. Ξ 454. Φ 399. Ψ 467, besides three passages

in the *Odyssey*: β 255. ν 427. ο 31. Furthermore, a comparison of the table in Ludwich's *Aristarch's Homerische Textkritik*, II, pp. 317 ff., shows that except in a single case the metre is improved by the change.¹ As the vowel is naturally long there is then no motive for Solmsen's proposed emendation of Λ 78 to:

ἦ γὰρ οἶομαι ἄνδρα χολωσέμεν, δε μέγα πάντων.

An emendation extremely objectionable both as increasing the instances of the *στίχοι λαγαροί*, and also as introducing the contracted form into one of the oldest parts of the poems.

At this point it seems advisable to supplement Solmsen's material. Except for *ὑπερ ἄλα* he has discussed only cases of lengthening in single words; but, as the same principle should apply to groups of words of this type that constitute a unit, it becomes necessary to add from his work, pp. 70-94, and Daniels-son, pp. 7-31, the following: καὶ ἄνερ, -ε, -ες, -ας, α 292. β 223. τ 417. Λ 328. ξ 410. Β 1. Λ 549. Ο 272. Ω 677. Β 554. Λ 497. Π 167. Ψ 111;² δὲ' ἄνερ, -ας, Μ 421. 447. Π 218. Μ 127; παρ' ἄνερ, Ρ 421; ὑπ' ἄνερ, Γ 61; μετ' ἄνερ, σ 184, Η 209; καὶ ἄνερ, Φ 208; κατ' ὄρεος (v. l. ὄρεα) ζ 102; δι' ὄρεος Hymns (edd. Allen and Sikes) IV 231. V 69; ἐν ὄρεσι(ν) Λ 479. Δ 455. Ω 614. κατ' ὄρεα Φ 485. κατάνεται β 58. ρ 537; καὶ ὑετόν Μ 133 and τὰ τεύρεα Σ 485.

In citing his examples Solmsen lays stress upon the fact that all of them stand immediately before the Bucolic Diaeresis. This statement is correct for all cases except Ψ 255:

τορνῶσαντο δὲ σῆμα θεμειλιά τε προβάλλοντο,

in which line there is no diaeresis as it is impossible to separate the enclitic *τε* from the preceding word. It is also true of all the cases of word-groups cited above except Σ 485:

ἐν δὲ τὰ τεύρεα πάντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωνται.

Accordingly Solmsen offers, p. 63, the suggestion that this form of lengthening was permitted by the poets as an exception before the Bucolic Diaeresis in order to secure this favorite division of the verse. In other words the Bucolic Diaeresis is the *causa*

¹ In Ψ 467 the result is: *ddssd* for the more frequent: *dddssd*, but this book has 17 other instances of the former type.

² The justification for taking *καί* so closely with the following word is to be found in the fact that it is not permitted to stand at the end of a line nor before the caesura.

efficiens of the peculiar lengthening. How much so this is the case in his eyes may be seen from a passage, p. 33, in which he infers from the fact that a word occurs only before the Bucolic Diaeresis proof that the length of the syllable is not original: "Es bildet den schlussstein des beweises dass wir *νεῖφατον* an der stelle des verses finden die, nach allem was wir frueher gesehen, verbindlich fuer die silbenfolge $\cup - \cup\cup$ ist, soweit sie $\cup\cup\cup \cup$ der natuerlichen rede vertritt." Compare also p. 16.

At first sight Solmsen's induction with its 150 examples opposed to but two exceptions seems conclusive. Further study of the books he has chosen for illustration shows, however, that his conclusion is an exact inversion of the truth and that, instead of the Bucolic Diaeresis being the cause of the lengthening, the fact that these words have after their lengthening the form $\cup - \cup\cup$ is the cause of their standing with almost absolute regularity before the Bucolic Diaeresis. The proof of this is to be found in the fact that about 96% of all words of the metrical value $\cup - \cup\cup$ stand before the Bucolic Diaeresis entirely independent of any question as to whether the length of the second syllable is metrical or natural. The reasons for this placing of these words are for the most part clear, and it will further be shown that of the remaining 4% more than half are due to a definite cause and so are only apparent exceptions.

As a starting point may be taken the following table, compiled from Solmsen's statistics, pp. 64 ff., and showing the occurrence of words of this type before the Bucolic Diaeresis:

	A	Z	Ω	α	ι	υ
natural length:	150	131	188	106	108	98
metrical length:	3	5	5	—	1	—
analogical forms:	6	—	—	—	—	—

This table however requires revision. Solmsen has included all cases of a succession of the syllables $\cup - \cup\cup$ between the caesura and the Bucolic Diaeresis. The examples should however be confined to cases of single words and word-groups that constitute a unit. A recount for A shows: 80 cases of a single word in this place, 13 cases of preposition and case, 5 of particularly close combination of adjective or genitive and noun (*ἐμὸν λέχος*), 4 such as *θάλασσά τε, μάλιστα δέ* and 3 of *καί* with a following word, a total of 105 of which 96 are naturally long. For the remaining books it

will be sufficiently accurate to assume that this proportion will hold.¹ It is also necessary to add the word-groups cited above to the cases of metrical lengthening. Both of these changes are distinctly unfavorable to my side of the argument. The table then is:

	A	Z	Ω	α	ι	υ
natural length:	96	90	128	73	75	69
metrical length:	3	5	7	1	1	—
analogical forms:	6	—	—	—	—	—
Total:	105	95	135	74	76	69=554

Examples of this position are then quite frequent. With regard to other parts of the verse it is to be noted that the form of the words precludes of course their use either at the beginning or end of the line. It also prevents their standing with the long syllable under the third ictus as this would entail a diaeresis after the third foot. Not a single example of this occurs in the six books. For A 53 and 55 cf. Delbrueck, *Grundr.* III, p. 656. Of the two possible positions remaining, the first, with the long syllable under the second ictus, is in itself apparently unobjectionable. Examples are however very rare: A 78 *ὄτομαι*; A 10, 384 *ἀνὰ σπαρτόν*, A 426 *ἔπειρά τοι*; in Z none; in Ω 515 *ἀπὸ θρόνου*, 619 *ἔπειρά κεν*, 342 (*ἐπ'*) *ἀπειπόρα (γαίαν)*; in α 98 (*ἐπ'*) *ἀπειπόρα (γαίαν)*; in ι none; in υ 158 *εἰλκοσι*; a total of nine examples as opposed to 554. The only explanation I have to offer for the avoidance of the form in this position is, that its use before the Bucolic Diaeresis is extremely desirable as yielding the best caesura and best diaeresis, and hence it is extravagance to use such forms elsewhere.²

With regard to the last possibility, viz. the long syllable standing under the fifth ictus, the case is somewhat different. The position is objectionable *per se* because it involves a caesura after the fourth trochee, which division is forbidden because it suggests the close of the line at this point, cf. Leaf, *Iliad*, II App. N, p. 635. No example of this occurs in the six books examined except Ω 526 *αἰὼι δὲ τ' ἀκηδέες εἰσιν*, where the elision removes the difficulty. This objection is however obviated if a preceding monosyllable

¹ As Solmsen says, p. 132, *anm.* 1, "Es kommt für unsere zwecke nicht auf absolute zuverlässigkeit der zahlen an, annähernde richtigkeit genügt".

² In confirmation it may be noted that setting aside the phrase *ἐπ' ἀπειπόρα γαίαν* of which this is not true, a large proportion of the examples come from A, the author of which could best afford such extravagance.

forms with the word a word-group of the type $\cup\cup - \cup\cup$. Examples of this are naturally rare: A 33 *καὶ ἐπείθετο*, A 350 *ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον* (v. l. *ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον*), A 576 *τὰ χεράϊνα*; Z 171 *ὑπ' ἀμύμονι πομπῇ*, Z 521 *δε ἐναΐσιμος εἴη*; Ω 42 *καὶ ἀγήγορι θυμῷ*, Ω 67 *οὐ ἐν Ἰλίου εἰσίν*, Ω 200=424 *καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ*, Ω 223 *καὶ ἐσέδρακον*, Ω 570 *καὶ ἐπαίθετο*; in α none, as δ *γε τέρπετο* is to be read in α 26; ι 85 *καὶ ἀφυσσάμεθ' ὕδωρ*, ι 265 *καὶ ἀπώλεσε λαούς*; in ν none. The total number of examples is 13 (12). It is furthermore to be noted that with a single exception all these examples contain words beginning with a vowel. This is not an accidental coincidence but a necessary condition as the closely united monosyllable is usually obtained either by shortening *καὶ* or by eliding the vowel of a preposition. It would be difficult to suggest another way in which this could be done except by the use of the neuter of the article, which would of course be rare. Now a large proportion of the words with metrical lengthening begin with a consonant and are thus excluded from the slight possibility of entering the verse in this place.

The distribution of the form $\cup - \cup\cup$ in the verse is shown by the following table:

	Α	Ζ	Ω	α	ι	ν	Total
$\cup \text{ } \cup\cup$	105	95	135	74	76	69	554
$\cup \text{ } \text{ } \cup\cup$	4	—	3	1	—	1	9
$\cup \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \cup\cup$	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
(\cup) $\cup \text{ } \text{ } \cup\cup$	3 (2)	2	6	—	2	—	13 (12)

Under these circumstances it is manifestly erroneous to pick out 17 instances that possess a characteristic in common (in this case metrical lengthening) and argue that, because all of these instances fall in the position that has 544 out of the examples, therefore the poet felt that these words could be used only in this position. One could prove in the same way that all words of this type that began with sigma (or any other consonant except chi) could be used only before the Bucolic Diaeresis. Indeed if one wished to maintain that all such words beginning with a consonant were used only in that position, he would have a much larger number of examples and but a single exception. If on the other hand it is urged that the six books are only one eighth of the poems, and that with the increase of bulk some exceptions should appear, unless the poet is consciously treating this class of words in a

separate fashion, the answer is to be found in the two exceptions already mentioned.¹

A consideration of the words of the form $\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup$ will strengthen my conclusion. For these Solmsen points out, p. 41 ff., that the analogical forms occur with the long syllable under the fifth ictus, but maintains that all certain instances of metrical lengthening: *ἐνδείελος*, -ον, -ου; *κατακείται*, *κατακίετε*; *μετεκτάθον*, *μετεκτάθε*; *μαχεοῦμενον*, -οι are confined to the position before the Bucolic Diaeresis. The same is true also for the proper names: *Δολοπόντος*, *Ὑπερπόντος*, *Ὑπερτόνι*, *Ὑπερτόνα*. Towards the other examples claimed by Schulze which occur chiefly with the long syllable under the fifth ictus: *ἀριδείκετος*, -ον, -ε, -α; *ἀποφώλιος*, -οι, α; *ἀπερείσια*, -οι, -αι, -ον, Solmsen takes a sceptical attitude without claiming to do more than to show another possible explanation. If these examples are to be excluded his rule holds equally for both classes; if not, it merely shows that the poets handled the five-syllable words with more freedom than the quadrisyllables. As before it is necessary to add the instances of metrical lengthening in word-groups and these are clearly divided between the two positions. Before the Bucolic Diaeresis: *Στυγὸς ὕδατος* K 514. B 755. Θ 369. *σχεδὸν ὕδατος* ε 475; *παρὰ πύελον* τ 553; *δόρυ μείλιον* E 666. 694. Π 114. 814. Φ 178; *δόμον Ἄιδος* Υ 336; *μέγα κουλέον* Γ 272. T 253; *ἐπὶ δαίελα* Hes. E. 810 821; *ρίον σφρεος* Hymn I. 139; and with the long syllable under the fifth ictus: *τεὸν σθνομα* ε 355; *κρέφας ἱερὸν* Δ 194. 209. P 455. *φάος ἱερὸν* Hes. E 339; *δόμον Ἄιδος* ε 524. λ 150. 627. ψ 252. Γ 322. Η 131. Δ 263. κ 457. Ω 246; *περὶ κουλέον* Δ 30; *ἀνὰ σὺλαμόν* Δ 251. 273. Υ 113.

The reason of this difference is now apparent. While the quadrisyllabic words are for the reasons given almost entirely confined to the position before the Bucolic Diaeresis, the words with five syllables are also freely used under the fifth ictus, because they do not produce the forbidden caesura after the trochee of the fourth foot. Instances of these words under the second ictus are rare because the possibility of their occurring in this place is limited to such lines as begin with a monosyllable. The only examples in these six books are: Ω 342 *ἐπ' ἀπειρόνα γαῖαν* = α 98.²

¹ Apropos of Solmsen's discussion of words of the form $\text{---}\text{---}\cup\cup$ of which he finds no certain example, p. 68, but which he believes should be confined, if occurring, to the place before the Bucolic Diaeresis, I may call attention to the groups: in this position σ 3 *καὶ πύμεν*, χ 493 *καὶ θήμον*; with the long syllable under the second ictus Δ 220 *ἐς κουλέον*; under the fifth ictus π 143 *καὶ πύμεν*.

² Such examples are repeated here, which is the place where they properly belong. Their exclusion would not affect the result.

α 183 ἐπὶ οἶσπα πόντον. Under the fifth ictus occur in Α 16 examples, in Ζ 15, in Ω 17, in α 14, in ι 33 and in υ 16, a total of 111 examples.¹ For the same reasons as before the figures given by Solmsen for the position before the Bucolic Diaeresis cannot be used for comparison. In Α, according to my count, the instances in that position are not quite double those under the fifth ictus; in υ the occurrences nearly balance 11 : 16. The other books will probably vary between these figures. These facts make it clear why the metrical lengthening in this type of words is found in both of these positions.

With Solmsen's proof that words of all three types 1. υυυυ, 2. υυυυ, 3. υυυυ υ may become either —υυ(—) or υ—υυ, attention must again be directed to the fact that we have no *ἀθανατος by the side of ἀθάνατος no *διφιλος by the side of διτίφλος. For Schulze this problem did not exist as the form of lengthening was determined by the type of the word. Solmsen's explanation that the form of lengthening is dependent upon the position in the verse, would lead us to expect such doublets which do not occur except in two cases. For *μαχομενος we have both μαχιδμενος ρ 471, and μαχεούμενον λ 403 ~ ω 113. Not only are these passages late but the form *μαχομενος is late *per se*, for the present μαχίομαι rests on a misunderstanding of the future μαχέομαι after μαχίσομαι had displaced it. As a present, μαχίομαι occurs only in Α 272, a late passage, and in Α 344 where it must be emended. The metrical lengthening in ἀπειρίσιος and ἀπειρίσιος is questioned by Solmsen, p. 43 f.: his explanation is that ἀπειρίσιος > *ἀπειριτιος : πείρατα = *Τερεσιος > *Τερετιος : τέρατα, and that ἀπειρίσιος is due to an interchange of the vowels of the neighboring syllables in the spoken language. The obstacle to this is that the form ἀπειρίσιος occurs in two evidently old formulae ἀπειρίσι' ἄποινα and ἀπειρίσια ἔδνα, and is attested from the oldest parts of the poems on Α 13 etc., while the examples of ἀπειρίσιος come from one of the latest books of the Iliad γ 58, the Odyssey ι 118. λ 621. τ 174 and

¹The references are Α 5. 33. 90. 98. 255. 256. 275. 350. 388. 401. 422. 466. 545. 565. 574. 576. Ζ 31. 44. 116=263=359=369=440=520. 136. 148. 171. 175. 178. 486. 512. Ω 42. 158=[187]. 200=424. 223. 283. 322. 348. 374. 570. 624. 661. 754. 766. 785. 788. 802. α 75. 79. 114. 116. 152. 153. 194. 203. 205. 233. 273. 303. 371. 383. 425. ι 2. 4. 5. 62=105=565. 85. 94. 152=170=307=437=560. 158. 189=428. 197. 214=514. 234=249. 265. 279. 284. 301=500. 379. 441. 487. 501. 516. 545. 554. υ 53. 56. 84. 99. 143. 201. 225=319. 235. 247. 258. 270. 280. 287. 315. 387.

Hesiod, fr. 58. 3; 156. 4. It is much more probable that ἀπειρίσιος is a modification of ἀπειρίσιος under the influence of ἀπείρων and that Schulze's explanation of ἀπειρίσιος is correct.

The consistency then observable in the scansion of each word points to my mind to the conclusion that the metrical lengthening was in the main a pre-Homeric process, in other words, that the authors of our poems did not know ἀθάνατος and δίδυμος as words of four short syllables which they adapted to their verse by lengthening now the first, now the second vowel, but that they received from their predecessors the pronunciation ᾠθάνατος and διδύμος as part of their conventional poetic equipment. The variation of these poetic pronunciations from those of daily life was observable and led undoubtedly to attempts at similar formations. The wavering between μαχεύμενος and μαχεύμενον enables us to detect one of these, although in the main we are unable to follow the process in detail.

If we are thus absolved from the necessity of finding in the Homeric poems themselves the conditions under which the metrical lengthening originated, I may suggest tentatively the following explanation of a large part of the phenomena. There is evidence for the fact that originally great liberty was allowed in the quantity of the first syllable—the στίχοι ἀκέφαλοι being the last vestiges of such a usage. That is, such series as

1. — ∪ ∪ | — ∪ ∪ | — ∪

and

2. ∪ ∪ ∪ | — ∪ ∪ | — ∪

were allowed as equivalents in spite of actual variation in the quantity of the first syllable. With the improvement of the metre the second form was then restricted to cases in which the word could not otherwise be brought into the metre—with the addition of others in which there was question not of metrical necessity but of metrical convenience helped we may suppose by frequency of previous usage. The consequence of this restriction is greatly to decrease the occurrence of the second series, and this fact combined with a continued striving after smoother metre would lead to an actual lengthening in the pronunciation of the vowel in the first syllable. The poetic pronunciation thus established would then be permitted in other parts of the verse. There were,

however, cf. Gleditsch, Mueller's Handbuch II², p. 717, dactylic series with anacrusis. These may be represented as

$$\begin{array}{l} \cup : \underline{\cup} \cup \cup \mid - \cup \cup \mid - \underline{\cup} \\ \cup \cup : \underline{\cup} \cup \cup \mid - \cup \cup \mid - \underline{\cup} \end{array}$$

and enable us to account in the same way for the lengthening of the second and third syllables. From their form some words were capable but of one treatment; but when this was not the case usage seems to have settled upon one form or the other before the composition of our hymns. The factors that controlled this choice it is impossible to determine. Two may in general be indicated: 1st, the phrases in which a word was most frequently used, and 2d, the desire to keep the lengthened form as closely as possible in touch with its kindred. That we have *ἀθάνατος* not **ἀθᾶνατος* is due in part to the influence of *θάνατος*; that we have *διήφιος* not **διῆφιος* is due in part to the dative with long iota however that ending may be explained.

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III.—ON SUNDRY CONFIXES.

Nothing could be more important in morphological studies than to make collections of words arranged by their suffixes; and when any considerable number of instances of the same suffix is in phonetic accord in various languages the inference that the suffix was proethnic is almost unavoidable. This in turn leads to all manner of adjustments as between stem and suffix to bring them into phonetic accord. If such adjustments are discreetly made the stems and suffixes rouse in our minds a feeling that they were actual and not merely postulated entities. The stem or root parts of words we often succeed in satisfactorily defining, but the greater actuality the suffix acquires as a proethnic entity, the more elusive it becomes in point of definition; the more certain its formula becomes, the less it invites the pragmatic man in us to its interpretation as a fact. But, if we are to probe after the fact behind the formula, we must resist the spell of the equation, with its $x y z$, and attack individual words or groups, as they appear in individual languages; not forgetting as we do it that the pragmatic objection is as easy to make as it is hard to refute. The goal to reach is to find the compounding word from which the suffix got its start; and this method of explanation again involves phonetic adjustments as between prior and posterior members of the compounds postulated. With so much by way of preamble,¹ I turn to a discussion of the following words:

1) Paenonian *μόναπος* 'bison.'

Not long ago, in the pages of this Journal,² I derived *ἄνθρωπος* 'man' from *ἀντρο* + *-ώπος* or *-όπος*, with the definition 'cave-dwelling' or, to define it in Latin, for the sake of the etymology of the second member of the compound, 'spelunci-saepis';³ and similarly I explained *Κύκλωψ* as 'rotundi-saepis'; justifying *-ώπος*

¹ See further A. J. P. XXV, 177.

² XXV, 312 fg.

³ An interesting early analysis of the possessive or *bahuvrīhi* occurs in Varro, Menip., 179 quid? tu non vides in vineis, quod tria pala habeant, tripales dici?

and -ῶψ by Latin *saepis*/*sēps*, and postulating a base $\text{S}\bar{\text{E}}\text{-P-}/\text{S}\bar{\text{E}}\text{-BH}$,¹ which I should now prefer to write $\text{S}\bar{\text{E}}(\text{Y})\text{-P-}$ $\text{S}\bar{\text{E}}(\text{Y})\text{-BH-}$, to account for the Latin spelling *saepis*. To this group I would now add Skr. *sabha* 'conventio, domus' and Goth. *sibja* 'sippe.'

The Cyclopes (see Euripides in his *Cyclops*, 21) were *μονῶπες* 'one-eyed', and so were the Arimaspians (Aeschylus, *Prom.* 804). Here we must have a case of fable originating in "disease of language", to use what is, after all, a very convenient name for one aspect of "popular etymology". In Homer (*Odys.* 9. 112 fg.) the Cyclopes dwelt in caves, each giving laws to his own children and wives, and recking not the one of the other; and Polyphemus, at least, dwelt in solitude (*ibid.* 410), was *μονῶψ*, 'singulāri-saepis.'

This brings us to the Paeonian name of the bison or buffalo, *μόναπος* (Aristotle, *H. A.*, 9. 45, 1) *μόναιπος* (*ib.* *Mirab.* 1), and *μόναψ* (Aelian, *N. A.*, 7, 3), which has not inappropriately been interpreted by 'iubatus', and connected with the group to which English *mane*, Lat. *monile* 'necklace' belongs.² Another designation appropriate to the bison bull would be 'solitary' (cf. Fr. *sanglier* <*singularem* 'wild boar'; *μονιός*, same sense), for the encyclopaedias tell us that the Wiesent lives alone.³ Accordingly, if we may venture to analyze a Paeonian word by Greek phonetic laws, we might derive our forms from *mono-* 'solitary' + *hapos/haipos/hōps* 'dwelling', though even so we need not exclude the interpretation 'mane-hedged', say 'saeti-sēptus', a definition also applicable to the name *μόνωρος*⁴ 'bison', which may be analyzed as *mono* + *hōtos* (: Lat. *saeta*),⁵ and defined by 'mane-haired.'

Whether this analysis will accord with Paeonian phonetics, I cannot say, but the only assumption of moment is that intervocalic (or initial) *s* in Paeonian became an aspirate: all the rest would seem not in disaccord with the slight Paeonian vocabulary now under control.⁶

In conclusion, we may note a curious correspondence between the *μόναπος* of Aristotle (in Aelian, *μόνωπες*) and the Cyclopes, who were also *μονῶπες* (with a different accent), for Aristotle tells a

¹ l. c. 309, fn. 1.

² See Froehde in *BB.* 20, 210.

³ See also Parker, *Oregon Trail*, Ch. VII, "a solitary buffalo bull."

⁴ Cited from Antigonus Carystius (*B. C.* 250); but here the emendation of *μόνωρος* to *μόνωπος* readily suggests itself.

⁵ See *A. J. P.*, XXVI, 183.

⁶ See Kretschmer, *Gesch. d. Griech. Spr.* I, 246-249.

queer tale to the effect that the *μόνατοι*, before parturition, enclosed themselves in walls of dung. The coincidence of this tale with the tradition that the Cyclopes were wall-builders raises the question whether the term *μόνατες* (*monâtes*) was associated with the building of walls.

And yet another possibility: in both his accounts of the Paeonian buffalo Aristotle locates the animal in the mountains, which suggests that *μονο-* is a cognate of Latin *mons*, cf. Gallic *Hermînius* (*mons*).

2) *ἡμεδ-απός* 'nostras'; *ποδ-απός* 'cuias.'

These words, assuming the correctness of the current division, as printed, invite interpretation by 'nostri praesepis', 'cuius praesepis' or, in German, 'von unserer—, welcher sippe.' This in turn leads to their derivation, so far as the "suffix" is concerned, from *-άπος*, cognate with *praesēpe*, Skr. *sabhā*, Goth. *sibja*.

Can it be that *ἡμεδ-* is a genuine ablative (cf. Skr. *asmād* 'nobis'), and *-άπος* an abl.-gen. from a weak stem *səp-*? Supposing a primitive locution like *ποδ-άπος ἔρχεται* 'quo (ex) praesepi advenis', it were easy to mistake *ποδαπός* for a nominative. The type is as old as the Homeric poems, in which *ἀλλοδαπός* 'alius praesepis' is not uncommon.

3) Gothic *fram-aps* 'alienus.'

Satisfactory cognates for Skr. *ātati* 'errat', *āti-this* 'erro, hospes' have not been pointed out. We would naturally write for these words the bases *ETE-/OTO-/* and *ETə-*, and the suffix of *āti-this* may be identical with the "suffix" of Lat. *hostis*, from *Ε)GHOS-(S)TIS*.¹ Here also we might put the preposition-adverb *āti* 'beyond.'

In Gothic *fram-aps* 'stranger', identical in its first part with English *from* 'ab', we might regard *-aps* as a cognate of *ātati*; and so, in Latin, *com-es* 'companion' would naturally derive from *com-ets*.

4) *ἔται* 'socii, comites, clientes.'

This Homeric word has generally been explained as a derivation of the group of which Lat. *suus* may be taken as a representative, and the startform **σFῑται* may be taken as nearly certain.

¹See Mod. Lang. Notes 22, 38.

We may, however, explain *σF-* as a reduction of the preposition whose Greek form is *σύν*, but which appears in a shorter form in Lith. *sù*, O. B. *sǔ-*; thus **σF-ίται* is directly comparable in formation with Lat. *comes* and Gothic *framaps*.

5) *ἔθνος* 'tribe.'

With *ἔθνος* I think of a nomadic race, and that it may be derived from **ἔτ-σνος*, or rather, **ἔτ + ἥνος*. This I am tempted further to analyze, and define as 'wandering-band', explaining *ἔτ-* as above in *ίται*, and guessing that *-σνος* may be derived from the base *SNĒ(y)-* as found in Skr. *snāyus* 'band, sinew.' The Homeric attest of *F-* would demand a startform **σF-ἔθνος* 'co-wandering band', but in *ἰθνεῖος* 'alienus' a form without *σF-* would seem to appear.

6) *μόνος, ξῦνός*.

I have, in another place,¹ explained *ξένος* 'stranger' from *ἐ)ξ* 'out' + *ένος* 'incola' (: *√wes* 'habitare'). This explanation is also applicable to **μόν-ος* 'solus-habitans', in which *-ος* has sunk to a minimum of meaning. We may recognize the same "confix"—for this seems to me a convenient term for a suffix developed from a wider application of what was once a compounding final—in *ξῦνός*, if this be from **ξύν-ος*. The length of the *υ* would probably assign the word to a non-Attic dialect. It is quite true that in *ξῦνός*, quasi 'communis', the sense of *-ος* has almost vanished—but cf. the derivatives Doric *ξυνάρι* and Sophocles' *ξυνάρι* 'amicus'—not appreciably more, however, than in *communis* the etymological sense of *-munis* has grown pale.²

7) Latin *quidius* 'whose?'

In view of Skr. *madīyas* 'mine', currently explained as coming from the abl. *mad-* + a suffix *-īyas*,³ we might set up for *quidius* the startform **quōddius*, in which *-ius* is a "possessive" suffix added to the ablative *quōd* (? or to the neuter acc. *quod*?). The same formation is found in Osc. *pūiū* 'quoia' and, as the Italic dialects do not show conclusively any other phonetic treatment of *-dy-*, I lean to the conviction that the uniform product was *-j-*, a conviction for which all general analogy would seem to pronounce.

¹ Mod. Lang. Notes, l. c.; cf. Class. Quarterly I, no. 1.

² I feel in *com-munis* some trace of *moenia*, as well as of *munia*, though Walde does not mention the former.

³ See Brugmann, KvGr. §§ 520, 524.

It is clear how easily this possessive with masculine nouns would have been felt as a genitive, and the undifferentiation of *quis* for sex-gender would help *quius* to do duty for both sex-genders. As the old locative genitive *quōi* was doing further duty as a dative the pair *quoi/quius* gave rise to *ēi* : *ēius*, *hūi(c)* : *hūius*, *illi* : *illius*, etc.

The assumed derivation furnishes a clue for the preciser definition of the suffix *yo* which indicates "Besitz, Abstammung und sonstige Arten der Zugehörigkeit."¹ If we start with "Abstammung" it is hard not to guess—however little we can prove—that *-yo-* belongs with \sqrt{ey} 'ire'; and so also might *-iyas* in Skr. *madyas*, which would thus mean 'a me iens.'

I now pass to a discussion of some troublesome instances of the appearance of *-ēnus* in Latin, apparently parallel with *-ānus*, or *-īnus*.

8) Latin *laniena*.

Skutsch's theory that in *laniena* and *aliēnus*¹ *iē* is dissimilated from *iī* has been questioned rather than seriously disproved. The evidence of a word like *Tullianum*, to say nothing of *Sestiānus* and its kind, should throw grave doubt on the supposed dissimilation; nor will anyone, I suppose, now question that in *societas*, *pietas*, etc. *-ie-* was reached from *-io-* on its way to *-ii-* and not by dissimilation from *-iī-*.

From *laniena* (and *aliēnus*) evidence has been drawn for a proethnic suffix *-EYNO-/OYNO*, ultimately reducible to locatives in *-EY/OY*, extended by *NO*;² and it has been assumed that *-iei- -ioi-* would yield Latin *-iē-*. But all this explanation seems to me probably beside the mark. I see no reason to doubt that the flexional type of *lanio* (preserved in the Digest) is not at least as old as the type of *lanius* and, granting this, the flexion *lanio* gen. **laniēnis* may be compared with *Neriō Neriēnis*, *Aniō Aniēnis*; and in view of *Aniēnus* we may derive an adjectival *laniena* from *laniō*.⁴

But *laniena* may be a Latin compound, *laniē-* (cf. *socie-tas*) + *vēna*, cognate with *vēnus* (? *vēnum*) 'sale', though in the com-

¹ See Brugmann, Grundriss, II¹ § 63, p. 118.

² See Walde's lexicon, s. v.

³ Brugmann, Grundriss, II², § 188.

⁴ See Brugmann, l. c. § 184, Anm.

plexes *vēn(um)-il* and *ven(um)-dat*, I always think of *vēnum* (like *domum*) as 'market'. The contraction of **lānie-vēna* to *laniēna* seems not essentially to differ from *oblivīscor* > *obliscor*. Varro is cited¹ for *ex tabernis lanienis*, whence we may infer a fully inflected adjective **laniēnus*, -a-, -um. Compounds with -*vēnus* would be genuine Latin alongside the Greekish compounds in -*polium*; cf. Plautus, Ep. 198,

per medicinas per tonstrinas, in gymnasio atque in foro
per myropolia et lanienas circumque argentarias.

Nor need we postulate a formal compound. Supposing **laniēna*, like *medicina* and *tonstrina*, to have been in existence, as it was the "place for the sale of meat" *vēnus* 'sale' may have affected it.

9) Latin *aliēnus*.

The prevailing possessive use of *aliēnus* predisposes us to see in it the same formation that we recognize in Goth. *meins*.² But this is by no means inevitable, for *alienus*, as early as it is of record, distinctly means 'stranger' and 'strange', and may have gone through the same semantic development as Gothic *framaps*, which has reached in German *fremd* the following usage: "fremd im gegensatz zu eigen: fremdes eigentum; menge dich nicht in fremde sachen; sich mit fremden federn schmücken u. s. w."³ If we start with 'stranger' as the original sense we may postulate a startform **aliē(d)- + uēnus* 'from elsewhere coming', comparing *aduena*, *convēna* 'stranger', which have taken the flexional type of *incola* 'inhabitant, native'.⁴

Niedermann⁵ has derived *aliēnus* from **al-yes-nos*, seeing in -*yes-* a comparative suffix. In this I cannot follow him. I feel no comparative force in *ἀλλότριος* 'alienus', which I derive from an adverb **ἀλλοτρα* 'otherwhere'⁶ and define by 'from otherwhere coming' > 'belonging to another.' The comparative suffix in *ἡμέτερος ὑμέτερος* might seem in point, but here, as (ultimately) in *ἀλλότριος, -τερος ... -τερος* are contrasting suffixes, just as in *alter... alter*, while the possession rests in *ἡμε-, ὑμε-*. So, in view of the

¹ Cf. Non. 532. 20.

² See Brugmann, l. c. § 188 (p. 274).

³ Cited from Heyne's Deutsches Woerterbuch.

⁴ Possibly also *peregrīnus* is a compound of **peregrī(d?) + -venus*.

⁵ BB. 25, 83.

⁶ Prellwitz compares Sk. *anyatra*.

possessive force of the Sanskrit gen. plurals *nas vas*, contrast, not possession, may be the value of the *-ter* of *noster vester*.

10) *Fibrēnus* 'Beaver-burn'.

In view of *Aniēnus*, byform to *Anio*, Gen. *Aniēnis*, it would seem unnecessary in this Volscian river name to explain *-ēnus* from proethnic *-cino-/-oino-*. Here also we may have a compound. The widely diffused base of Greek *φπιαρ* is set down as *BHRĒW*, of which the English representative is *bourn*, *burn*, from a stem *BHRUN-*;¹ if we may imagine a strong stem *BHRĒ(w)NO*, then *Fibrēnus* might be from a compound **fi[bro]-brēnus*, and mean 'Beaver-burn.'

11) Latin *terrēnus*.

This word meets its simplest explanation by adducing the stem **tēres*, attested by O. Ir. *tír*.² It is not to be denied, however, that it may be of the same derivation as *terreus*, in which case the stem *TERREYO*.³ had beside it *TERREY-NO-*, and the special phonetic treatment that yielded *terrēnus* may have been vowel assimilation from the *e* of the first syllable.

12) Plautine *sociennus* (Plautus *Aulularia* 659).

Neither of the current explanations⁴ of this hapax compels conviction. The passage is,

ibo intro atque illi socienno tuo iam interstringam gulam;

and the situation is as follows:

Euclio, the miser, while seeking to hide his money-pot, had been startled first by a cook, and then by his would-be son-in-law, Megadorus, who had sent the cook in to prepare the wedding-feast. In the altercation with Megadorus he shows some disgust at all the food and the tribe of cooks that had been sent into the house, and suspects Megadorus of planning to get him drunk and steal his pot of money. Soon he discovers in an adjoining room the servant of his daughter's lover, and at once suspects him of being another who would rob him of his treasure. While searching him he hears a noise in the next room and makes ready to go and choke (*interstringere* here only, it would seem, in Plautus) a

¹ Brugmann, l. c. § 455.

² See Thurneysen in *KZ.* 28, 147.

³ Cf. Brugmann l. c. § 122.

⁴ See Walde's lexicon, s. v. *socius*.

supposed confederate of the slave he has in hand, and this confederate he calls *sociennus*. Supposing the scene with the greedy cook still to be lingering in his mind, we may suspect that *sociennus* is a translation of σύσσιτος 'mess-mate'. Thus *socius* 'comes' would be extended in *sociennus* to the sense 'companion' (from *com* + *panis*): thus explained, *sociennus* contains in its last member a derivation of *edit* 'eats', say **eda-nos* 'eater', cognate with Gr. ἔδαον, Skr. *annam*: Lat. *edō* 'glutton.' The combination of *socienno* with *interstringam gulam* lies in the same metaphorical plane as our colloquial 'to choke the stuffing out of one'.

Or, if the Greek original had δμῆλιξ 'comrade', *sociennus* might mean 'qui socios annos habet,'¹ cf.

Promissus socios ubi nunc Hymenaeus in annos,
Qui mihi coniugii sponsor et obses erat?

If the formation of *sociennus* was inspired by a proper name—and Schulze² has given a most ingenious interpretation of Laberius' homo *levenna* as 'levis ἐκ τριγωνίας'—I think rather of the type of Osc. *Perkednies* (gen.) 'Percenni' which, if known to Plautus, was liable to off-hand interpretation as 'qui percas edit'.³

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¹Ovid, Her., 2, 33-34.

²Latein. Eigennamen, 283.

³Cf. Captivi 160, where the changes are rung on Pistorenses, etc.

IV.—'ΕCΤΩC OR 'ΕCΤOC?

For nearly two millennia it seems to have been a mooted question whether the neuter participle of the second perfect of verbs having \bar{a} -themes should be spelled with $\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ or $\bar{o}\varsigma$, or, in other words, whether this form contracts $\bar{a}\bar{o}\varsigma$ into $\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ or assumes the characteristic desinence $\bar{o}\bar{\varsigma}$ of non-thematic verbs.

A brief sketch of the curious see-saw of fortune that has marked the conflict between these forms may well serve to preface the presentation of evidence not hitherto adduced in this connection.

The early printed texts, Aldine, Juntine, etc., seem, from the citations made, to be almost, if not quite, unanimous in support of the $\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ form. These, however, as is well known, were not always based upon the earlier or better MSS. Some three centuries later, as a result of the more careful study of the best MSS, it was found that the testimony¹ of these was strong in favor of the $\bar{o}\bar{\varsigma}$ form. This accordingly began to gain ground. Buttmann adopted it in his Grammar and Bekker used it in his texts. Hermann ad Soph. O. T. 633, Poppo ad Thuc. III. 9 and Schneider ad Plat. Civ. III, p. 88 sqq., gave their support to it and it became the common form in texts and grammars.

¹ Plato has $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$ eleven times,—Parm. 146 a (bis), 156 c (ter), 156 e, 163 e; Soph. 249 a, 250 c; Theaet. 183 e; Tim. 40 b: $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$ twice, Tim. 46 b; Legg. 794 d: $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$, Crit. 113 c; $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$, Tim. 33 c; $\bar{\pi}\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$, Rep. VIII. 564 d; $\bar{\xi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$, Tim. 56 b. In every instance the best MSS, i. e. B and T for the Parm., Soph. and Theaet.; A and D for the Rep. and A for the other works cited, give the form in $\bar{o}\bar{\varsigma}$. A later hand has corrected A in every instance to $\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ or $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\varsigma}$; B and T in Theaet. 183 e have also been so changed by a second hand.

Thucydides has $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$ (III. 9) and $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$ (IV. 10). In the former case Hude cites CEM for $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$, AGE₂ for $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$ and BF for $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$; in the latter case, he cites CEM again for the $\bar{o}\bar{\varsigma}$ form, BFG for the $\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ form and A for the $\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ form.

Sophocles in O. T. 633 has $\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$ acc. to the reading of the Laurentianus; all other MSS cited have $\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$.

Aristophanes in Eq. 564 has $\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$ in the Ravennas; all other MSS cited by Van Velsen or Blaydes have the $\bar{o}\bar{\varsigma}$ form.

In fact the $\omega\varsigma$ form seemed utterly doomed, when in 1879, O. Riemann entered the lists in its support by a short article in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (III. 440 ff.). His main contribution to the question was his citation of the *Karónes* of the grammarian Theognostus, of the ninth century, and of the *Etymologicum Magnum* of the tenth, as establishing the correctness of the orthography with $\omega\varsigma$.

Only in a short footnote did Riemann refer, without citing, to the great grammarian Herodianus of the second century as the undoubted ultimate source whence these later works drew. Of Choeroboscus, of the sixth century, he made no mention at all.¹

Without this additional support, Riemann's attack has proved to possess such elements of strength that it is making steady progress in dislodging the $\omega\varsigma$ form from the strongly intrenched position it was holding. To cite but a few typical instances:

¹ For convenience the statements of these grammarians are here given in chronological order:

HERODIANUS (Lentz I. 351):—Αἱ εἰς $\omega\varsigma$ μετοχαὶ ἀπὸ περισπωμένων κατὰ πάθος γενόμεναι καὶ φυλάττονται τὸ ω ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς τοῦ ἀρσενικοῦ ὁμοτονοῦντα ἔχουσι τὰ οὐδέτερα, βεβώς βεβώτος τὸ βεβώς, γεγώς γεγώτος τὸ γεγώς, ἐστώς ἐστώτος τὸ ἐστώς, τεθνώς τεθνώτος τὸ τεθνώς. μονογενὲς δὲ οὐδέτερον εἰς $\omega\varsigma$ οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν πλὴν τοῦ φώς καὶ τοῦ ὤς.

CHOEROBOSCUS (Hilgard Gram. Graec. IV. 2. p. 313, l. 22 ff.), after discussing the neut. pple. τετνώς, adds: 'Ιστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἐστώς καὶ βεβώς καὶ τεθνώς καὶ γεγώς διὰ τοῦ ω γράφονται, δηλονότι κατὰ τὰ οὐδέτερα.

That he was acquainted with the variant orthography appears from the immediate sequence: δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο γινώσκειν, ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἡ ἐνικὴ εὐθεῖα κατὰ τὸ οὐδέτερον καὶ αἱ ὁμοφωνοῦσαι αὐτῇ <πτώσεις>, τοντέστιν ἡ αἰτιατικὴ καὶ ἡ κλητικὴ τῶν ἐνικῶν, διαφοροῦνται, ἦγον καὶ διὰ τοῦ ω γράφονται καὶ διὰ τοῦ σ , ἀλλ' οὖν αἱ λοιπαὶ πλάγιοι αἱ <μη> ὁμοφωνοῦσαι τῇ ἐνικῇ εὐθείᾳ, λέγω δὴ ἡ γενικὴ καὶ δοτικὴ τῶν ἐνικῶν καὶ τὰ θνικά καὶ τὰ πληθυντικά, μόνως διὰ τοῦ ω γράφονται. τούτου δὲ αἰτία ἐστὶν ἡ κράσις.

THEOGNOSTUS (Cramer Anec. Oxon. II. p. 119, l. 21 ff.): Εἰς $\omega\varsigma$ μέγα λήγον οὐδέτερον ὅτε ὄνομα ὅτε μετοχὴν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, [εἰ] μὴ ἐκ πάθους γεγένηται, πλὴν τοῦ φώς καὶ τοῦ ὤς. . . . πρόσκειται ὀνόματα, ἐπεὶ πολλάκις αἱ εἰς $\omega\varsigma$ μετοχαὶ ἀπὸ περισπωμένων κατὰ πάθος γενόμεναι καὶ φυλάττονται τὸ ω ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς τοῦ ἀρσενικοῦ ἔχουσι τὸ οὐδέτερον εἰς $\omega\varsigma$. ὁ βεβώς βεβώτος καὶ τὸ βεβώς, ὁ γεγώς γεγώτος καὶ τὸ γεγώς, ὁ ἐστώς ἐστώτος τὸ ἐστώς, ὁ τεθνώς τοῦ τεθνώτος καὶ τὸ τεθνώς.

IBID. (p. 152, l. 15 ff.): Αἱ εἰς $\omega\varsigma$ πεπονθῶσαι μετοχαὶ τὸ οὐδέτερον ἔχουσι διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γραφόμενον ὄιον, τὸ ἐστώς τὸ βεβώς τὸ γεγώς.

ETYMOLOGICUM MAGNUM, s. v. Γεγώσα: καὶ ἐστὶ σεσημειωμένον τὸ γεγώς, μεμώς, βεβώς, ἐσταώς: ἀπὲρ κατὰ κράσιν (sic) γίνεται, γεγώς, γεγώτος, μεμώς, μεμώτος, βεβώς, βεβώτος, ἐστώς, ἐστώτος. . . καὶ τὰ οὐδέτερα διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου, τὸ γεγώς, τὸ μεμώς, καὶ τὰ ὁμοια.

Gustav Meyer in his Griech. Gram¹. (1886) § 556 Anm. 1, says: “Ntr. *ἑστώς*, nicht *ἑστός*” and refers to Riemann. Stahl, Quaest. gram. ad Thuc. pert². (1886), p. 64, says that the *ως* form “scribendum esse” and refers to Riemann. The Van Herwerden and the Classen-Steup ed. of Thucydides adopt it, referring to Riemann. Earle adopts it in his Oed. Tyr., with a reference to Meyer. Koch’s Grammar has sometime since 1881 changed from *ἑστός* to *ἑστώς*, as has Kaegi’s sometime since 1884. Jannaris in his Hist. Grk. Gram. § 966, gives τὸ *ἑστός*.

The testimony of these ancient grammarians, ranging from the second to the tenth century, and all antedating any MS cited for *ἑστός*—except that Ety. Mag. is later than the Codex Clarkianus or B of Plato, of which the colophon is dated 896 A. D.—is not lightly to be set aside as it is so positive and unanimous for the *ως* form. This is also the form that would result regularly from the contraction of *ἑσταός*. Herodianus is the earliest authority for the *ως* form in the neuter. We shall see that the *ως* form was current in his own land in his own time and for a full century earlier. The question suggests itself whether Herodianus was a spelling reformer working on theoretical lines. The striking similarity, nay even identity, of language leads to a natural suspicion that Theognostus is drawing more or less directly from Herodianus. As Riemann suggests, probably the Ety. Mag. does the same. Choeroboscus admits the variant *ως*.

On the other hand the equally positive and unanimous testimony of the best MSS deserves serious consideration, and Schanz’s conclusion (Proleg. ad Plat. Theaet., p. 12 sq.)—“Nequaquam igitur verisimile est *ἑστός* ex librariorum libidine esse profectum” seems quite reasonable.

It is strangely provoking how narrowly the question has missed a positive solution. Neither in Sophocles nor in Aristophanes is the word so placed that the metre can give any aid. Among several hundred inscriptions examined by the writer one had *ὁ ἐνεστὼς ἐν αὐτῷ*. If only that stone-cutter had used *ἑτός*! Nothing then has been positively established as to the classical form. Our new material does, however, give overwhelming proof of the currency of the form in *ως* for the first three centuries of our era and shows that at the very time the Alexandrian Herodianus was supporting the *ως* form, the other was in current use in his own land. In the Greek papyri found in

Egypt, the phrase $\tau\delta$ $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, with $\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon$ expressed or understood, means "the current year." Cf. our "instant" in dates. The expression occurs scores of times, but more often in the gen. or dat. There are, however, sufficient instances of the acc. to establish the form. The papyri examined yield twenty-three instances of $\tau\delta$ $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, one of $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ and three in which the ultimate vowel of $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ may be restored with almost absolute certainty.

In the Amherst Papyri, Greek, Part II, we have $\tau\delta$ $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ in

No. 71, l. 3, dated 178-9, A. D.

No. 73, l. 9, " 129-30

No. 93, l. 4, " 162-3

No. 94, l. 28, " 208.

In the Greek Papyri in the British Museum, II, we have $\tau\delta$ $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ on

p. 73, No. 309, l. 12, dated 146, A. D.

p. 74, No. 327, l. 9, " 162

p. 75, No. 328, l. 16, " 163

p. 76, No. 368, l. 11, " 179

p. 184, No. 286, l. 10 f, " 88, $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau[\acute{o}]s$

p. 189, No. 438, l. 8, " 142

p. 189, No. 314, l. 5, " 149

p. 216, No. 151, l. 7, " 2d cent.

In the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, I.

No. 68, l. 31, has $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, dated 131

No. 74, l. 18, " $\tau\delta$ $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau(\acute{o}\varsigma)$, " 116

No. 102, l. 7, " " $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, " 306

No. 103, l. 6, " " " " 316

In the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, II.

No. 245, l. 6, has $\tau\delta$ $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, dated 26 A. D.

No. 257, l. 8, " $\tau\delta$ $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon[\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma]$, " 94-5

In the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, III.

No. 479, l. 14, has $\tau\delta$ $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, dated 157

No. 499, l. 5, " " " " 121

In the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, IV.

No. 730, l. 4, has $\tau\delta$ $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, dated 130

No. 732, l. 2, " " " " 150

In the Fayum Towns and their Papyri.

No. 28, l. 10, has $\tau\delta$ $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, dated 150-1

No. 33, l. 14, " " " " 163

No. 36, l. 6, " " " " 111-2

No. 91, l. 19, " " " " 99

No. 93, l. 12, " " " " 161

These, it will be seen, range in date from 26 to 316 A. D. Earlier papyri yielded only genitives and datives. These ran back well into the 2d cent. B. C. Those still earlier agree with the inscriptions and with Thucydidean usage (I. 98. 4; IV. 97. 3; VII. 67. 2; VIII. 66. 2 and 3) in preferring the longer first perfect forms, as does also our only *testimonium* on Thuc. III. 9, viz., Georgios Diaeretes ad Hermogenem (Walz: Rhet. Graec. VI. 513. 29).

No instance of τὸ ἐνεστώς was found in the papyri.

The evidence of the Biblical MSS also may well be cited in this connection.

In the LXX version of Ruth II. 6, Holmes and Parsons read τὸ ἐφεστώς with all MSS cited except the Coislinianus (VII cent.), Basiliano-Vaticanus (IX cent.) and cursive 63, which have ἐφεστηκός. In II Maccabees, III. 17, these editors read τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἄλογος with all MSS cited, except the two cursives 55 (ἐνεστηκός) and 44 (ἐστώς).

In the New Testament, Matt. XXIV. 15 has ἐστὸς in \aleph B¹. F. G. H. L. V. Δ . Π . 33 and εστως in B⁷. D¹. E. K. M. S. U. Γ . 1. 69. In Rev. XIV. 1 ἐστὸς is the reading of \aleph A C B¹ and εστως only of a few minor MSS, mainly cursives, cited by Alford. Here again the "great four" \aleph A C and B¹ agree in favor of the $\overline{\text{os}}$ form, and they antedate by some centuries any of the classical MSS cited.

Osthoff in his Geschichte des Perf. 368 ff. has shown that ἐσταώς is for ἐστῶFός and Brugmann Gr. Gram¹. p. 57 considers ἐστὸς "to follow the analogy of εἰδός, εἰδές", which are for *FειδFος, *FειδFος (cf. the Sanskrit *vidvāḥs*, weak stem *viduḥ* and Avestan *vidvāh-*, weak stem *viduḥ*).

In the light of such evidence in favor of the $\overline{\text{os}}$ form our textbook makers may well pause before joining the followers of Riemann in the adoption of the desinence in ωs .

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V.—INSCRIPTIONS IN ATHENS.

During a revisit to Athens last July I found several new inscriptions, some of which are published here. Others will be published later.

1. Part of a fluted column, found near the Philopappus Hill, 0.89 m. high, 0.63 m. to 0.70 m. in circumference. Diameter at the end with a square hole 0.21 m.; at other end 0.19 m. Letters of the inscription, which is cut lengthwise in two flutings, 0.025 m. high. Stone now in the possession of Mr. Nostrakis, Zacharitzas street, no. 30.

Ι Τ Ι Ο ≈ Α Ν Ε Θ Ε Κ Ε Ν
Α Ν Ο ≈

The three-barred sigma dates the inscription before about 446 B. C. and the dotted theta after about 500 B. C. The forms of alpha and nu here used are more likely to occur in the first quarter of the fifth century B. C. than later.

2. Bronze mirror, handle cast in one piece with the disk, seen in the Minerva shop on Hermes street. The diameter of the disk, which has a fine bead pattern around the edge like that on the mirror published by Tarbell, The Decennial Publications, Chicago, VI, p. 3 f., pl. I, is 0.14 m. The handle, adorned with a palmette design at the top and with a rosette round the suspension hole at the bottom is 0.13 m. long and 0.025 m. wide. Diameter of round end of handle 0.045 m. The mirror resembles in shape and decoration one from the Argive Heraeum (cf. Waldstein, The Argive Heraeum, vol. II, pl. XCIV, 1565). The inscription is cut retrograde near the right edge of the well-polished side of the disk. Date, first quarter of fifth century B. C.

ΣΙΤΑΝΜΙΑ Διμνᾶτις

The mirror is said positively to come from Tegea and Pausanias VIII 53, 11 relates that on the way from Tegea to Laconia there was a *ιερόν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Διμνᾶτιδος*. Here probably the mirror was dedicated. For Artemis Limnatis cf. also Paus. III 23, 10; IV 4, 2; IV 31, 3; VII 20, 7; Anth. Pal. VI 280; Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, II, pp. 427, 558; Dittenberger,

Sylloge¹, 836; Roehl, I. G. A. 50 (where we have the same inscription on a cymbal), 61 and 73; Wilhelm, Athen. Mitth. XVI, 1891, pp. 350, 351. The epithet often breaks loose as here and forms a goddess of itself.

3. Marble slab, broken at bottom, found to the south of the Ilissus southwest of the hill with the windmill (cf. Judeich, Topographie von Athen, plan I, G 8, Windmühle). Now concealed in a house on the λεωφόρος Σύγγρου. Height 0.34 m.; width 0.40 m.; thickness 0.08 m. Letters small but well cut and clearly legible, 0.005 m. to 0.008 m. high. Date, first half of fourth century B. C., certainly not fifth century as Dörpfeld, who had not seen the stone, thought possible (cf. Athen. Mitth. XXXI, 1906, p. 149). *ov* represented by *o* in every case except l. 6 where we have *ρούς*.

This inscription has been published already from an imperfect copy with translation and epigraphical commentary by Holleaux, Athen. Mitth. XXXI, 1906, pp. 134-144. The technical construction of the tripod-bases, for which the most important dimensions are given, is discussed *ibid.*, pp. 145-150 by Dörpfeld. Considering the fact that Holleaux had seen neither the stone itself nor a squeeze, his publication is excellent, though of course not accurate in detail. Holleaux knew neither the dimensions of the stone nor the place of finding, which is of considerable importance in this case, since the inscription probably comes from the Cynosarges (cf. line 2). The tripods mentioned perhaps were set up in the sanctuary of Hercules in the Cynosarges (cf. Frazer, Pausanias, II, p. 193; Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 374). Since the stone was excavated somewhat to the south of the chapel of *Hagios Panteleïmon* on the south bank of the Ilissus, it seems to prove that the Cynosarges was not on the site of the Monastery *τῶν Ἀσωμάτων* at the southeastern foot of Lycabettus near the American School, where one of the streets to-day is called *ὁδὸς Κυνοσάργεως*, and where most topographers following Leake and Curtius used to locate it (cf. Frazer, *ibid.*) and some as Gardner do still (cf. his Ancient Athens, p. 528). The view of Dyer and Miss Harrison, Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens, p. 216, that the Cynosarges was near the stadium also now seems improbable¹. Dörpfeld placed the Cynosarges near *Hagios Panteleïmon* (wrongly called *H. Marina* by Dörpfeld himself in Athen. Mitth. XX, 1895, p. 507 and by Frazer, *op. cit.* V, p. 493).

¹ In her recent book, Primitive Athens, p. 142, fig. 49, Miss Harrison places the deme Diomeia, where the Cynosarges was located, to the south-west of the Olympieum, although p. 145, note 2, she says it is to the south-east.

5 Ε Ο Ι
 ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΑΙΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΩΝΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΡΕΡΙΘΟΙΔΗΣ
 ΕΓΚΥΝΟΣΑΡΓΕΙΤΩΙΤΡΙΠΙΡΟΔΙΕΚΑΣΤΩΙΒΗΜΑΡΟΙ
 ΗΣΑΙΑΝΑΚΑΘΗΡΑΥΕΙΣΤΡΩΜΑΤΙΣΑΙΛΙΘΟΙΣΑΓΡΥ
 ΔΕΙΚΟΙΣΙΣΟΓΕΙΚΟΥΑΙΟΡΘΟΑΓΡΥΛΕΙΚΟΡΘΟΣΤΑΤΗ
 ΔΙΡΟΝΚΑΙΕΡΙΚΟΥΑΙΟΡΘΟΑΓΡΥΛΕΙΚΟΡΘΟΣΤΑΤΗ
 ΤΟΝΔΙΑΒΗΤΗΝΕΡΙΔΕΤΟΑΓΡΑΧΟΣΚΑΙΡΑΤΟΣΕΡΤΑ
 ΝΘΕΙΝΑΙΥΥΟΣΤΡΙΓΟΔΑΡΑΧΟΝΤΩΝΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΝΤΑΣΑΚΡΑΣ
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 ΟΣΟΝΕΡΙΔΥΟΔΑΚΤΥΛΟΛΕΙΡΟΝΤΑΧΕΙΤΑΜΕΣΑΚΑΤΑ
 ΧΙΣΑΙΑΕΡΤΕΙΕΡΙΔΕΤΟΟΡΘΟΑΧΕΙΤΑΜΕΣΑΚΑΤΑ
 15 ΤΑΛΗΡΤΗΡΑΕΡΙΘΕΙΝΑΙΡΑΧΟΣΕΡΤΑΔΑΚΤΥΛΩΝ
 ΛΑΤΟΣΤΡΙΩΝΡΟΔΩΝΚΑΙΕΞΔΑΚΤΥΛΩΝΕΡΓΑΣΑ
 ΜΕΝΟΝΚΑΙΑΡΟΞΕΣΑΝΤΑΡΑΝΤΑΧΕΙΟΡΘΟΝΚΑΙΥΓ
 ΙΑΤΙΘΕΝΑΙΔΕΡΕΡΙΓΟΜΦΩΙΣΙΔΗΡΩΙΕΡΙΔΕΤΟΚ
 ΑΤΑΛΗΡΤΗΡΟΣΤΟΝΤΡΙΡΟΔΑΚΑΘΑΡΜΟΣΑΙΕΝΤΕΤ
 20 ΡΑΝΑΝΤΑΤΟΙΣΡΟΣΙΚΑΙΡΕΡΙΜΟΛΥΒΔΟΧΟΗΣΑΙΚ
 ΑΙΚΙΟΝΙΟΝΥΦΑΡΜΟΣΑΙΡΕΝΤΕΛΕΙΚΟΝΥΓΟΤΟΝΤ
 ΡΙΡΟΔΑΔΩΡΙΚΟΝΕΧΟΝΤΟΕΡΙΚΡΑΝΟΝΕΑΥΤΟΥΡ
 ΟΞΕΑΝΤΑΟΡΘΟΟΝΚΑΙΞΕΤΡΑΙΔΕΧΡΗΣΘΑΙΕΙΣΤΟΣΟ
 25 Ν Γ Α Ν Δ Ε Μ Ε Γ Α Π Ι Κ Ε Ι Τ Ο
 Τ Α Τ Α Λ Η Ρ Α Ν Δ Ε Μ Ε Γ Α Π Ι Κ Ε Ι Τ Ο

Θεοί.

Συγγραφαί· ἀρχιτέκτων Ξενοφῶν Περιβοΐδης·
 ἐγ̃ Κυνοσάργαι τῶν τρίποδι ἐκάσται βῆμα ποι-
 ῆσαι· ἀνακαθηράμενον τὸ χωρίον ὅπο ἂν ὁ ἀρχι-
 τέκτων ὑπογράψῃ, στρωματίσαι λίθους ἀγρυ-
 λεοῖται ἰσχύειν, τίθεντα τοὺς λίθους ἐπὶ τὸ
 δίστον, καὶ ἐπικόψαι ὄρθον κατὰ κεφαλὴν πρὸς
 τὸν διαβήτην· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἀγρυλικοῦ ὀρθοστάτη-
 ν θεῖναι, ὕψος τρίποδα, πάχος καὶ πλάτος ἐπτά
 10 παλαιστῶν δακτύλου λειπόστων· ἐξεργάζεσθαι
 δὲ τὸν ὀρθοστάτην, περιξισάμενον τὰς ἄκρας
 ὅσον ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλω πανταχῇ, τὰ μῆσα κατα[ρ-
 [α]χίσαι λεπτεῖ, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ὀρθοστάτο ἐκάστο κα-

ταληπτῆρα ἐπιθεῖναι, πᾶχος ἐπτά δακτύλων, π-
 15 λάτος τριῶν ποδῶν καὶ ἐξ δακτύλων, ἐξεργασά-
 μενον καὶ ἀπαξίσαντα πανταχῇ ὄρθον καὶ ὕγ-
 ιᾶ· τιθέναι δὲ περὶ γόμφου σιδηρεῖ· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κ-
 αταληπτῆρος τὸν τρίποδα καθαρμόσαι, ἐντε-
 ράνατα τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ περιμολυβδοχοῆσαι, κ-
 20 αὶ κύνιον ὑφαρμόσαι πεπελεικὸν ὑπὸ τὸν τ-
 τρίποδα, θωρικὸν ἔχον τὸ ἐπείκρανον ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὑπ-
 οξέσαντα ὄρθον καὶ ξύσαντα λείων, καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ-
 [κρανον] ἐγκαῦσαι· πέτραι δὲ χρῆσθαι εἰς τὸς ὀ-
 [ρθοστάτας καὶ] τὸς καταληπτῆρας ἀκτίτιδι ἢ
 25 μεταρικεῖ ἢ ἐλευσινιακ[εῖ], ἐὰν δὲ μεταρικεῖ
 εἰς τὸς ὄρθο[στάτας καὶ τὸ-
 ς καταληπτῆρας]

Accordingly Cecil Smith conducted excavations in this region to the north-east of the hill marked to-day by a windmill and discovered the foundations of a large building of the sixth century B. C., which was taken to be a gymnasium (cf. Athen. Mitth. XXI, 1896, p. 463 f.; Annual of British School at Athens, III, pp. 89, 232 f.; Frazer, op. cit. V, p. 493 f.; Judeich, op. cit., p. 373). But no inscription was found to make this certain and one would expect from the literary references to discover the Cynosarges on the road to Phalerum rather than on the road to Sunium, where these excavations took place. The place of finding of this inscription confirms the view of Judeich who (l. c.) says, "Mit grösserer Wahrscheinlichkeit wird man deshalb das Kynosarges-Gymnasion am Sudwestfuss derselben Hügelgruppe suchen, an deren Nordostabfall die Bauten ausgegraben sind". Such a situation fits the description in Ps.-Plato, Axiochus 364 b. And in Ps.-Plut. Vit. X Or. 838 b Isocrates is said to have been buried near Cynosarges on a hill to the left, which would be the hill with the windmill. Let us hope that excavations will soon be conducted in this region for the purpose of settling the exact spot of the Cynosarges.

L. 1. Above the inscription is the heading *Θεοί*, omitted by Holleaux, but often found at the beginning of architectural inscriptions (cf. Dittenberger, Sylloge¹, 537, 538, 539, 542; also I. G. II, 5, 1054 b and 1054 c).

The inscription itself is cut *stoichedon*, and every line has exactly 36 letters. Holleaux wrongly thought that lines 13, 16, 19, 23, and 24 were irregular, l. 13 containing 38 and ll. 16, 19, 23 37 letters, and l. 24 only 35 letters. Lattermann, Athen. Mitth. XXXI, 1906, p. 362 is also wrong.

L. 6. The first letter is A or Δ instead of Λ. Perhaps the letters were painted and the cross-bar, cut by mistake, was not painted so that the letter really looked like Λ. So in I. G. I. 5, p. 190, no. 528¹ we have AHΞ for ΛHΞ.

Ll. 6-7. *τιθέντα τοὺς λίθους ἐπὶ τὸ δῖπον*. Holleaux, l. c., p. 138, and Dörpfeld, l. c., p. 146, read *ἐπὶ τὸ αἰπὸν* (?), taking it to be equivalent to *ἐπὶ τὸ στέριφον*, a meaning for which there is no parallel. Holleaux, because of the use of the accusative with *ἐπὶ* after *τιθέναι*, suggested the correction, which he himself calls "*désespérée*", *ἐπὶ το(ῦ) αἰπο(ν)[ς]*. Lattermann, l. c., p. 360, adopts a suggestion of Hiller von Gaertringen *ἐπὶ τὸ ἀργόν*. But there can be no doubt about any letter except the first, which seems to me after a careful

comparison of all occurrences of Δ and Α in this inscription to be Δ rather than Α. For the form δίπο(υ)ν instead of δίποδα, cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, Gramm. der att. Inschr. 149, 8.

In l. 9 we have the form τρίποδα, but this is more common even in the fourth century B. C. than τρίπο(υ)ν. There is no reason why in a period of transition we should not have δίπο(υ)ν and τρίποδα just as we have, l. 6, τοὺς, but elsewhere τὸς ἐπὶ τὸ δίπο(υ)ν would mean "to the distance of two feet", "to the depth of two feet" or "to the height of two feet" (cf. Dittenberger, Sylloge², 538, l. 15; 540, l. 107; 542, l. 20, θῆσει δὲ τοὺς λίθους ὀρθοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ τριημιπόδια). The height of the foundations is to be two feet, a little more than Dörpfeld has adopted in his drawing, l. c., p. 144.

Ll. 12-13. *ὅσον ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλῳ πανταχὲ τὰ μέσα κατα[ρ]αχίσαι λεπτεῖ* etc. Holleaux read *ὅσον ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλων πανταχὲ, τὰ [δὲ] μέσα κατα[ρ]αχί[σ]αι (?)* As Lattermann, l. c., p. 360, pointed out, *δύο* does not occur as a genitive till Roman times (cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, op. cit., 157, 1 d). The *ν* of *δακτύλων* and the *δὲ* which Holleaux supplied to make 36 letters in l. 12 are not on the stone. *Δὲ* is not needed, because it would subordinate *περιξεσάμενον* to *ἐξεργάζεσθαι* which consists in polishing off a border all around (*περιξίω*) and then cutting down fine the middle portions. Holleaux's reading *καταρ[ρ]αχί[σ]αι* is impossible, since it contains one too few letters, and the letter before *χ* is not *ξ*. Lattermann's conjecture of *κατα(ξ)ί(ν)[ειν]* (cf. l. c., p. 360) is also disproved by the stone itself. *καταραχίσαι* seems to be the correct reading, though I have been unable to find it used of cutting down stone. It generally has some reference to sacrifice. But clear traces of *P* exist on the stone at the end of l. 12, and the first letter of l. 13 looks like *A*. In I. G. II, 167, l. 82, we have *ραχώσας* used with reference to the long walls of Athens. For the lacuna left by Holleaux after *καταραχίσαι* Lattermann (l. c., p. 361) suggested *ξοῖδε*, the instrument which to be sure does occur along with *τὰ δὲ μέσα* in Dittenberger, Sylloge², 540. ll. 108, 121. The reading of the stone *λεπτεῖ* shows, however, that Holleaux was wrong when he said (l. c., p. 140) "Ces parties médianes doivent, selon l'usage, être, non point finement travaillées", and also Dörpfeld, when he said (l. c., p. 146) "die mittlere Fläche geraucht bleibt". After a margin of the breadth of two *δάκτυλοι* has been polished off all around on the *ὀρθοστάτης*, the middle portions (*τὰ μέσα*) are to be cut down fine and not left rough, as was often the case (cf. Sylloge², 540, notes 45, 47).

Ll. 16-17: $\iota\gamma|\iota\alpha$. Holleaux read $\iota\gamma|\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$, making 37 instead of 36 letters in l. 16. But the acc. sing. would be $\iota\gamma\eta$ as in Sylloge², 540, l. 32 or $\iota\gamma\iota\alpha$. The correct reading $\iota\gamma\iota\alpha$ which Lattermann had already suggested (l. c., p. 361) dates the inscription before 350 B. C. (cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, op. cit., p. 150, 11).

L. 17. Read $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\gamma\acute{o}\mu\phi\alpha\iota$ instead of Holleaux's $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\gamma\acute{o}\mu\phi\alpha$ as Dörpfeld (l. c., p. 147) suggests.

L. 19. There is no T at the beginning as Holleaux reads, which makes 36 instead of 37 letters in l. 19.

L. 20: $\kappa\acute{\iota}\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$. Several small columns have been found in the region where this inscription was excavated, and perhaps come from the tripod-bases.

L. 21: $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{o}$, Holleaux wrongly read $\acute{\epsilon}\pi'$ $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{o}$.

L. 23: $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha\iota$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. Holleaux read $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, which he himself (cf. l. c., Addendum to p. 135) says, "est bien faite pour surprendre dans une inscription attique du IV^e siècle". L. 23 has 36, not 37 letters.

L. 24. Holleaux thought l. 24 had only 35 letters, but he omitted the last letter η .

L. 25: $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota$. Holleaux read only $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\mu[\eta]$. We hear of Megarian stone in I. G. IV, 823, ll. 7, 76.

L. 26 was not given by Holleaux.

4. Stone seen in the Bazaar of Athens. Exact provenience unknown. Height 0.59 m.; width 0.215 m. Inscription 0.26 m. high. Letters, coarse and irregular, from 0.01 m. to 0.015 m. high. The lower part, which was not inscribed, was set in the ground on the estate mortgaged. Date, first half of fourth century B. C.

ΟΡΟΞΧΩΡΙΟ	δρος χωρίο
ΠΕΡΠΑΜΕΝΟ	πεπραμένο
ΕΡΙΛΥΞΕΙΚΗΦΙ	ἐπὶ λύσει Κηφι-
ΞΟΔΩΡΩΙΛΕΥΚΟ	σοδώρῳ Δευκο(νοί)
5 ΧΓΚΑΙΦΑΤΕΡ	5 ΧΓ ^κ καὶ φράτερ-
ΞΙΤΟΙΞΜΕΤΑΕΡΑ	σι τοῖς μετὰ Ἐρα-
ΤΟΞΤΡΑΤΟΑΝΑ	τοστράτῳ Ἀνα-
ΦΛΧΗΗΚΑΙΓΛΑ	φλ(υστίῳ) ΧΗΗ καὶ Γλα-
ΥΚΙΔΑΙΞΓΗΚ	υκίδαις Γ ^κ Η κ[αί]
10 ΕΡΙΚΛΕΙΔΑΙΞ	10 Ἐπικλείδαις
ΗΓΚΑΙΦΑΤΕΡ	ΗΓ ^κ καὶ φράτερ
ΞΙΤΟΙΞΜΕΤΑΝΙΚ	σι τοῖς μετὰ Νικ
ΩΝΟΞΑΝΑΦΛΗ	ωνος Ἀναφλ(υστίῳ) Η

This inscription belongs to the class of hypothecary or mortgage inscriptions (most of them dating from the latter half of the fourth century), in which the property is sold with a reservation of right to the vendor to repurchase (*ἐπὶ λύσει*).¹ I know of no other inscription of this kind which records as many as five mortgages. In ll. 4, 8, and 13 the deme-names are abbreviated as in I. G. II 1134, 1135, 1147; Sitzb. d. Akad. zu Berlin, 1897, p. 665, no. 2, l. 3; no. 4, ll. 5, 10 (this last mortgage stone published as if unknown by Tillyard in the Annual of the British School at Athens, XI, p. 71)². The president of the *φράτρες* who take the second mortgage for 1200 drachmae is Eratostratus of Anaphlystus who in all probability is to be identified with the Eratostratus of Anaphlystus who according to I. G. II 869 was *πρύτανης* about the middle of the fourth century B. C. (cf. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica, s. v.). Nikon of Anaphlystus (ll. 12, 13) can not be the Nikon of Anaphlystus mentioned by Kirchner, op. cit., 11106, because that Nikon lived two hundred years later, but possibly they belong to the same stock. The names *Γλανκίδαι* and *Ἐπικλείδαι* are new and are not to be found in Ziebarth, Das griechische Vereinswesen, or in Toepffer, Attische Genealogie, or in Oehler, Zum griechischen Vereinswesen. We should expect these to be the names of guilds or sacred clubs or phratries, or more probably of families, just as we hear of mortgages given to *ἐρανοισαί* (cf. I. G. II 1110, 1119, 1147, 1148; II 5, 1139 b, 1140 b.; Sitzb. der Akad. zu Berlin, 1897, p. 668, nos. 14, 15), to *θιασῶται* (cf. I. G. II 1111; II 5, 1111), to *ὀργεῶνες* (cf. Michel, Recueil, 1375), to *Κεκροπίδαι* and *Λυκομίδαι* and *Φλυεῖς* (cf. *ibid.* 1366; Dittenberger, Sylloge³, 819), to the *δεκαδισαί* (cf. Dittenberger, Sylloge³, 824; Michel, Recueil, 1374). *Γλανκίδαι* and *Ἐπικλείδαι*, to be connected perhaps with the festival of Demeter celebrated at Athens, the *Ἐπικλείδια* (cf. Hesychius, s. v.), are more likely to be names of families than phratries, since the word *φράτρες* is used of two

¹ Cf. for similar inscriptions I. G. II 1103 f.; I. G. II 5, 1111 f.; Dittenberger, Sylloge³, 818 f.; Michel, Recueil, 1364 f.; Roberts and Gardner, Inscriptions of Attica, pp. 494 f.; Ziebarth, Sitzungsberichte der Akad. zu Berlin, 1897, pp. 664 f.; 1898, pp. 782 f.; Dareste, Hassoullier et Reinach, Inscr. Juridiques Grecques, pp. 107 f.; Annual of British School at Athens, XI, pp. 63 f.; Hitzig, Das griechische Pfandrecht, p. 67 f. Cf. for *ἐπὶ λύσει* Wiener Studien, IX, 1887, p. 279 f.

² In lines 9 and 10 of Tillyard's publication should be read *κειμένης παρὰ Χαϊρεθήμω Παμν(ονσίω)* instead of the genitive.

other parties who have mortgages but not with these names. Guilds and *φράτρες* often possessed property (cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 571; *Sitzb. der Akad. zu Berlin*, 1898, p. 781, no. 24, *δρος οίκιας φρατέρων*). But this is the first mortgage inscription, so far as I know, to mention *φράτρες*.

5. Marble slab with molding above and below. Found on north-east slope of Philopappus Hill. Length, 0.685 m. Width, 0.305 m. Width of middle part, where inscription is, 0.11 m. Letters 0.03 m. high. Date, end of second century or beginning of first century B. C.

ΙΩΡΟΣ' ΕΙΣΙΑΣΤΡΙΜΟΥ
ΙΕΥΣ ΕΚΠΙΡΑΙΕΩΝ

— δωρος — — — ιεύς
Eiōiās Πρίμου ἐκ Πιραιέων

Probably we should read *Eiōiās* and not *Eiōiās*, since the woman's name is more common than the man's, cf. I. G. III 155; *Athen. Mitth.* XXI, 1896, p. 275 f.

6. Part of a *κιονίσκος* found near the Philopappus Hill, now in the possession of Nostrakis, cf. no. I. Height, 0.27 m.; diameter, 0.17 m.; circumference 0.55 m. Letters 0.03 m. high. Date, end of second century B. C.

ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑ 'Αρισταγόρα
ΘΕΩΝΟΣ Θέωνος
ΜΙΑΗΣΙΑ Μιλησία

In l. 3 the third letter Α is a stone-cutter's mistake for Λ, cf. no. 3, l. 6. Pape wrongly gives in his *Griechische Eigennamen* the name 'Αρισταγόρα as that of a woman from Miletus mentioned in C. I. G. 2852, for we have there the genitive of 'Αρισταγόρας.

In the same house as no. 6 is another fragment of a *κιονίσκος*
Κ Ρ
0.26 m. high, with the letters, 0.015 m. high. Ξ Α
Μ Α

7. In the yard of a house near the Ilissus south of the Olympieum fragment of another *κιονίσκος* with a late inscription. Diameter 0.37 m. Height 0.27 m. Letters 0.03 m. high.

ΦΡΕΓΑΝΙΟΣ ΕΠΑΦΡΑΣ

Φρεγάνιος 'Επαφράς

Beneath this inscription an earlier inscription of which the letters E and O^{ξ}Y remain on either side of a sculptured male head.

8. Slab with gable, found near Zappeion, now in Bazaar of Athens, 0.22 m. wide, 0.32 m. high. Letters 0.015 m. high.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ	Ἡρακλία
ΧΑΙΡΕ	χαίρε

9. Stone, said to come from grave at Megara, 0.135 m. by 0.07 m. Thickness 0.04 m. Letters 0.02 m. Seen in Bazaar of Athens.

ΠΑΜΒΙΣ	Πάμβις
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10. Similar stone seen also in Bazaar, from Megara, 0.17 m. long, 0.14 m. high, 0.025 m. thick. Letters 0.03 m. high.

ΚΑΡΙΟΥ	Καρίου
ΒΙΓΛΑΝ	Βιγλαν-
ΤΙΟΥ	τιου (= Vigilantius).

11. Small slab with inscription of imperial date, 0.135 m. wide, 0.155 m. high, 0.025 m. thick. Letters 0.01 m. Now in shop on Aeolus street, no. 13. Found near Peiraeus, so probably comes from the Asclepieum of the Peiraeus.

ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ	Ἀθηνόδαρος
ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩΕΠΗ	Ἀσκληπιῶ ἐπη-
ΚΟΩΕΥΧΗΝΑ	κόω εὐχὴν ἀ-
ΝΕΘ	νέθηκε
ΗΚΕ	

In the space in l. 4 are sculptured the private parts of a youth. Cf. Sybel, Katalog der Skulpturen, 4058.

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VI.—TEMPORAL CLAUSES IN CICERO'S EPISTLES.

Both conditional and temporal clauses¹ are noticeably frequent in the epistles of Cicero. Practically identical in the future, in the past the *si* clause expresses an unrealized and unrealizable hypothesis, while the *cum* clause expresses actual occurrences, though their kinship is indicated by the use of *tum* in contrast with both *cum* and *si*. Though we shall discuss only the temporal clauses, a few words in regard to the conditional statements may not be amiss. With more than three thousand occurrences of *si*, *nisi*, *sin*, *etsi*, and kindred particles, the mere frequency of the construction gives evidence of the political uncertainties of the times, and that the politicians were

“— creatures

Moving about in worlds not realized,”

and that with puzzled minds and wills perplexed they kept before themselves the unrealities of the past and the uncertainties of the future.

The frequency of occurrence varies with the subject and the occasion. A simple historical narrative, e. g. ad Fam. 15, 2, has few conditional statements, though *cum* is much in evidence. The *si* clauses are of frequent occurrence, especially in the letters to Atticus, whether Cicero may be thinking of the past, e. g. A. 3, 20, 1 *me miserum! quam omnia essent ex sententia, si nobis animus, si consilium, si fides eorum, quibus credidimus, non defuisset*; or of the present, as in A. 4, 6, 2 *ego vero, qui, si loquor de republica, quod oportet, insanus, si, quod opus est, servus existimor, si taceo, oppressus et captus, quo dolore esse debeo?* A. 2, 23, 3 *si dormis, expergiscere, si stas, ingredi, si ingredi, curre, si curris, advola*; or of the future, as in A. 3, 10, 1 *nam, si erit causa, si quid agetur, si spem videro, aut ibidem opperiar aut me ad te conferam*; *sin, ut tu scribis, ista evanuerint, aliquid aliud videbimus*; A. 13, 13, 4 *de Bruto, si quid egerit, de Caesare, si quid scies, si quid erit praeterea, scribes*. This repetition is characteristic of the correspondents of Cicero also,

¹ The text followed is that of C. F. W. Mueller.

as may be seen from the words of Caelius, A. 10, 9 A, 2 (F. 8, 16) quare, si tibi tu, si filius unicus, si domus, si spes tuae reliquae tibi carae sunt, si aliquid apud te nos, si vir optimus, gener tuus, valemus . . . *noli committere*; and of Brutus F. 11, 1, 3 si melior casus fuerit, revertemur Romam; si mediocris, in exilio vivemus; si pessimus, ad novissima auxilia descendemus. While these examples are extreme, they indicate something of the feverish unrest of the times, as do many of the future temporal statements. However, in the larger part such coloring is lacking, and the consideration must be largely of conventional forms of grammatical statements. Following divisions already well known we shall consider the temporal statements as they express: I. Antecedent, II. Contemporaneous, or III. Subsequent action; and IV. the *Cum* Constructions.

I. ANTECEDENT ACTION

Postquam and *ut* are the particles most frequently occurring, *ubi* and *simul ac* being comparatively rarely used.

Postquam.—So far as form is concerned *posteaquam* is used more freely than *postquam*, though the spelling seems to be a matter of indifference, as Caelius F. 8, 12, 1-2 has *posteaquam* comperi . . . *posteaquam* . . . sensi, and *postquam* rescii. The separation *post* . . . *quam* is due to an associated temporal term: A. 13, 30, 2 XIII annis post praetor est factus Tuditanus quam consul Memmius; A. 9, 10, 4 post diem quartum quam ab urbe discessimus; F. 1, 9, 9 paucis post diebus quam Luca discesserat; F. 16, 21, 1 post diem quadragesimum et sextum quam a vobis discesserant. *Quam* is separated from *postea* by *vero* A. 1, 16, 2; 4, 8, 2; 5, 21, 7; 15, 14, 2; 15, 20, 2; F. 3, 7, 5; 5, 2, 4; 6, 13, 1; 15, 1, 1: by *autem* A. 13, 12, 3; and F. 7, 3, 5 *postea* autem quam valeret. A wider separation was noticed F. 3, 8, 5 nisi forte *postea* coeperunt legare, quam ego Taurum transgressus sum; and in a letter from Luceius F. 5, 14, 1 Romae quia *postea* non fuisti, quam discesseras. In F. 13, 24, 1 Cicero has *tum vero* outside of *posteaquam*, t. v. p. . . . cognovi; and Caelius does not observe the rule for separation in F. 8, 12, 1 *posteaquam* vero comperi.

Postquam is found chiefly with the perfect indicative, does not occur with the future tenses, but has maintained itself in a few instances with the imperfect and pluperfect indicative: A. 3, 19, 1 *posteaquam* . . . videbatur; F. 7, 5, 1 *posteaquam* . . . erat; F. 8, 8, 2

M. Servilius postquam . . . omnibus in rebus turbarat nec quicquam reliquerat maximaeque nobis traditus erat invidiae, neque Latensis praetor . . . recipere voluit, Q. Pilius . . . postulavit; 5, 14, 1; 16, 11, 2 profecti erant, posteaquam senatus . . . negotium dederat; and following *dies*: F. 1, 9, 9; A. 9, 1, 1 haec autem scribebam pridie Nonas XIII die postquam ille Canusio moverat; A. 12, 1, 1 undecimo die postquam a te discesseram; F. 16, 21, 1. The present occurs less frequently: A. 2, 11, 1 plane relegatus mihi videor, posteaquam in Formiano sum; 13, 11, 1 totum est aliud posteaquam sum a te diiunctior; Q. 3, 1, 1 quod mihi nunc denique apparuit, posteaquam et ipsa tota patet.

The infrequency of the subjunctive with *postquam* evidences the triumph of *cum* with the subjunctive, as virtual indirect statements were put immediately into the subjunctive with *cum*, thus obviating the assumption that the statements had ever been made directly with *postquam*. The present subjunctive is not used at all with *postquam*, owing to its practical non-occurrence with corresponding direct tenses of the indicative. All the other tenses of the subjunctive are occasionally found, the perfect being used most freely: A. 1, 13, 4 scripsisti, posteaquam non auderet reprehendere, laudare coepisse; F. 4, 3, 4 me, posteaquam illi arti . . . nihil loci esse . . . viderem, omnem meam curam . . . contulisse; F. 7, 3, 5 ut primum scires . . . postea autem quam . . . valeret unus . . . me voluisse pacem . . . postquam non potuerim . . . mihi ipsi finem fecisse belli. Other perfects are found: A. 13, 28, 3 tu non vides . . . posteaquam rex appellatus sit . . . immoderatum fuisse; A. 10, 9 A, 1 (F. 8, 16, 1 Caelius) sed postquam Caesarem convenerim sententiamque eius . . . cognorim, te certiore fecisse; F. 4, 4, 3 nam sic fac existimes, post has miseras, id est postquam armis disceptari coeptum sit de iure publico, nihil esse actum aliud cum dignitate; F. 9, 1, 2 scito enim me, posteaquam in urbem venerim, redisse. The pluperfect is also found A. 6, 3, 1 etsi nihil sane habebam novi, quod post accidisset quam dedissem ad te . . . litteras.

Similar to these, but with a definite limitation of the time, are a few instances with *postridie*: A. 2, 1, 3; F. 14, 7, 1; F. 16, 14, 1; Q. 2, 7, 2 sed tamen postridie, quam tu es profectus . . . veni, these occurrences being with the perfect indicative; and with the pluperfect A. 9, 5, 1 eam mihi Philotimus p. q. a te acceperat, reddidit.

Ubi.—*Ubi* is not at all freely used in the epistles as a temporal

particle, the most noticeable occurrence being F. 7, 3, 3 nihil tolerabilius exilio . . . ubi nulla adiunctast turpitudine, addo autem etiam, cum ea urbe careas in qua nihil sit quod videre possis sine dolore, where *ubi* with the indicative is parallel to *cum* with the subjunctive, both equally expressing the condition under which the main clause is true. The perfect is also found F. 9, 20, 3 ubi salutatio defluxit, litteris me involvo, which is equivalent to F. 7, 28, 2 cum enim salutationi nos dedimus amicorum . . . abdo me in bibliothecam. Other occurrences are A. 4, 8, 4 ubi nihil erit, quod scribas, id ipsum scribito; F. 8, 14, 3 homines . . . debeant, quam diu civiliter sine armis certetur, honestiorem sequi partem, ubi ad bellum et castra ventum sit, firmiorem; A. 8, 16, 2 quod ubi audissem, si ille Appia veniret, ego Arpinum cogitabam.

Ut.—*Ut* in direct statements is used with the perfect indicative with but few exceptions. The imperfect is found in the comparative temporal statement A. 1, 16, 4 ut quaeque res . . . referebatur . . . incredibilis erat severitas; and also A. 3, 15, 5 quam si, ut est promulgata, laudare voluissemus aut, ut erat neglegenda, neglegere, nocere omnino nobis non potuisset. There are two occurrences of the pluperfect: A. 2, 12, 4 litteras scripsi . . . statim ut tuas legeram; and A. 5, 10, 1 ut Athenas veneram . . . expectabam. The future perfect is also used A. 10, 4, 12 simul ut videro, and Q. 2, 5, 3 simul ut venerit . . . ne omiseris. *Ut primum* is comparatively freely used, and the immediateness of the action is also indicated by *statim ut*: A. 2, 12, 4; 5, 12, 2; and 9, 9, 4 de Lanuvino, statim ut audiui Phameam mortuum, optavi; and with the future perfect Q. 2, 5, 3. The perfect subjunctive in *oratio obliqua* occurs A. 11, 16, 2; F. 3, 9 1 (twice); 5, 2, 3; 7, 32, 1; 11, 27, 4; and 13, 29, 1 intellexi, ut primum per aetatem iudicium facere potueris, quanti quisque tibi faciendus esset. The pluperfect is found A. 7, 17, 3 intellexi . . . ut primum . . . Caesar audisset, laborare eum coepisse.

Simul ac.—*Simul ac*, *simul et* and *simul* are used to indicate the immediately successive relationship of one action to another, and in several passages, owing to variations in texts, it is impossible to determine which one of the three forms was used by Cicero. The regular construction is a perfect tense,—perfect or future perfect,—and for this reason the reading A. 10, 16, 4 looks suspicious: cogitavi eadem illa Caeliana, quae legi in epistula tua, quam accepi, simul et in Cumanum veni eodem die, et simul fieri poterat, ut temptaremur. *Simul* is equal¹ to *simul ac* A. 8, 11, 7

simul aliquid audiero, scribam ad te; in the equivalent statement A. 2, 20, 2 simul aliquid erit certi, scribam ad te; and A. 9, 7 A, 1 ut, simul Romam venerit, agat. *Simul et* occurs A. 16, 11, 6 simul et constituero, scribam; cf. A. 10, 16, 4; and there is an ellipsis A. 13, 21, 2 quod simul ac, continuo scietis. *Simul ut* is used as is *statim ut* A. 9, 9, 1 simul ut rus decurro; and A. 10, 4, 12 quod scribam, simul ut videro. There are also a few occurrences in indirect statements: A. 14, 22, 1 inrita fore . . . simul ac desisteremus timere; F. 15, 16, 2 ut, simul ac conlubitum sit de te cogitare, illud occurrat; A. 15, 12, 1 statim ait se iturum, simul ac . . . tradidisset; F. 16, 11, 3 simul atque expedisset . . . dixit se relaturum; A. 3, 18, 1 simul . . . remissae essent . . . daturum.

Quotiens is used with *totiens* as a correlative A. 1, 14, 3 quotiens coniugem, q. domum, q. patriam videret, totiens se beneficium meum videre; and also indirect, F. 7, 7, 1 illud soleo mirari, non me totiens accipere tuas litteras, quotiens a Quinto mihi fratre adferantur. The present indicative with *quotiens* is found A. 7, 26, 1 in a quotation, non venit idem usu mihi, quod tu tibi scribis, 'quotiens exior'; and with *quotienscumque* F. 6, 5, 1; and 13, 41, 1 q. me videt (videt autem saepe) gratias tibi agit singularis. The future occurs with this form F. 16, 11, 3 cura, ut . . . mittas, q. habebis, cui des. The particle is slightly different in A. 11, 13, 5 velim, ut soles, facias, quotiensque habebis, quoi des ad me litteras, nolim praetermittas. The perfect is found with *quotiens* Q. 1, 1, 7, 21 q. quisque voluit; and with *quotienscumque* F. 5, 6, 1 fuit; F. 13, 69, 1 fui; F. 5, 2, 9 q. aliquid est actum, sedens iis adsensi.

II. CONTEMPORANEOUS ACTION.

A. *Contemporaneous in Extent.*

Dum.—Of the particles expressing contemporaneous action *dum* is most freely used, and when it means 'while' or 'as long as', in direct statements, takes all the tenses of the indicative excepting the pluperfect and future perfect. The present occurs most frequently and expresses an action parallel to some other, e. g. A. 10, 16, 5 sed, dum redeo, Hortensius venerat; 16, 12, 1 dum tu muginaris, nec mihi quicquam rescribis, cepi consilium; F. 3, 5, 4 perpaucos dies, dum pecunia accipitur . . . commorabor; with an imperative is not unusual: A. 5, 11, 1 dum ades . . . provide; 10, 10, 3 medere, amabo, dum est ἀρχή; Q. 2, 14, 2 attende

nunc . . . ad ea dum rescribo; and with other presents, as in A. 10, 15, 4 dum . . . parantur, excurro; A. 12, 18, 1 dum fugio . . . refugio; A. 9, 10, 3 ut aegroto, dum anima est, spes esse dicitur; A. 2, 14, 2 si qui nunc, dum hi apud me sunt, emere . . . velit. The perfect is used a few times in connection with a perfect, while the imperfect occurs with all the past tenses of the indicative: A. 12, 18, 1 dum illud tractabam . . . quasi fovebam dolores meos; 13, 42, 1 dum dubitabam . . . faciebam; 7, 26, 3 dum existimabam . . . nolui; 12 40, 2 dum levabat . . . exclusus; 6, 6, 3 dum videbantur, statueram fratrem relinquere. The future is not uncommon: A. 5, 6, 2 non desinam, dum adesse te putabo; A. 6, 1, 24 tu velim, dum ero Laodiceae . . . conloquere; 7, 17, 4; 11, 25, 1; B. 1, 5, 4; and functionally B. 1, 16, 6 neque possum, dum . . . odero; F. 5, 2, 4 ut, dum exstabit . . . non possit; 6, 3, 4 (twice); 8, 7, 1; 10, 11, 1 gratias agam, dum vivam. The few occurrences with the subjunctive are in *oratio obliqua*: A. 9, 7, 5 egregie probo fore ut, dum agamus ὁ πλόος ὁπαῖος obrepit; F. 9, 9, 3 reliquum est, ubi nunc est res p., ibi simus potius quam, dum illam veterem sequamur, simus in nulla; A. 8, 12 A, 2 neque Canusium sine praesidio, dum abessem, putavi esse dimittendum.

Quoad.—*Quoad* is used as is *dum*, but more freely with the future and less so with the present. The few occurrences of the latter are found in connection with futures: A. 3, 10, 1 quoad me vos sperare vultis, vobis obtemperabo; 12, 29, 2 quoad possunt, adducito; or with the present: A. 12, 15, 1 cui repugno, quoad possum; A. 4, 16, 3 cum Socrates venisset . . . quoad primus ille sermo habetur, adest . . . senex. The perfect with *quoad* occurs a few times in connection with a perfect: A. 9, 10, 3; B. 1, 4, 2; F. 10, 24, 5 quoad ego nosse potui . . . fuit; A. 7, 2, 6 nunc illum, qui pedem porta, q. hostis cis Euphratem fuit, non extulerit; F. 7, 17, 2 itaque, q. opinatus sum . . . quae ad te ultro detulerim, meminisse te credo; or with an equivalent: F. 6, 6, 6 manente me, q. potui; and once with the imperfect: A. 6, 1, 3 q. mecum rex fuit, perbono loco res erat. The imperfect with *quoad* is found A. 3, 19, 1 q. eius modi mihi litterae a vobis adferebantur . . . retentus sum. The subjunctive is occasionally found in indirect statements, as in Q. 1, 3, 10 velim . . . sis fortis, q. rei natura patiat; F. 6, 21, 1 sim conscius me, q. licuerit . . . consuluisse; A. 13, 7 A, 1 iussi equidem ei nuntiari te, q. potuisses, exspectasse eius adventum.

Quam diu.—*Quam diu* is used as a correlative with *tam diu* A. 9, 4, 1 tam diu requiesco, quam diu aut ad te scribo aut tuas

litteras lego; F. 12, 19, 2 tam diu tenuit, quam diu in provincia Parthi fuerunt. *Quam diu* alone is found with the present, future and perfect: A. 11, 10, 2 quid est, ubi acquiescam, nisi quam diu tuas litteras lego? Cf. F. 9, 12, 1 tam diu dum tu ades; F. 9, 15, 5 quam diu hic erit . . . parebo; F. 14, 3, 2 quam diu vos eritis in spe, non deficiam; A. 1, 16, 1 quam diu . . . defendenda fuit . . . proeliatum sum; A. 6, 5, 1; F. 13, 50, 1; F. 14, 1, 3 iam abiit pestilentia, sed quam diu fuit, me non attigit; A. 16, 5, 2 quam diu fuit; Q. I. 1, 7, 21 quotiens quisque voluit, dixit, et quam voluit diu. The subjunctive occurs F. 8, 14, 3 debeant, quam diu . . . certetur, honestiorem sequi partem.

B. *Contemporaneous in Limit.*

Dum.—*Dum*, 'the while', with prospective verbs readily becomes 'until', as the termination rather than the continuance is emphasized. While the merely parallel action is expressed by the indicative, the prospective generally has the subjunctive, and occurs most frequently with *expectare*, e. g. A. 5, 19, 1 non dubito quin tu Pompeium expectaris, dum Arimino rediret; A. 8, 11 D, 1 non expectavi dum mihi a te litterae redderentur. However, the subjunctive is not always used in such statements: A. 10, 9 A, 3 (Caelius) saltem, dum . . . scitur, expecta; A. 10, 3, 1 ego in Arcano opperior, dum ista cognosco; F. 12, 12, 2 paullulum morae, dum promissa militibus persolvo; A. 12, 25, 1 usuram Silio pendemus . . . dum a Faberio repraesentabimus; F. 12, 19, 3 mihi quidem curae erit, quid agas, dum, quid egeris, sciero. The general distinction between the two classes can be seen from F. 9, 2, 4 latendum tantisper ibidem, dum effervescit haec gratulatio, et simul dum audiamus, quem ad modum negotium confectum sit.

The verbs used in connection with the present subjunctive are as follows: *discedere*, A. 3, 8, 3 quod suades, ne longius discedamus, dum acta . . . perferantur; *expectare* A. 1, 1, 1; 7, 1, 4; B. 1, 6, 1; 2, 3, 4; F. 5, 10a, 3; 5, 12, 2; *latere*, F. 9, 2, 4; *morari*, F. 11, 23, 2; 11, 24, 2; *movere*, F. 12, 19, 2 opto ne se illa gens moveat, dum . . . legiones perducantur, quas audio duci; *praestare*, F. 10, 11, 2 idque me praestaturum spero, dum istinc copiae traiciantur; *sustinere*, A. 12, 51, 3; *sustentare*, F. 13, 64, 1; *tenere*, F. 6, 18, 5 teneor tamen, dum . . . exigam primam pensionem. The imperfect subjunctive occurs with *differre* A. 4, 17, 3; *expectare* A. 5, 19, 1; 8, 11 D, 1; 15, 27, 1; B. 1, 18, 6; F. 10, 18, 2; *esse*

quietior A. 7, 17, 2; *subsistere* A. 5, 16, 1; *temperare* F. 10, 7, 2 usque mihi temperavit, dum perducerem eo rem ut . . . efficerem. The imperfect in *oratio obliqua* is fairly frequent: F. 12, 14, 4 ut, dum ipsi venirent, darent operam; F. 12, 15, 5 demorati esse dum . . . certior fieret; A. 8, 11 D, 2 ut consisterem, dum . . . referretur; 10, 2, 1; 10, 16, 4 ut ibi esse, dum . . . pararentur; 16, 7, 2 ut, dum minus periculi videretur, abessem.

Quoad.—*Quoad* with the subjunctive is used much less freely in direct statements than is *dum*: A. 13, 21 a, 1 ea vero continebis, quoad ipse te videam; F. 10, 21, 6 dabo operam, quoad exercitus hoc summittatis; A. 6, 1, 14 erit ad sustentandum, quoad Pompeius veniat; F. 12, 12, 3 quod nisi misissent, clausam Apameam tenuisset, quoad vi esset expugnata. Other occurrences are in indirect statements: F. 4, 3, 3 adhibitam esse, quoad certior . . . fieres; A. 4, 18, 1 humaniter meaeque dignitatis, quoad mihi satis factum esset, habendam sibi rationem putabat. A. 7, 18, 1 eas ego, quoad sciremus, utrum turpi pace nobis an misero bello esset utendum, in Formiano esse volui et una Cicerones. There is no clear line of demarcation between the indicative and the subjunctive in expressing the limiting action, and at the same time the durative element is not always distinguishable from its terminating point, as we find in F. 12, 14, 4 ut, dum ipsi venirent, darent negotium . . . ut . . . dent negotium, ut Asiam optineam, dum ipsorum alter uter venit. Here, however, the use of the mood may be due to the position of the *dum* clause relative to *ut* and its verb.

Dum Provisional.—*Dum* proviso clauses in which 'the while' involves a conditional sense, are somewhat freely used, the *dum* occurring alone or in connection with another particle. At times the verb is not expressed: A. 10, 15, 3 quivis licet, dum modo aliquis; 12, 44, 4 dum modo ne his verbis; 13, 7, 1 rescribes igitur, quicquid voles, dum modo *aliquid*; A. 6, 1, 4 sumeret dum ne negotiatori; and sometimes *dum* is used with adjectives: A. 15, 6, 3 (Hirtius) acerrimis consiliis plus quam etiam inertissimis dum modo diligentibus; F. 7, 9, 2 serius potius ad nos, dum plenior. Occurrences with verbs are: F. 10, 23, 1 (Plancus) numquam . . . me paenitebit maxima pericula pro patria subire, dum . . . apsim; A. 7, 23, 3 quod patior facile, dum ut adhuc nihil faciam turpiter; A. 11, 19, 2 satis est, dum ut caveam; A. 8, 11 B, 3 dum ne tibi videar, non laboro; B. 1, 17, 2 dum ne irato serviat, rem ipsam non deprecatur; F. 11, 10, 1 (Brutus)

interpellent me, quo minus honoratus sim, dum ne interpellent, quo minus res p. a me commodè administrari possit; F. 9, 1, 2 dum modo simul simus, perficiam; Q. I. 1, 7, 20 sit . . . severitas, dum modo ea ne varietur gratia; 2, 5, 3 dum modo idonea tempestas sit, ne omiseris; A. 7, 7, 5 numquam, dum modo otiosi essent, recusarunt; 16, 7, 2 adprobator certe fuisti dum modo Kal. Ian. Romae essem; F. 16, 21, 6 omnia postposui, dum modo praeceptis patris parerem; F. 10, 25, 2 veniendum censeo ne . . . festinatio aliquid imminuat eius gloriae; F. 7, 1, 3 quodsi . . . operam dedisti . . . dum modo is tibi quidvis potius quam orationes meas legerit.

III. SUBSEQUENT ACTION.

Antequam, Priusquam.—*Antequam* occurs more frequently than *priusquam*, though the latter seems to be used more freely by Cicero's correspondents, and it also has a relatively larger number of instances in which the parts are separated. Not used with either the imperfect or the pluperfect indicative, both occur with the future: A. 13, 48, 1 is igitur si accierit, accurram; si minus, *non* antequam necesse erit; F. 6, 18, 5 quare, ut arbitror, prius hic te nos quam istic tu nos videbis. The present is used more freely. It is found in Cicero's description of Pompey, A. 8, 7, 2 ante fugit, quam scit, but generally the present is used in anticipation of the future: A. 10, 15, 4 si quemquam nactus eris, qui perferat, litteras des, antequam discedimus; 12, 37, 2; 14, 22, 1; 16, 5, 3 etenim circumspecte, sed antequam erubesco; F. 7, 14, 1 dabo operam, ut istuc veniam, antequam ex animo effluo; A. 16, 2, 6 si ante eo veneris, quam mihi in Italiam . . . veniendum est; F. 11, 27, 1 de qua priusquam respondeo, pauca proponam. The future perfect is used in negative statements, excepting in the implied negative statement A. 8, 3, 5 qui autem locus erit nobis tutus . . . antequam ad illum venerimus? Other occurrences are: A. 5, 14, 1; 7, 5, 5; 14, 19, 6; F. 16, 14, 1; 16, 23, 2 non a. te videro; A. 16, 15, 6; F. 10, 20, 2 liberati sumus nec tamen erimus prius, quam ita esse tu nos feceris certiores; F. 8, 10, 1 (Caelius) nec prius desinam formidare, quam tetigisse te Italiam audiero. The perfect is more freely used with *priusquam*, and with a negative excepting F. 7, 23, 4 pr. tuas legi . . . litteras, quaesivi de mea Tullia: F. 4, 5, 3 non, pr. datum est, ademptum sit? 11, 13, 2 constitit nusquam, pr. ad Vada venit; 4, 11, 1 non prius . . . potuit, q. effectum est: A. 8, 11 D, 7 non

prius sum suspicatus q. denuntiata sunt; B. 1, 2, 2 non prius . . . movisti, q. . . . audisti. With *antequam* there is only a small number of occurrences with negatives: A. 12, 35, 1 *antequam* discessi, numquam mihi venit in mentem; and in a letter from Plancus, F. 10, 4, 1 *nec multo ante redisse scii, quam ex epistula tua cognovi*.

The subjunctives are for the most part in indirect statements, though there is occasionally one not influenced by other constructions: F. 15, 21, 2 *quin etiam, antequam ad me veniatur, risus omnis consumitur*; F. 10, 18, 3 *si quid subest, quod prius nocere potest, quam sciri curarique possit*; A. 11, 11, 2 *priusquam id scirem, nihil sum ausus sumere*; A. 14, 20, 2 *inde ante discessit, quam illum venisse audissem*.

Besides the instances in which *antequam* and *priusquam* are used with verbs there are a few occurrences in contrasted statements: A. 2, 20, 2 *addit etiam se prius occisum iri ab eo quam me violatum iri*; A. 6, 9, 4 *quos puto ante venturos quam nostrum Saufeium*; 15, 17, 1 *permolesti tuli quemquam prius audisse quam me*; F. 1, 2, 2 *intendere coepit ante se oportere discessionem facere quam consules*; F. 9, 21, 1 *cum vero etiam vincas, me prius inrideas quam te oportet*; A. 7, 21, 1 *de malis nostris tu prius audis quam ego*; A. 13, 21 a, 1 *quoiquam ante quam Bruto*. A few other occurrences are of the same general character.

Pridie quam limiting the time definitely to a given point is found in a few passages with past tenses of the indicative; with the perfect: F. 1, 2, 4 *de his rebus pridie, quam haec scripsi, senatus auctoritas gravissima intercessit*; A. 3, 8, 2; 5, 11, 6; 7, 15, 2 *Capuam cum venissem a. d. VI Kal. pridie quam has litteras dedi, consules conveni*; with the imperfect: A. 4, 15, 8 *haec ego pridie scribebam, quam comitia fore putabantur*; A. 15, 29, 3 *aiebant . . . pridie quam hoc scribebam . . . vidisse*; and with the pluperfect: A. 12, 18 a, 1 *sed erant pridie fortasse scriptae quam datae*.

IV. CUM.

The influences affecting the use of mood and tense with *cum* in stating past actions had fixed the type of statement by the time of Cicero, though the colloquial tingeing of many of the letters sometimes gave occasion for the retention of the indicative. Besides this, the prospective character of much that Cicero had to write allowed the use of the future tenses with *cum*, a form of

statement which had not been affected by the shift from indicative to the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive, and these two tenses of the indicative are not entirely avoided.

A. Indicative.

1. *Imperfect*.—The imperfect indicative is usually found in connection with an imperfect, the two parts of the statement being balanced, e. g. A. 2, 7, 4 iam pridem gubernare me taedebat, etiam cum licebat; F. 1, 1, 1 per quos, cum tu aderas, agebatur. The associated tense is the pluperfect A. 8, 11 D, 5 quod quidem tibi ostenderam, cum a me Capuam reiciebam; F. 12, 6, 1 res, cum haec scribebam, erat in extremum adducta discrimen; and Q. 1, 3, 8 versus, qui in te conlatus erat, cum aedilitatem petebas. Other exceptions to this collocation of imperfects are: F. 6, 21, 2 quas pertulimus tum, cum timidi putabamur; 9, 20, 1 coiecimus . . . ad illam tuam lautitiam, veterem dico, cum in sumptum habebas; 11, 8, 1 eo tempore Polla tua misit, cum, quid scriberem, non habebam. In other passages the indirectness of statement obscures the modal connection: F. 4, 14, 2 cum recorder haec me tum vidisse, cum . . . pertimescebam; F. 6, 4, 4 consolatio est vidisse me plus quam ceteros, cum cupiebam; 8, 5, 2 quo maturius constitueres, cum hunc eventum providebam, visum est, ut te facerem certiore. With ellipsis: F. 7, 24, 1 olim cum regnare existimabamur, non tam ab ullis quam hoc tempore opservor a . . . omnibus; and also with *memini*: F. 7, 28, 1 memini cum mihi desipere videbare, quod cum istis potius viveres quam nobiscum.

2. *Pluperfect*.—There are but few occurrences of the pluperfect: A. 3, 18, 1 expectationem . . . attuleras, cum scripseras; 11, 24, 2 vide . . . quod tum factum cum illa quaerere coeperat; 13, 12, 3 biennium praeteriit, cum ille . . . cubitum nullum proccesserat; F. 3, 7, 5 cum ea consecutus nondum eram . . . tamen ista vestra nomina numquam sum admiratus; F. 8, 9, 2 (Caelius) has litteras a. d. IIII Non. Septembris dedi, cum ad eam diem ne profligatum quidem quicquam erat.

3. *Perfect*.—When the perfect indicative is used with *cum*, two-thirds of the examples follow the principal verb. *Cum primum* regularly precedes, but the *cum* clause follows when the principal verb is in the pluperfect, either alone (A. 10, 16, 1; 13, 9, 1; 13, 19, 1; 13, 30, 1; F. 7, 23, 1), or with *iam* (A. 5, 19, 1), *nondum* (A. 13, 35, 1; F. 2, 6, 1; 18, 6, 5), *vix* (F. 8, 12, 3), *vixdum* (A. 9, 2 a, 3), and *hora* (F. 9, 26, 1); with the imperfect,

excepting F. 8, 13, 2: Q. Hortensius, cum has litteras dedi, animam agebat; in two-thirds of the statements with *tum*, but not in the indirect statements: F. 7, 30, 1; 8, 17, 1; 16, 24, 2; and perhaps A. 3, 16, 1 quae cum * * * lectae sunt, tum id . . . infirmant. In a few of the remaining instances the principal verb is in the present: F. 6, 7, 4 cum vero ad ipsius Caesaris nomen veni, contremesco; F. 7, 15, 2 quom . . . venisti, non dici potest; F. 7, 28, 2; 9, 26, 1; 11, 16, 2 hoc cum populus Romanus meminit, me ipsum non meminisse, turpissimum est; 13, 24, 2; 13, 28, 1 gratias ago, cum fecisti. In a majority of the remaining occurrences the perfect is used in both parts, and the position of the *cum* clause is determined by general rhetorical considerations, or by greatest compactness of statement. The *cum* clause may be placed between two others having the same relation to it: A. 13, 49, 2 Gallo autem narraui, cum proxime Romae fui, quid audissem, neque nominavi Balbum minorem; F. 9, 16, 3 omnia incerta sunt, cum a iure discessum est, nec praestari quicquam potest. Some relative or demonstrative word may account for the position of the *cum* clause: A. 7, 3, 5 quem cum ornavit Cato, declaravit; F. 13, 75, 1 de quo et praesens tecum egi diligenter, cum tu . . . respondisti; A. 6, 1, 25 ibi sua deposuit, cum ad me profectus est; 7, 1, 5 hanc effugi, cum est actum; A. 1, 16, 4 quae mihi res multo honorificentior visa est quam aut illa, cum . . . prohibuerunt, aut cum . . . noluerunt. Also in the enumeration of particulars the explanatory clause follows: A. 2, 1, 3 orationes . . . una . . . altera . . . tertia . . . quarta . . . quinta . . . sexta, cum . . . deposui, septima, quom Catilinam emisi, octava . . . postridie quam Catilina profugit, nona in contione, quo die Allobroges indicarunt, decima in senatu Nonis Decembribus; F. 15, 21, 2 nam, ut illa omittam, quae civitate teste fecisti, cum mecum inimicitias communicavisti, cum me contionibus tuis defendisti, cum quaestor . . . partes suscepisti, cum tribuno plebis quaestor non paruisti. Lapses of time are indicated by the perfect with *cum*: A. 9, 11 A, 2 aliquot enim sunt anni, cum vos duo delegi; F. 15, 14, 1; 15, 16, 3 quare, si iam biennium aut triennium est, cum virtuti nuntium remisisti.

Both the future tenses are freely used with *cum*, as with *si*, and both are indicative of the eager questioning of Cicero and his friends in regard to the future course of political events.

Explicative *cum* is occasionally found in the statement of identical propositions: A. 3, 23, 2 cum lex abrogatur, illud ipsum

abrogatur, quo modo eam abrogari oporteat; A. 10, 16, 1 hoc cum tibi opto, opto ut beatus sis; A. 14, 6, 2 quod cum dico, de toto genere dico; F. 9, 15, 2 cum video . . . videre videor; Q. 1, 3, 3 cum enim te desidero, fratrem solum desidero? A. 7, 7, 6 cum id datum est, illud una datum est; A. 14, 10, 2 cum scripsi . . . scripsi. Repeated action is indicated by the perfect, with *solere* in the main clause: A. 8, 5, 1 etsi, solet eum, cum aliquid furiose fecit, paenitere; A. 13, 21 a, 1 quod diligentissime facere soles, cum a me dictum est; A. 16, 6, 4 ex eo eligere soleo, cum aliquod *σύγγραμμα* institui; without *solere* as in A. 7, 13, 3 de Tullia autem et Terentia, cum mihi barbarorum adventus proponitur, omnia timeo; cum autem Dolabellae venit in mentem, paulum respiro; and also by the present: A. 14, 11, 1 quom contionem lego 'de tanto viro, de clarissimo civi' ferre non queo. *Cum* with the indicative also expresses cause, as in A. 14, 17 A, 3 'O mi Cicero', inquit, 'gratulor tibi, cum tantum vales apud Dolabellam'.

B. Subjunctive.

On the face of the returns the subjunctives are in a large majority—1193 to 457—but if allowances are made for those in indirect statements and those due to other subjunctive constructions the number would be somewhat reduced. The causal force is predominant in many examples, and occasionally the concessive force is indicated by the use of *tamen*, as in A. 1, 4, 2 cui cum aequi fuisset, tamen . . . cepissemus; A. 9, 10, 8 cum breviter scriberes, tamen ponis hoc; A. 2, 20, 3 ut, cum omnes ea . . . improbant . . . tamen medicina nulla adferatur. *Praesertim* is comparatively freely used with the present and the perfect, and there is an occasional instance of another particle, but taken as a whole the particle reinforcements are meager; *maxime*: A. 2, 15, 3 cum haec m. scriberem, ecce tibi Sebosus; B. 2, 2, 3 cum m. ageretur litterae . . . redditae sunt; F. 1, 5a, 2; 5, 15, 2 ut, cum m. florere nos oporteret, tum vivere etiam puderet; *quippe*: A. 7, 13, 3 tu videbis, q. cum . . . velim; A. 10, 3 a, 1 nec reprehendo q. cum . . . non fugerim; *utpote*: A. 5, 8, 1 incommoda valetudo . . . u. cum sine febris laborassem . . . tenebat; F. 10, 32, 4 nec retinuissem . . . u. cum . . . fecerint.

If we judge by the original meaning of *cum* it was used to introduce a statement of the spatial relations of two points closely connected in the same plane of activity. In the transfer to temporal statements this characteristic was maintained so that the

cum clause is defined as expressing 'the circumstances under which' or 'the situation under which' the main action is performed. However, in A. 3, 8, 1 Achaia . . . exitus difficiles haberet, cum inde proficisceremus, the main verb gives the situation under which the *cum* action took place. In some other passages *cum diceret* has merely a participial force, as in A. 1, 14, 3 ornatissime de meo consulatu locutus est, cum ita diceret . . . ; A. 1, 16, 2 sed ductus odio properavit rem deducere in iudicium, cum illum plumbeo gladio iugulatum iri tamen diceret. The remote as well as the immediate circumstances may be expressed in the same sentence by the pluperfect and the imperfect, as in A. 6, 1, 6 si Brutus putabit me quaternas centesimas oportuisse decernere, cum tota provincia singulas observarem itaque edixissem ; A. 6, 2, 1 cum Philogenes . . . venisset et se statim ad te navigaturum esse diceret, has ei litteras dedi. Even when the pluperfect is used alone new conditions may arise under which the main action takes place, as in A. 2, 19, 3 Caesar cum venisset mortuo plausu, Curio filius est insecutus ; A. 14, 14, 1 ego autem casu, cum dedissem ad te litteras vi Kal. satis multis verbis, tribus fere horis post accepi tuas ; A. 10, 14, 1 cum venisset Nonis Maii postridie ad me mane venit. This is also true of the imperfect, as in A. 7, 14, 1 proficiscens cum leviter lippirem has litteras dedi.

As a result of the number of particles used with the same meaning, different forms of statement are sometimes equivalent. *Cum* with the indicative in F. 7, 28, 3 equals *ubi* with the indicative F. 9, 20, 3, and A. 1, 5, 4 ut primum veni . . . confeceram is parallel to F. 10, 17, 2 cum primum . . . coepit . . . non recusabat. Compare also the form of the following : A. 6, 8, 5 Bibulus, qui dum unus hostis in Syria fuit, pedem porta non extulit ; A. 7, 2, 6 qui pedem porta, quoad hostis cis Euphratem fuit, non extulerit ; A. 8, 2, 4 Socrates, qui cum xxx tyranni essent, pedem porta non extulit. Affirmative limitation we should expect to be made by *dum* or *quoad* with the future perfect, but F. 12, 19, 3 dum sciero ; A. 16, 16 E, 16 quoad nuntiatum erit ; and (indirectly put) B. 2, 4, 3 quoad Bruti exitum cognorimus, custodiendum puto seem to complete the list of future perfects. On the other hand, the perfects are freely used with *antequam* and *priusquam* in negative statements, showing that Cicero preferred to negate each preceding point rather than state the terminus affirmatively.

There is much in the epistles which is unpremeditated and

loosely stated, and the verb is sometimes omitted: A. 8, 11 B, 2 fui Capuae quoad consules; A. 4, 8 a, 1 Apenas vix discesserat, cum epistula; A. 14, 4, 1 nam, cum Matius, quid censes ceteros; F. 7, 28, 1 cum quidem haec urbs; A. 9, 18, 1 cum multa; A. 10, 1, 1 dixit . . . cum ego; Q. 3, 2, 3 nomina data, cum ille verbum nullum.

	Present Indicative.....	Perfect Indicative.....	Future Indicative.....	Future Perfect Indicative	Imperfect Indicative.....	Pluperfect Indicative....	Present Subjunctive.....	Perfect Subjunctive.....	Imperfect Subjunctive...	Pluperfect Subjunctive..	Total.....
Postquam.....	....	14	....	....	....	8	....	3	....	....	19
Post...quam.....	....	4	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	1	6
Posteaquam.....	3	34	....	....	2	1	....	3	3	....	45
Postea...quam.....	....	11	....	....	....	1	....	....	1	....	13
Ubi.....	....	3	1	....	....	....	....	1	....	1	5
Ut.....	....	50	....	....	2	2	....	10	....	1	65
Simul ac.....	....	11	....	10	1	....	....	1	1	2	26
Quotiens.....	3	4	2	....	....	....	1	....	1	....	11
Dum 'while'.....	40	6	10	....	5	....	5	....	7	....	73
'until'.....	4	....	2	1	....	....	17	....	15	....	39
'provided'.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	9	1	4	....	14
Quoad 'as long as'..	4	7	21	....	1	....	3	1	3	1	41
'until'.....	....	....	....	2	....	....	8	....	9	4	23
Quam diu.....	3	7	3	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	13
Antequam.....	5	14	1	5	....	....	7	2	7	8	49
Ante...quam.....	3	4	....	....	....	....	....	2	1	3	13
Prusquam.....	1	3	....	3	....	....	5	....	3	6	21
Prus...quam.....	1	3	1	2	....	....	1	....	2	4	14
Cum.....	83	104	88	103	75	5	242	136	436	379	1650
	147	278	129	126	86	13	299	159	492	410	2139

The accompanying table gives the occurrences of the different particles and the tenses used with them. Leaving out the occurrences with *cum*, the present tenses are found chiefly with *dum*,

and the perfect subjunctive with *ut*. The futures are fairly frequent excepting with *postquam*, *ubi* and *ut*, and the indicative is often retained within a subordinate subjunctive clause. The table does not show the subjunctives due to *oratio obliqua*, and so it can not be used to compare the indicatives with the pure subjunctive constructions; yet the general usage is sufficiently plain. *Posteaquam* is preferred to *postquam*, *antequam* to *priusquam*, with all of which the undivided is preferred to the divided form, and the prevailing construction is with the perfect indicative, as it is also with *ut*, and with *ubi*, which is rarely used. *Dum* is used more freely than is *quoad*, especially in expressing the limit, but about the same in indicating complete coextension. *Simul ac* is relatively fairly common, while *quam diu* and *quotiens* are not freely used.

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VII.—A NEW ITALIC DIVINITY.

[PLATE]

A bronze strainer (*colum*) of beautiful form, fine workmanship, and great antiquity has recently come into the archæological collection of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. According to the report of the Italian antiquarian who was offering it for sale in March, 1906, it was privately excavated near Cortona not long before that date. The strainer was commonly used in antiquity and was frequently represented on Greek vases and in Etruscan paintings and reliefs, especially in the hands of cup-bearers at banquets. Examples may be seen in Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Taf. 84; Hartwig, *Die Griechische Meisterschalen*, xxiv, and *Monumenti Antichi*, ix, pl. 13. Martial (xiv, 103) speaks of this utensil as *colum nivarium*, because it was often filled with snow, so that it served not only as a strainer for wine, but also as a cooler at the same time. The present specimen consists of a circular bowl (13.7 cm. in diameter, including the margin—itself 1.1 cm.—and 4.9 cm. deep in the centre), on one side of which extends the handle, and on the other, directly opposite, a shorter projection similar to a handle cut in such a way as to make a long, narrow loop. The total length from the end of the handle to the tip of the loop is 30.8 cm. The two strips of metal which form the sides of this loop are bent at the end to the degree of a right angle and are united by a small rectangular plate (1.6 x 1.9 cm.), which lies in the same plane as the level of the strainer itself. The handle gradually broadens toward the end and then is suddenly cut away to a very narrow tongue of metal, whose unfinished curve and roughly broken end show clearly that originally there was a hook of graceful form by which the strainer could be suspended. The perforations in the bottom form a regular pattern, consisting of a series of eleven concentric circles, the outermost of which is separated from the others by about twice the usual distance. With the exception of the broken hook at the end of the handle and slight cracks in the perforated bottom, the vessel is in a state of perfect preservation and still bears witness to the skill of the workman who beat the whole out of one sheet of bronze.

Ancient strainers or colanders are fairly common in the museums of Europe and this one would require no comment if it had not distinguishing features of its own. The type with handle on one side and projection opposite ending in a rectangular plate is comparatively rare and seems to belong only to Central Italy and especially to Etruria. In 1727 a strainer of exactly the same form was found near Montepulciano and presented to the Museo dell' Accademia Etrusca di Cortona in which it is still preserved. A description and drawing of it were published by F. Venuti, *Sopra i coli vinarii*, in *Saggi di Dissertazioni Accademiche di Cortona*, I, 1735, p. 80. In that case the hook, which is uninjured, bends in graceful curves and ends in an ornamental knob. Other examples of the same type are published in *Monumenti Antichi*, IX, pl. IV, 20 and XI, 9 from Arcevia; one is preserved in the museum at Viterbo, two at Bologna, two at Volterra, one, considerably smaller, in the British Museum (Room of Greek and Roman Life, sec. 33), one in the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, and four in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican (cf. *Mus. Greg.*, I, 52, 2 and *Bull. d. Istit.*, 1857, pp. 33 and 131). Two of the latter, found at Bolsena in the excavations of about fifty years ago, bear on the under side of the handle in Etruscan characters the word SVTHINA, which was interpreted by Deecke as equivalent to *sepulcralis* (*Etrusk. Forsch. u. Stud.*, I, p. 95) and by Pauli as signifying "Eigenthum" (*Etrusk. Stud.* III, p. 37 f.). Compare Torp, *Etrusk. Beiträge*, II, 1903, p. 28, and Skutsch in *Pauly-Wissowa*, VI, 1907, 790.

The broad, flat projection opposite to the handle, found on all the strainers mentioned, is considered by E. Brizio (*Mon. Ant.*, IX, 772) as nothing but a support to rest on one side of the vessel into which wine was being poured, while the handle, also flat, rested on the other. But this does not account for the small rectangular plate, which was probably intended to serve as a hook for the suspension of the strainer, when not in use, from the lip of the jar or pitcher. At all events, experiment proves that it admirably answers this purpose.

The most interesting and important feature of this bronze is the fact that it was dedicated to a goddess, probably in gratitude for an abundant yield in the vineyard. The dedication of a strainer was a not uncommon practice among the Greeks, who usually inscribed the name of the divinity in the genitive or dative case on the handle. Examples may be seen in Charles Waldstein,

Argive Heraeum, pl. CXXV, *ῥᾶς Ἡρας*, and in C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, pl. XXIV, *Δὸ Ναιφ*. In the present case, however, the inscription is found on the flat margin of the bowl and runs more than half around its circumference. The letters, cut in archaic style, extend from edge to edge of the margin, and read as follows:

SACRO·MATRE·MVR·SINA

Close parallels to this form of dedication are not lacking: e. g., C. I. L., x, 3807, IVNONE LOVCINA TVSCOLANA SACRA (Capua), and ib. xi, 6301, MATRE MATVTA DONO DEDRO (Pisaurum). The latter, together with the other dedicatory inscriptions of the grove of Pisaurum, Mommsen assigned to the latter half of the third century B. C. (C. I. L., i, p. 33), and Ritschl to a period even earlier (Opusc. iv, 408, *unstreitig vor das sechste Jahrhundert*). To the same century without doubt belongs the bronze tablet recently found at Norba with the dedication IVNONE·LVCINA | DONO·PRO | C·RVTILIO·P·F (Not. d. Scav., 1903, p. 256). To cite parallels for the omission of final -m in SACRO and other examples of these forms of the dative, which are so well established for Latin of the archaic period, is unnecessary. The -e form in consonant stems may be in some cases dialectal (Umbrian) but is not necessarily so (cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 387).

Anyone who examines the characters on the Mater Mursina bronze can have no doubt of its great antiquity. The angular forms of S and C, the short, almost horizontal finishing stroke of R, the A with broken cross-stroke, the O slightly open at the top,¹ and the N with its first stroke somewhat oblique, together with the consistently archaic character of the inscription, all point to a period not later than 200 B. C., and in all probability considerably earlier. Compare Ritschl, *Opusc.* iv, 386 and 703; Mommsen, *Unterital. Dialekte*, p. 29. A close palaeographical

¹ Another example of O left slightly open at the top is seen on the bronze from Nemi, which was recently published by Dr. Ghislanzoni in *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, 1907, p. 103. In the illustration which accompanies the present paper the O appears to be completely closed, but on the bronze itself there is a small space at the top where no incision is perceptible. I may add that the negative from which the plate was made was not retouched or tampered with in any way, nor was the bronze prepared for the photographer in order more clearly to bring out the inscription.



STRAINER (*Colum*) WITH THE ARCHAIC LATIN INSCRIPTION *IAKRO·MATRE·MVRSINA*

comparison with early dated inscriptions, especially with those found on coins (*e. g.*, Ritschl, P. L. M. E., VI, 17, 18; VII, 23-30; cf. also XLVIII, A and XLI, B), and with the earliest of the Scipio-logia, which antedates 200 B. C., warrants us in assigning our inscription to the latter half of the third pre-Christian century.

As regards the goddess herself, her attributes, and the local extension or limitation of her cult, we are completely in the dark. She may represent a type entirely unknown to us, or she may have been a divinity that we know quite well by some other designation, possibly one of the numerous Italic goddesses of Fortune, revered in many places under various names, which were recently discussed by Gàbrici (*Mon. Ant.*, XVI, 1906, 232 f.). Fortuna herself was sometimes conceived as a mother goddess, and many other female divinities were regularly or occasionally called *mater*: Ceres Mater, Mater Matuta, Iuno Seispes Mater Regina (C. I. L., XIV, 2090), Lua Mater (*Liv.* XLV, 33), and the Umbrian Cupra Mater will at once occur to everyone. Indeed, it is fairly well established that in early times the word *mater* as an epithet of female divinities was widespread (*Preller-Jordan*, I, p. 56, A. 2; *Wissowa*, *Religion u. Kultus*, p. 23).

There is, then, nothing remarkable in the fact that our goddess of the third century B. C. is called *mater*; the real difficulty lies in the epithet *Mursina*, which does not carry its meaning on its face as does *Matuta*. At first glance one is inclined to connect the word with *Μυρσίνη* (*μυρσίνη*) and to regard it as an epithet of Venus, the goddess of the myrtle. It has been suggested above that the most plausible reason for the dedication of a wine strainer would be gratitude for an abundant yield in the vineyard, and such reverence would most naturally be paid to Venus, whose early association with the cultivation of the vine is well known. This association seems to have arisen in the first instance from the fact that the two most ancient Roman temples of Venus, the one *in luco Libitinae* and the other *ad circum maximum*, were dedicated on the nineteenth of August, the day of the *Vinalia rustica*, which was originally sacred to Jupiter, but thereafter assumed rather the character of a festival of Venus. The fact that both temples were dedicated on the same day of the year is scarcely a coincidence, and the selection was made doubtless because Venus was the goddess of the garden (*Varro*, R. R., I, 1, 6; L. L., VI, 20) and therefore in all probability of the vineyard as well (cf. *Wissowa*, *Religion u. Kultus*, p. 235). At all

events, the association of Venus with the *Vinalia* and with wine was established early and was not allowed to lapse. Ovid, for example, asks (*Fast.*, iv, 877) *Cur igitur Veneris festum Vinalia dicant, Quaeritis?*, referring to the other celebration, in April, and an inscription scratched on a Pompeian wine jar (*C. I. L.*, iv, 2776) definitely connects the goddess of the garden with wine: *Presta mi sinceru(m), sic te amet que custodit ortu(m) Venus*. That Venus was sometimes called *mater* and was worshipped also under another name, we learn from Cassius Hemina (reported by Solinus 2, 14), who says that when Aeneas landed in Italy in agro Laurenti posuisse castra: ubi dum simulacrum, quod secum ex Sicilia advexerat, dedicat Veneri matri quae Frutis dicitur, a Diomede Palladium suscepit. It is quite possible, then, that *Mater Mursina* is but another name for Venus, the goddess of the myrtle, of the garden, and of the vine, to whom the owner of a vineyard in grateful recognition of her favors in the past and doubtless also in hope of those to come, dedicated this strainer, at once the most graceful and the most characteristic of his utensils.

While the identification of *Mater Mursina* with Venus is quite possible, it seems far more likely that beneath the word *Mursina*, which is apparently a secondary formation, there lies either a local or a personal name. The town of Mursa in Pannonia, founded by Hadrian, is, of course, too far away and too late in time to be considered seriously in this connection, but there may well have been in Etruria another town or a hill with the same or a similar name. A goddess worshipped there would have been popularly known as *Dea Mursina* or *Mater Mursina*. Instances of local designations of this character for divinities are fairly numerous; e. g., *Hercules Musinus* (*C. I. L.*, xi, 3778), *Iuppiter Capitolinus*, *Venus Erucina*, and *Mater dea Baiana* (*C. I. L.*, x, 3698). In the last case it should be observed that the usual name of the goddess (Cybele) is omitted.¹ If such a town or hill did not exist—and there is no trace of any—then we can find the basis of *Mursina* in the *gens Mursia*, which is attested in six inscriptions (*C. I. L.*, iii, 4247; v, 56; vi, 975, 1056, 1058, 22732), though none of them seems to belong to Etruria. In spite of the absence of direct evidence, it may well be that the *gens Mursia* was of Etruscan origin—W. Schulze, *lat. Eigennamen*, p. 196,

¹ Instances of this sort are not rare in the literature, e. g., *mater Paphia* in Statius, *Silv.*, iii, 4, 88 and *dea Praenestina* in Ovid, *Fast.* vi, 62.

does not definitely declare himself on this point—and that one of the *Mursii* had built or dedicated a temple to a goddess revered in or near Cortona (Minerva? cf. C. I. L., XI, 1906), who thereafter was locally known as *Mater Mursina*. This is exactly what took place at Aquinum, if we are to believe the usually accepted explanation of the epithet *Helvina* (Iuv. 3, 319 *ad Helvinam Cererem*), which Mommsen connected with the gens *Helvia* or *Elvia* (on C. I. L., x, 5382). Schulze (l. l., p. 561), on the other hand, assumes a local name, *Helvium*, connected with *Helvius*, as the basis of *Helvina*. If this is the correct solution of the problem, we may be dealing, as before suggested, only with a hitherto unknown and purely local designation of a divinity, whose usual name—possibly quite familiar to us—does not appear in our inscription.

Whether, then, *Mater Mursina* is an entirely new early Roman divinity, whose name must be added to the already long list, or whether she is Venus, goddess of the myrtle (*μυρσίνη*), or whether she is Fortuna, Minerva, or other deity, especially revered in some unknown place which gave her the epithet *Mursina*, or in a temple dedicated by a member of the gens *Mursia*, one cannot determine without more evidence from another inscription or from some other source. Yet at least our bronze has brought to light a new divine name for the consideration of the grammarian and the student of ancient Roman religion.¹

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¹ The inscription, together with a photograph of the *Mater Mursina* bronze, will appear in the new edition of C. I. L., I, 2, pars prior, no. 580, p. 434, of which an advance sheet has just reached me by the courtesy of the editor, Dr. Ernst Lommatzsch. He suggests independently the explanation which has for some time seemed to me the most plausible, and also brings forward one point which had not occurred to me (*coscinomantia*). I print his own words: *Haud scio an subsit nomen loci ignoti, cognatum ut videtur cum gente Mursia. Dedicavit fortasse vindemiator ob vindemiae fertilitatem, nisi cogitandum de genere vaticinationis qualis est coscinomantia.* Professor F. Buecheler then adds a note embodying the theory which I already had in mind when it was suggested to me in correspondence first by the late Professor Minton Warren of Harvard University, and later by Professor Carl Robert of Halle: *idem est μρσίνη ac μρρίνη, nec Mursinam differre puto a murrina potione utraque. huius αλτριον myrtus Veneri sacra, Murteae Veneris sacellum ad circum, Veneris feriae Vinalia.*

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by
J. A. H. MURRAY, HENRY BRADLEY and W. A. CRAIGIE.
Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1905, 1906, 1907.

Since our last notice of the New English Dictionary (A. J. P. XXV 463-467, No. 100, 1904) twelve quarterly parts have come to hand during the years 1905, 1906 and 1907. Vol. VI has progressed from Mandragora to Monopoly (four parts), and from N to Nywe (two parts) completing the letter N; Vol. VII from Pargeter to Polygenistic (four parts); and Vol. VIII from Ree to Reserve (two parts). The letter S will be partly included in Vol. VIII; Vols. IX, X will contain the later portion of the letter S and the letters T-Z, together with some additional matter. Thus the end is in sight, and perhaps a few more years will see the completion of this monumental undertaking. We trust that Dr. Murray and his co-laborers will be spared to see the work through to a successful ending, and to receive the congratulations of an admiring world. A supplement will surely be necessary, and doubtless it is already under way, for new words are being continually added to the language. Our readers are familiar with the plan of this work and the treatment of the vocabulary, Part I having been published in 1884, and notices having appeared in this Journal annually at first, and more recently biennially, although it is now three years since the last notice was published. The historical character of the work has continued to be rigidly preserved, but, as we have had occasion to remark before, the *earliest* appearance of words is not always recorded, at least of words in familiar use in this country, but perhaps the same care has not been exercised in reading works printed in America as in reading those printed in England.

A casual example of this, taken at random from the last part that has come to hand, Niche-Nywe, dated October 1, 1907, is the word *Nullification*, defined under 2 b as U. S. with the notes: "The term app. originated with Jefferson in 1798", but the earliest example given is: "1838 H. Martineau, Western Trav. II 24, Mr. Calhoun is as full as ever of his Nullification doctrines". Perhaps the celebrated Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798-99, and Mr. Madison's Report to the Virginia Legislature of 1799-1800, are unknown in England. The word *Nullification* occurs in the Kentucky resolutions of 1799 (although not in those of 1798), which, as well as those of 1798, are attributed to Mr. Jefferson. The writer cannot say that this was the *first* use of

that word, but it was used by Mr. Jefferson forty years before the example given in the quotation from Miss Martineau.

To pass from politics to philology, an interesting article is that on the word *Many*, both adjective and substantive, filling five columns, of which four are given to the adjective and one to the noun. After enumeration of the various forms, with examples from *Beowulf* on, of the familiar adjective, we have the etymological note: "O. E. had a derivative sb. *menigeo*, *menigu*, multitude", with cognates in other Teutonic languages. "The O. E. sb., however, did not survive into M. E., and the modern substantival use of *many*, though agreeing in sense with O. E. *menigeo*, was a new development which has not been found earlier than the 16th c."

Turning now to the last column, on the substantive, we find: "On the analogy of *a few*, *a* has from the 16th c. been prefixed to *many*, when followed by a pl. sb. or used *absol.* in plural sense. In such collections *many* formally admits of being interpreted as a sb., meaning 'a great number'. This interpretation is somewhat strained when *a many* is immediately followed by a pl. sb., because the ellipsis of *of*, which must be assumed, is abnormal; but in the other cases it presents no difficulty, and it would often be impossible to determine whether in the consciousness of the speaker the word is an adj. used *absol.* in pl., or a genuine sb."

But it is not yet all plain sailing, for there follows immediately, "Confusion with *Meinie*, of which there are many traces in the 16th c., seems to have contributed to cause the word in this use to be apprehended as a sb." So especially when preceded by adjectives "*a* with pl. sb. (or *people*) immediately following. In this use *a many* hardly differs in sense from *many*, and is now somewhat rare in literary use, though *a good many*, *a great many*, are common colloquially."

Here follow examples from Marlowe, 1590, on: "b. Const. *of*; now only followed by a definite sb. or pronoun. (Some early quots. may belong to *Meinie*)". Examples are given from Lord Berners, 1525, on.

"c. *ellipt.* and *absol.* (Quots. 1556 and 1564 may belong to *Meinie*). Examples are given from Shakspeare on.

"d. sb. App. by confusion with *Meinie*, used for: Company, host, flock; (one's) retinue or following. *Obs.*" Examples from Foxe on.

So it is not always easy to say whether we are dealing with *Many* or *Meinie*.

Turning to a later part of the work, we find over a column on *Meinie*, marked "*Obs. exc. arch.*", with its various spellings from the 13th century on, going back to O. F. *meynē*, *mesnie*, earlier *mesnede*, with the Provençal, Spanish and Italian forms retaining the *d*, which enable us to go back to a popular Latin type, **mansionata*, from Latin *mansionem*, whence French *maison*, "house", and the note: "In English the word was in some of its

applications confused with *Many*, *sb.*" Examples are given under seven paragraphs, from the 13th century on, all meanings being traced from family, suite, servants, multitude, etc.

Therefore, when this sense is distinctly implied, it is the French word *Meinie* that is meant and not the Old English *Many*, whatever may be the spelling. An interesting use of this word *meinie* (also spelt *meyne* and *meny*) was its application to the "men" in chess; although long since obsolete, it is found in the 14th and 15th centuries. The prefatory note to this Part, however, states under *Man sb.*¹ 15: "The view that *chess-men* originated as a corruption of *chess-meinie* is untenable, the word for '(chess)-man' in A. F. being regularly *hom.*" In these centuries we have also examples of its application to the angels and to the poor as *God's meinie*. It is also used of animals, and in 1556 we find: "You are muche more worthe than a great *meignye* of sparrowes."

The lack of Teutonic words beginning with P shows how much we are indebted to the Latin portion of our vocabulary. Dr. Murray has given a few statistics. Of 2477 main words in the first Part published since our last notice, which Part was issued January 1, 1905, "only *two* have any claim to be considered native in Old English, viz., *Parrock* and *Path*; a few others, as *parsley*, *part*, *pear*, *pease*, *pea*- (in *peacock*), had been already introduced from Latin before or during Anglo-Saxon times. With these exceptions, all the words here included appear first in the Middle English, or the Modern period. By far the greater part of these come from Latin through French, or have in later times been derived or formed from Latin directly". The longest article in this Part is that on the verb *Pass*, taking up sixteen columns, and its senses, uses, and constructions "branch out into one hundred and forty sense-groups". Here, however, we note again the point, above mentioned, that readers have not supplied the *oldest* use of words in certain senses; e. g., the use of the word *pass* in *Euchre* is traced no further back than a description of the game in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th ed., Vol. XVII, 1884. In *Hoyle's Games* (published by J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1879) is found the advertisement of the American edition (Philadelphia, May, 1857), which contains the rules of *Euchre* and an explanation of its terms, among others "pass" (p. 286). It is there called "a German game", from the use of the word "Bower" (German *Bauer*), but in this Dictionary it is said to be "of American origin" (s. v. *Euchre*, spelled also *uker*, *yuker*, *eucre*).

Foster's *Encyclopedia of Games* (18th edition, 1897, 228-254) gives the different kinds of *Euchre* and their laws, explaining "pass" on p. 233. I have seen no older example in literature than that given in the American edition of *Hoyle's Games* (Philadelphia, 1857), but having played the game myself before that date, I infer that there must be older literary examples of this use of "pass". Under *Euchre* in this Dictionary we find a reference to "Smedes and Marshall's *Rep. High Court of App. Mississippi* (1847)", for use of the word *uker*.

But even nursery words have not escaped observation, for we find *Pat-a-cake*, with the nursery rime, and a quotation from the Life of Lord Tennyson (1897): "[He] would play *pat-a-cake* with them". The marvel is that so much has been included, and that every page is full of information, especially in illustrative quotations that might be sought for in vain even in our best dictionaries. A comparison of the words recorded in this Part, *Pargeter-Pennached*, with those in Dr. Johnson's and some more recent dictionaries, is given in the prefatory note:

	Johnson	Cassell	Century	Funk	Here
Words recorded:	425	1844	2379	2388	4720
Words illustr. by quotations:	347	602	785	264	3474
Number of quotations:	1295	1006	2129	348	18039

This comparison speaks for itself.

Several important historical words occurring in this Part are mentioned by Dr. Murray, as Parliament, Parish, Parson, and many others, to which historical or antiquarian interest attaches. There are important articles on names of birds, vegetables and substances. Also, some etymological puzzles are exemplified by a large number of words, of which the origin is obscure, or entirely unknown. Again, certain spurious words originating in a blunder, as *pavade* and *pavon*, the first a misprint by Thynne of *panade* in Chaucer's *Reeves Tale*, followed by others, even by Tyrwhitt; and the second, "a spurious word, originating in a mis-reading by Meyrick, Ancient Armour, III Gloss. of O. F. *panon*, Pennon." This word has been accepted by Fairholt, Cussans, Preble, Ogilvie's Imperial, Cassell's Encyclopaedic, Webster's, Century, and Funk's Standard Dictionaries. Dictionary-makers will have to be on their guard hereafter lest they be caught tripping.

In the Prefatory note to the Part containing *Methinks* Mr. Bradley says: "The curious form-history of *methinks* is fully presented, probably for the first time"; this may be so in a dictionary, but it has long been a commonplace of historical English grammar, as the works of Dr. Morris and others show. The confusion of O. E. *pencan*, to think, and *pyncan*, to seem, and the early disappearance of the latter, except in the impersonal phrase *methinks*, gave rise to wrong forms and wrong explanations of the older forms. Hence we find, from Shakspere on, such an impossible combination as *methoughts*, used in the 17th and 18th centuries, of which Mr. Bradley says it "probably owes its *s* to the analogy of the present tense *methinks*"; we should omit "*probably*". The forms *my think(s)* and *my thought* are even more "curious".

It will, perhaps, surprise some to learn that the common verb *narrate* was called by both Richardson and Johnson, a Scotticism. The former uses it in *Clarissa Harlowe* with the addition, "to speak in the Scottish phrase"; and the latter inserts it in his Dictionary (1755) as "a word only used in Scotland". The common verb *mix* is no longer explained as from the O. E. *miscian*, as we

formerly thought, but as a "development from the Latin participle *mixtus*". Mr. Bradley says (s. v.): "Our earliest example of the vb. in any form other than the pa. pple. is of the date 1538, and it was extremely rare until Shakspeare's time. Of the pa. pple. itself, the earliest examples are c. 1480 and 1526, the latter year being the date of our first quot. for *Mixt*, v. The O. E. *miscian* (the alleged by-form **mixian* is spurious), which has generally been assumed to be the source of the present verb, app. did not survive into M. E." Cf. Elyot's *Latin Dictionary*, s. v. *misceo*.

But to continue our illustrations would easily fill all the review-space of the Journal. Every page furnishes occasion for them, and to one interested in the study of words, each Part is as interesting as a novel. The fresh information, as well as the absorbing interest, will well repay even a brief perusal.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer, by William Henry Schofield, Ph. D., Professor of Comparative Literature in Harvard University. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1906, pp. xiv, 500.

Dr. Schofield has planned an ambitious work worthy of the position he holds as Professor of Comparative Literature in the greatest of our American universities. A history of the literary activities in England for the three centuries following the Norman Conquest is no undertaking for the mere linguistic specialist or the enthusiastic critical novice; it implies not only a detailed acquaintance on the part of the author with the whole field of medieval literature, but also well formulated ideas on the progress of learning and the development of philosophical tendencies and schools of thought. Our author has been fortunate in having as a model the manual of medieval French literature of Gaston Paris, and he has shown his gratitude for his two-fold indebtedness for the plan, and in a large measure for the material of the work before us, by referring to the illustrious scholar as his "revered master."

The book begins with an introduction of twenty-five pages upon the social and political conditions under which this literature was produced. Dr. Schofield has laid due emphasis on England's debt to the Norman Conquest for reviving its zest for learning and religion, which had fallen on evil days long years before, and for making its literature one with the rest of Occidental Europe in its literary interests, erudite and vernacular. The influence of the University of Paris as the focus of Western culture; the significance of both the monastic foundations and the secular clergy as intellectual forces; the part played by the two chief agents in the production of the literature, clerics and minstrels, are denoted

in turn. But only a careless reading of his authority (Chambers *Medieval Stage*, I 46) would have lead him into stating that "St. Francis of Assisi stood on bridges and sang carmina trivialia" (18), or that the medieval English minstrels "were organised into "unions" and had their kings and other officials, were paid according to their skill, wore badges of their profession" (19). The charter for the first English guild of minstrels was only granted in 1469, later by a century than the period of which Dr. Schofield treats, and the title of king was not applied to the leaders (Chambers, I 55; II 260); there is no evidence of any other officials at any other time, and the only badges were the silver scutcheons of the municipal corporation, whose livery they wore (Chambers I 51).

The second chapter is devoted to Anglo-Latin literature. There is every token that this section which forms a fifth of the book was task-work for Dr. Schofield. For the literature of the subject he is indebted to only the most obvious general authorities, and his first-hand acquaintance with the works of the authors about whom he writes is very limited. At times one wonders at his failure to gauge the comparative value of the work of an author among his contemporaries, but one learns the secret of this defect when he finds that the source of many of Dr. Schofield's judgments is the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where, naturally, the estimate given is from an individual and not historical point of view.

One can not correct all of Dr. Schofield's errors of detail; it will be enough to note a few instances of his lack of preparation to deal with this part of his subject. The "certain commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul" (p. 33), published under the name of Lanfranc is not his work, or would our author catalogue mere manuscripts in a popular treatise? The title given Lanfranc's treatise on transubstantiation, *Liber Scintillarum*, is only a scribal addition, and Anselm's *Exhortatio ad Contemptum Temporalium* is not a controversial treatise. Osbern of Canterbury translated only the life of St. Dunstan, and not several lives (p. 34) from Anglo-Saxon. Mention should have been made of Simeon of Durham's more important work *De Regibus Anglorum*, which is an original authority for the years 1119-1129 (p. 35). Dr. Schofield gives a correct definition of the rudimentary "arts" of the Trivium (49); why then does he translate the phrase in Gerald de Barri's autobiography; "trivium ibidem egregie docuit" with "lectured there on rhetoric and literature" (p. 40). Why does he accept Gerald's own statement not substantiated by any other evidence (Norgate, *Angevin Kings* II 456) that he "was made coadjutor with William de Longchamp, when Richard left England" (40), and can he cite by volume and page the authority responsible for his statement that de Longchamp was a "reformer of monastic abuses (60)"? And what a false conception Dr. Schofield has obtained of medieval society if he always translates

miles, "knight" by "soldier" (41). The expression in regard to Gerald's *Gemma ecclesiastica*, "the author's favorite book he presented to Pope Innocent III", calls for comment, as the first part of the statement has not the authority of Gerald himself, who merely tells how, out of the six books he presented to the Pope, the *Gemma ecclesiastica* received the preference (*Opera*, I 119; III 336). Roger of Hoveden's chronicle is an independent authority for a period thirty years anterior to 1192 (43), if with that year his account becomes more detailed. Ralph of Diceto's chronicle commences with 1148 and not with the creation, and is no mere compilation, although it is only with 1180—not 1188—that he begins to cite original documents. A postulated source of the chronicle of Roger of Wendover becomes "the book of the abbot John de Cella" (44). It was not Lanfranc who "established the scriptorium at St. Albans" (44), but his nephew, the abbot Paul. The assertion "Through his (i. e. Boethius's) translations, students generally became acquainted with Aristotle; for Greek was in early medieval times almost completely unknown" shows a surprising ignorance of the history of medieval philosophy and learning, not corrected elsewhere (cf. 81). Boethius translated only parts of the *Organon*, and the larger part of Aristotle's works, known to medieval scholars, were Latin translations of Spanish Arabs, and a knowledge of Greek had nothing to do with the situation. Peter de la Celle was not a celebrated teacher (51) least of all of John of Salisbury, whom he succeeded as Bishop of Chartres. It was in a letter of 1159 and not of 1169 that John speaks of his many travels, and does Dr. Schofield refer to the necrology of the church of Chartres when he speaks of the "obituary in the church"? *Policraticus* is the correct spelling of one of his chief works, and if he shows an acquaintance with the whole of the *Organon*, it cannot be said that he "conveyed to his readers a large part of Aristotle's *Organon*" (52). Why not refer to Robert Pullus by his English name Pullen; and is there the slightest evidence that Master Thomas Brown was "a sort of Chancellor of the Exchequer in Sicily" if he did hold such an office in England (53)? Our author has cited textually (55) Stubbs's translation of a fragment of a letter of Peter of Blois (*Seventeen Lectures*, 137); it would have been better to cite from the same source (ib. 164) the translation of another fragment, instead of giving an inferior rendering (54). Only a very careless reading of the same authority (136) could have lead Dr. Schofield to attribute to Henri Beaulerc a saying of his ancestor Fulk the Good (55). Bishop Golias was no more "a figure of Map's creation" than the Apocalypse and Confession were his works. In fact, more than twenty-five years ago Hauréau showed that neither of these poems was English in origin (*Notices et Extraits*, XXIX 2, 254 ff., 301 ff.), so there is no place for the analyses given by Dr. Schofield (58), any more than for that of *De Phillide et Flora* (70-71), of which the author was in all probability an

Italian (N. & E. XXIX 2, 308; XXXII 269). There is no evidence for stating that Adelard of Bath—to use the traditional form of the name, instead of the pedantic “Athelard”, adopted by Schofield—“established a school particularly for instruction in Arabic lore” (63). The only reason to mention Robert of Retines’s studies in Spain, where he died, is that he was the translator of Morien, mentioned by Gower (Steinschneider, Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Ak. Phil. Hist. Klasse, 149, IV 69). Daniel of Merlai (not Morley) was the author of only one book, of which very little has been published (V. Rose, *Hermes*, VIII 330 n., 334, 347). If Bernard de Ventadour resided at the court of Eleanor (68) it was when she was wife of the French king and not in England. But as our author notes all the other troubadours by their Provençal names, he should have written Bernart de Ventadorn, and even in Provençal one finds written the Monge de Montaudon, and not Montaldon. In the poem of Gaucelm Faidit “Fortz chauza es que tot lo maior dan” there is not the faintest suggestion of Richard being proclaimed the “ideal hero of chivalry and the honorable founder of tournaments.” The greatest authority on medieval Latin versification, W. Meyer of Speyer (Abhandlungen I 286–287) takes direct issue with Schofield on the influence of the form of vernacular verse on Latin writers (69).

What is Schofield’s authority for his astonishing statement that William IX of Poitiers was the patron of Bleheris; Bledhericus? (70)? The *Ars Rhythmica* is the name not of a book (74), but of a section in John of Garland’s *Poetria*, and the whole poems he introduces as examples are assuredly as much his own compositions as those found in the *Nova Poetria* of Geoffrey de Vinesauf, or de Cumeselz, to give him his real name (Not. et Extr. XXXV 432). Peter Riga was not a Dane “de Riga”, and why not adopt a modern spelling “Alain de Lille” instead of “Alain de l’Isle”. It was in 1210—a date accepted after much dispute—and not in 1207, that the Paris Council forbade the study of Aristotle’s *Physics*, and not of all his works (81), and this condemnation was not “practically abrogated” in 1231 (81). The Franciscan convent which received the library of Grossetete was not a “seminary” (83). What are the works of comment and exegesis on which the fame of Adam Marsh rested (86)? Would it not be better to gloss the word Chaldee with its equivalent in modern usage? The three great works of Bacon were completed in fifteen months, and not merely the *Opus Maius*, and the *Opus Tertium* is something much more than an introduction to the other works (86). Schofield should have warned his readers that his selection from Aucassin et Nicolette was from Lang’s purely literary translation, or else one would wonder why he translates “capes” by “amices”, and “jogleors” by “makers [poets]”, and uses such a meaningless phrase as “cloth of vair and cloth of gris” (93). Siger of Brabant was not “secretly done away with”, but killed by an insane clerk in public (Rom. XXIX 108, 628).

Recent Dante scholars have written in vain when Schofield writes *De Vulgari Eloquio* instead of *Eloquentia*, and are we to understand that Petrarch's treatise *De sui ipsius et aliorum Ignorantia* is hidden under the title *True Knowledge*? That one of Boccaccio's eclogues was the source of *The Pearl*, as argued by Schofield, has still to be accepted by the learned world. This incomplete list of errors is formidable enough; how much longer would it have been if the chapter had really fulfilled the promise of its title, instead of being padded in the most deliberate way with excursions on Welsh and Norse literature, on Virgil and Merlin as enchanters, and on medieval architecture, all of which would call for as much correction of details and conclusions as the rest of the chapter, if the critic wished to be as impertinent as the author.

With two such guides as Paris's manual and Gröber's article in his *Grundriss*, Dr. Schofield, in writing his fourth chapter on Anglo-French literature, had only to group together the Old French writers of insular origin, or with insular interests, and to emphasize details of special interest to English readers. But one must take issue with certain additions, introduced by our author, independent of his main authorities. The Bréri cited as an authority by Thomas in his *Tristan*, may well be the same as the Bleheri, mentioned by one of the continuators of Chrétien's *Perceval*, but all the probabilities are against the conjecture that he is the same as the Blehericus of Gerald de Barri, and there is not the slightest evidence for the statement that "he probably wrote, a half century before Crestien, poems in French concerning Gawain and other British heroes" (116). That Robert de Boron "has been identified with a landed knight of Hertfordshire" (117) is the barest conjecture (Paris, *Journ. des Savants*, 1901, 704). Walter Espec was only the agent in obtaining a copy of Geoffrey's history from the owner, Robert, Earl of Gloucester (120). The poem of Garnier de (not du) Pont Ste. (not St.) Maxence is something more than the most remarkable of the vernacular lives of St. Thomas (124); it is one of the few masterpieces of Old French literature. What authority is there for the statement that Jordan Fantosme "at Henry's command accompanied the army to take notes of the events"? And why state as a fact that he was "spiritual chancellor" of the diocese of Winchester, when the very office was a conjecture of Michel? But who would imagine that "the rhymed Alexandrines tirades" of Lanstoft (123), the "strophes, monorhymes" of Garnier, and the greater part of Fantosme's "poem rhyming in clusters" were all written in the same metre? There is no evidence that the source of the *Conquête de l'Irlande* was possibly in metrical form (124). There is not a word about the dragon in Simon de Fraise's life of St. George (131). The life of Gregory appended to Angier's translation of his *Dialogues* is the translation of a Latin text, and not an independent addition as one would judge from Schofield's statement

(132). Few Anglo-French lyrics have been published and of these only a part are known to Schofield, and yet for him this is enough evidence on which to base a theory that "the Anglo-French being less light hearted and facile than the Provençal or the French of the Continent" found their lyric inspiration in praises of the Virgin (133). Truly an *argumentum e silentio*.

In the following chapter on "The English Language" it would have been well to include a study of the use of French in England, and the part it played in the development of the language, matters on which there are only hints elsewhere in the book.

With the Chapter on "Romances", the longest in the book, Dr. Schofield is in his own peculiar field of English literature, and his handling of the subject is the most original and suggestive that has yet appeared. But in the necessarily genetic method adopted in the study of the various types of this literary genre, he errs more than once in treating of the sources of English works. His account of the Old French epic is most remarkable. "The early cantilenæ, or lyrical songs in chorus" never bore the name of "chansons de geste" (148), which they preceded, and in some instances inspired. It was hardly "from the eleventh century on" that these cantilenæ "were transformed by professional poets", as we have three chansons de geste, which were written in that century. Nor is it true that "Geste came soon to mean an epic poem" as it hardly ever occurs with that meaning in Old French. And was it only "in their early forms" that they were "distinguished from the chivalric romances by their peculiar metre"? The rhymed Alexandrines of the late epic poems are not hard to distinguish from the octosyllabic metre of the romances. There is much to be said on the French epic in England, and the relation of the English translations to the other versions, but the only suggestion of these topics that one finds is that "the exact originals are not known" (155). Where in the English version of the Chanson de Roland does the translator "denounce wine and women" (151)? The unique manuscript of the Siege of Milan does not carry the story to the capture of the city (154). It is true that the Sowdone of Babylon narrates the capture of Rome by the infidels, but the second part like Sir Ferumbras is a translation of a version of Fierabras.

But it is the section upon the "Matter of Britain", that calls for the most adverse criticism. What place in a manual of English literature has a detailed description of the followers at Arthur's court, taken from the Welsh romance Kulhwch and Olwen, which can not be attributed to "early times" (163-4)?

The one item, perhaps worthy of note—its favorable characterization of Kei—is not mentioned by Schofield. The analyses of the various poems for which Schofield finds sources in Bretagne lays are convenient, but all his theories need to be reconstructed in the light of Foulet's sane and destructive criticisms of the earlier contributions of Schofield, who, however, clings with entire

faith to his ideas about the sources of the Franklin's Tale, in spite of Rajna's strictures (182, 194; cf. Rom. XXXII 204 ff). The conclusion of Eilhart's Tristan is not unique (203; cf. Golther, Zeit. f. franz. Sprache, XXIX 2, 153, Literaturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Phil. XXVII 63). The one *Or* word cited by Paris, in the passage quoted (204) "*tailloir*" does not mean "stand" but "tray". The following paragraph is a paraphrase of a passage in the same essay of Paris, but neither here nor elsewhere can one find authority for Schofield's statement, that Tristan by singing lays "stimulated the affection of Isolt", when his wounds were healing under her care (204). Does Schofield base his assertion that Tristan was perhaps a Scandinavian hero (212) upon some place-names, that have been shown to be ghost-words (Rom. XXXV 596)? If there is occasion for an analysis of Chrétien's Chevalier de la Charrette—not Conte de la Charrette—(236-8), it should at least be correct. Lancelot and Gawain do not take separate paths in their pursuit of the ravisher of Guinevere, and Lancelot, far from being too late to attempt a rescue, has his horse killed; and for this reason, and not because "his horse breaks his leg", is he ready to mount the cart. The queen does not show her disfavor to Lancelot because he has ridden in the cart, but because he hesitated to do so.

It is not necessary to carry the detailed criticism further in order to give one's unfavorable judgment on the book, as a trustworthy manual of the subject. Attention has been called only to erroneous statements of facts; but occasions for finding fault with the author on matters of opinion, and even of good taste, present themselves just as frequently. Parts of the book are vitiated by two theories, to which Schofield holds through foul and fair; the discredited eighteenth century view of the influence of Provençal on English literature (67 ff. 133), and an exaggerated *not or but* more modern conception of Celtic influences in medieval literature. Schofield drags in allusions to Welsh and Irish literature, which give a measure of his Celtic scholarship, and for him "the king of the Celtic Other-world is substituted for Pluto" (185), and the "air-castle" in which Niniane imprisons Merlin, is of "a kind familiar to every reader of British tales" (251). A wider acquaintance with the literature of folklore would keep Dr. Schofield from seeing a Celtic source in so many literary motives, and would broaden the discussion of English texts, for which there is no immediate French source, and the consequent bibliographical aid in Paris's manual. For instance an acquaintance with the many versions of "The Envious and Greedy Man" would have made unnecessary the remark about the unchivalric conduct of the hero of Sir Cleges (322; cf. e. g. Dunlop's Geschichte der Prosadichtungen, Übers. F. Liebrecht, 257, 491); and the many analogues of The Smith and his Dame show that it has been assuredly "popular among the common folk" (330; cf. e. g. R. Köhler, Kleinere Schriften, I 132).

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

REPORTS.

HERMES XLI.

Fascicle 1.

Vom antiken Kataster (Nebst einer Tafel) (A. Schulten). I. S. interprets at length an inscribed marble slab, found at Orange, the ancient Arausio, which was first published by Dechelette in the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse* 1904, p. 209 f. and then by Espérandieu in the *Revue épigr.* 1904, 97 f. While it records a perpetual lease of city property it is really a tax register similar to the Arausio fragments discussed by Mommsen in *Hermes* XXVII, p. 102 f., and must be assigned with these to the first half of the I Century A. D. [sic, p. 2; but p. 44 to about 20 B. C.]. The new fragment, probably nearly complete, is unique as being the first tax register of city property. The size of the insula or block seems, by a plausible conjecture, to have been 240 × 120 ft. The situation was marked ad K[ardinem], the Decumanus does not appear; but ad ludum at one end was sufficiently specific. At the founding of the colony by Caesar [After 46 B. C. Marquardt and Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsverw.* 1, p. 264] this insula seems to have been assigned to six colonists in equal lots of 35 ft. front, each with an ambitus of 2½ ft. The latter were subsequently abolished and the insula divided into six lots with respectively 20, 20, 34½, 35, 55½, 75 ft. front, which again were combined to form three lots of 40, 69½, and 130½ ft. front. In this form a manceps, with his fidejussor, leased the insula in perpetuum. This shows that a manceps' lease was not limited to five years as Mitteis believes (*zur Gesch. d. Erbpacht im Altertum*, p. 14 f.). [But the latter's objections to the perpetuity of a double lease, i. e. to both manceps and tenants, in which Schulten believes, do not seem removed in view of the lack of permanence in house-tenancy, illustrated in the changes indicated above.] The manceps C. Naevius Rusticus had to pay in ann[os sing[ulos] XI as well as — X LXIXS for the middle lot of 69½ ft. front and probably corresponding sums for the other two. With the aid of ancient and modern illustrations S. interprets XI as so many aurei rent, due the community of Arausio and the second item as representing 69½ denarii tax due the state. II. That -X is a variety of the symbol \mathbb{X} , meaning denarius (doubted by Mommsen, *Hermes* XXVII, p. 107 f.), throws light on the older fragments, which, accordingly, S. discusses anew with copious illustrations. They represented farmland of Arausio with specifications of location, size of lots taxed and exempt, classification as to quality, etc. It is probable that they as well as the new fragment were based on

surveys and land registers of the Narbonensis made for the census of Augustus 27-12 B. C. and collected by Balbus.

Eine erhaltene Abhandlung des Metrodor (S. Sudhaus). In the Herculanean papyrus 1424 Φιλοδήμου περί κακίων κ.τ.λ. occurs a passage (12, 45-21, 35), which is clearly not by Philodemus as shown by the style and language; besides, the contents point to an early Epicurean philosopher. To this must be added section 22, 9-24, 19, which Philodemus refers to αὐτῷ, evidently the same authority. Preceding the former extract we find the words κείναις τοῖς [γυν εἰ]ν τῷ Περὶ π[λο]ύτου Μ[ητρ]οδώρου τοιαῦ[τ]α, which have been regarded as merely referring to a similar treatise of Metrodorus; but with the above considerations and the restoration of some intervening lines S. believes he has found the first undoubted specimens of the style of Epicurus' favorite pupil.

Zur Lebensgeschichte des Valerius Soranus (C. Cichorius). Our information concerning the grammarian and antiquarian Quintus Valerius Soranus has been not only limited but vague. His prominence is shown by Varro and Cicero, the latter giving the one definite date (91 B. C.). He is generally identified with the tribune who suffered death in Sicily for divulging the religiously guarded mystic name of Rome, probably in his Ἐποπτίδες (Servius, Aen. I 277). But when? As he was called Soranus from his native town Sora (near Cicero's birth-place Arpinum), Cichorius is able to identify him with the Quintus Valerius whom Pompey put to death in Sicily 82 B. C. Accordingly his birth would fall about 140-130 B. C., and the P. Scipio he addresses in Varro's citation (de l. l. 7.31) cannot be the younger Africanus (cf. Teuffel and Schmekel, Die Philosophie d. mittleren Stoa, p. 446); but, possibly, the P. Scipio Nasica, praetor 93 B. C. Valerius' execution would seem to have resulted from his adherence to the Marian party, and the reason given in Servius (l. c.) was probably a popular story which Varro (Servius' source) adopted to shield his friend Pompey.

Epigraphisches (Ad. Wilhelm). I. W. restores, with interesting comments, the Magnesian inscription 102 of which O. Kern, the editor, had restored only a few lines, and adopts αἰγυνοθέται τοῦ μουσικοῦ, which title (without ἀγῶνος) seems peculiar to inscriptions of Magnesia. Kern's reading κήρυκες τοῦ μουσικοῦ on the basis of another restoration is improbable. W. suggests that the nameless decree in Papers of the Amer. Sch. at Athens I, p. 17 originated in Magnesia, and offers emendations. II. Ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος in IG. XII 5, 47, means 'for the present', ἀρχοῦτος is not to be supplied. This phrase is common in decrees that apologize for small gifts with a view to better times. Such a decree was passed by the Sikyonians (IG. IV 426, Papers of the Amer. Sch. V 16), which should read: ρον τιμᾶσαι, ὡς μέντοι καὶ τὰ πράγματα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν (= δᾶμον) ὄντα εἰς ἀποκατάστασιν ἔλθῃ, ὅτι μυσθισαῖται καταξίως αὐτοῦ τιμᾶσαι ὁ δᾶμος. The probable date of this decree (about 200 B. C.) was a time of trouble (cf. Polyb. XVIII 16).

Ethnika und Verwandtes. I. (W. Dittenberger). In Italic as well as other I.-E. languages, derivative adjectives in *-ko* were frequently employed as ethnic names (cf. Celtic: *Aremorici*, *Vindelici*; Italic: *Hernici*, etc.). This is contrary to Greek usage, which is further evidence against a Graeco-Italic period. A few cases appear in Stephanus Byz., which however can be explained or are suspicious. *Ἀπειρικὸς*, indeed, is the inscriptional name of a people in *Ἀλτωλία ἐπικτήτος*; but this is due to contamination with a non-Greek element. *Γραικοί* was formed from *Γραιός* on Italic soil (Niese, v. Wilamowitz). Accordingly *᾽Οπικοί*, *᾽Ερνικοί*, *᾽Ομβρικοί*, etc., are Italic names adopted by Greek writers. Occasionally such names received a Greek color, which accounts for *᾽Ερνικες*, *᾽Οπικες*, etc. This explains the true reading *᾽Οπικας* in Thuc. VI 2, 4, where some editors with good MS authority read *᾽Οπικούς*; but the former is proved by *ἐν ᾽Οπικίᾳ* (Thuc. VI 4, 5), the latter requires *ἐν τῇ ᾽Οπικῇ*. Doublets like *Umbri* and *᾽Ομβρικοί* are not respectively Latin and Greek; but Italic like *᾽Ολσοί* and *᾽Ολσκοί*, or again, *Ἀύσονες* and *Aurunci*. There are interesting discussions of these and other Italic names.

Ein Sosylos-Fragment in der Würzburger Papyrussammlung (U. Wilcken). Forty pieces and shreds of an Egyptian papyrus make up four columns of handsome uncials, I and IV fragmentary, II and III containing some 173 words of continuous text. The title on the verso: *Σωσύλου τῶν περὶ Ἀντίβου πράξεων* δ, added later in cursives, assures a date not later than a hundred years after the second Punic war. We see here the first lines known of Hannibal's companion and teacher. The language shows remarkable agreement with that of Polybius, the matter, greater ability than Polybius' strictures (III 20) would allow. An unknown detail of a naval battle, possibly the one at the Ebro 217 B. C. (Polyb. III 95, 5 f., Livy XXII 19, 5 f.) is told, in which the Massaliotes, contingent allies of Scipio, frustrate the *δέκπλους* of the Carthaginians by means of a double line formation, which had been successfully employed by Heraclides of Mylassa at Artemision. This allusion to the stratagem of Heraclides joined with praise of his *ἀγχίνοια* agrees remarkably with his victory over the Persians (Hdt. V 121) and justifies his biography by the elder Scylax (Suidas), his countryman and contemporary (Hdt. IV 44). Herodotus' failure to mention this stratagem may go to show that his account is fragmentary. Wilcken regards his elaborate discussions as only preliminary.

Livius and Augustus (H. Dessau). Livy supports Augustus in his social reforms in the preface to books I-V, published 27 B. C., or soon after (cf. Festsch. zu O. Hirschfeld's 60^{tem} Geburtstag, p. 461 f.), so also (IV 20) in his opposition to granting the honor of spolia opima to M. Licinius Crassus on the ground that he was not commander suo auspicio, the prerogative now of the emperor. For while Livy (IV 19) tells the popular story of A. Cornelius

Cossus' winning *spolia opima* as tribune, in IV 20 he informs us that Cossus was really a consul at the time on the authority of Augustus, who, at the restoration of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, had read this title inscribed on the cuirass of linen which C. had dedicated. Dessau discusses the various aspects of this question.

Der Eid der Schiedsrichter in Athen. (Th. Thalheim). Lipsius (Das Attische Recht 222) distinguishes between the friendly settlement brought about by a *διαλλακτή* and the pronouncement of a *διαιτητής* made under oath, the latter only having legal force. Th. doubts the legal support in view of the evidence; but admits that some such distinction existed in practice. The formality of the oath was at the discretion of the contending parties and the friendly agreement reached through a *διαλλακτή* was equally binding.

Miscellen: U. v. Wilamowitz controverts Capella's argument that the physicist Arrian was a source of Poseidonius (A. J. P. XXVIII, p. 99). Agatharchides does not mention him as is generally believed (cf. Susemihl *Alex. Lit.* I, p. 775); the passage in question is by Photius himself (Photius *Bibl. codex* 250, p. 460 b), hence there is no evidence for a date as early as the II century B. C. Moreover such a Roman name was impossible for a Greek in the time of Polybius. This Arrian was probably contemporaneous with his namesake of Nicomedia. B. Warnecke finds that just as Aelian's letters 13-16 are an echo of Menander's *Δύσκολος* (Hermes XL, p. 170) so letters 7 and 8, to and from the *ἐταίρα* 'Οπώρα, depend on the *Opōra* of Alexis. C. Robert would read in Pausanias X 9, 2 *σὺλῃται μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσοι ἀγωνιστὰι μουσικῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐγίνοντο μετὰ οὐδενὸς λογισμοῦ*, omitting *μετὰ τῆς σπουδῆς* as a gloss together with the reading of the Vindobonensis, adopted by Spiro. Pausanias cites Phaylus for the sake of the *λόγος*, as he often does, a strange method for a guidebook. An inscribed base (B. C. H. 1897, 288) proves that *Μῦρδιον* (id. X 9, 10) should be *Μήλιον*. C. Robert considers Aves 544 *κατὰ δαίμονα καὶ συντυχίαν* a reminiscence of the famous verse of Diagoras *κατὰ δαίμονα καὶ τύχην κ.τ.λ.* and so objects to the insertion of *κατὰ* or *τινα* to make a correspondence with v. 456, which instead might be abbreviated to *ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τῶ ξυνέτου*, omitting *φρενός* (cf. Scholion).

Fascicle 2.

Ethnika und Verwandtes II (W. Dittenberger). Relying mainly on inscriptional authority D. discusses in the three subsequent articles (Hermes 41, 161-219; id. 42, 1-34; id. 42, 161-234) the formation and meaning of the different classes of gentilia and their relations to the derivatives in *-κος*. The latter are of course common in Greek, even as applied to persons; but they are more strictly differentiated from gentile names in Greek than anywhere else (cf. I above). Some of his results as to formation follow: The stem vowels *ο-ε*, *ον*, *α(η)* are regularly dropped before *-εν-(ς)*

and -ιδ-(s); but nouns in -εια frequently developed certain changes. From *Δεκέλεια* were formed *Δεκελειεύς* and *Δεκελεύς*; from *Μελίτεια*, *Μελίτα(ι)εύς*; from *Τρίτεια* both *Τριταειεύς* and *Τριτεύς*. The dissimilation of -ειεύς to -αιεύς is only sporadic, the suppression of *ει* very common. On the other hand by analogy from stems ending in -αιον or *αια*, words ending in simple *ᾱ* formed derivatives in -αιεύς as *Θηβαιεύς* for the usual *Θηβαίος*. The fem. suffix -ις (after *ι*, -ας, cf. *Ἰάς*) not only corresponds to -εύς; but spread to many primitives, as *Ἑλληνίς*. But in the numerous Hellenistic settlements in the Orient -ις was crowded out by -ισσα, as in *Ἀντιόχισσα*, *Δαοδίκισσα*, and occasionally by -ίτις as in *Ἀλεξανδρίτις*. The suffixes -τας (*της*), Fem. -τις are simply added to *a*-stems; but when *ε* or *ι* precede we find -ωτης, except in Ionic. Hence the natives of *Μασσαλία* called themselves *Μασσαλιῆται*, others *Μασσαλιώται*. [The use of both forms in Polybius is doubted by D; but see *Hermes* 41, p. 111.] The seemingly unhellenic suffix -σται, as in *Λυγκησται*, is rare; but common, the intrusion of -της, -τις into foreign names, as in *Ἀρπινᾶται*, *Ναρβωνίτις* for *Arpinates*, *Narbo-nensis*, and in Oriental names such as *Ἀμαλακίται*, *Ἀμορίτις*, although the intrusion of -ηνός, *ηγή* (*Δαμασκηνός*) is commoner. The hypocoristic *Δάκων* interchanges freely with *Λακεδαιμόνιος*, excepting that the latter is official; but *Δάκαινα* is almost in exclusive use. *Ἀτθίς* for *Ἀθηναίς* must be classed with *Ἑλλας* for *Ἑλληνίς*, *Ἰὰς* for *Ἰωνίς*; the doubling of the consonant is characteristic for these hypocoristic forms. The derivatives in -κος are simply formed from primitives and from words in -της and -νος (cf. *Σκυθικός* from *Σκύθης*, *Βαργυλιτικός* from *Βαργυλιήτης*, *Κυζικηνικός* from *Κυζικηνός*); when derived from gentilia in -ιος, -ικος becomes -ακος (cf. *Κορινθιακός* from *Κορίνθιος*). Sometimes doublets occur as *Βοιωτικός* from *Βοιωτός* and *Βοιωτιακός* from *Βοιάτιος*. The custom of using forms in -ιακός as titles of books produced abnormal derivatives like *Εὐρωπαϊκά*. As *Δακωνικός* is the hypocoristic formation for *Λακεδαιμονιακός*, corresponding to *Δάκων* for *Λακεδαιμόνιος*, so *Ἀττικός* was used for *Ἀθηναϊκός* from *Ἀτθίς* the hypocoristic of *Ἀθηναίς*; hence *Ἀττικόν* etymologically meant anything that pertained to *Ἀθῆναι* or the *Ἀθηναῖοι*.

Die Verhöhnung Christi durch die Kriegsknechte (J. Geffcken). The attempts of Wendland (cf. *A. J. P.* XX, p. 217), H. Reich, H. Vollmer, etc., to throw light upon the scene: Christ in the Praetorium, whether it be to substantiate or weaken the historicity of the N. T. account by the citation of interesting parallels drawn from the Roman Saturnalia, Oriental Sacaea or an Alexandrian mime are all abortive. G. himself considers the scene an expanded doublet of *Mth.* 26, 88; *Mc.* 14, 65; *Luc.* 22, 64.

Opferblut und Opfergerste (P. Stengel). Originally blood and the *σῶλαι* were sacrificed to *Ge* as the giver and taker of all life. Expansive as the heavens above, *Ge* was to the Greek hardly more than a great power; her various names: *Rhea*, *Kybele*,

μήτηρ θεῶν, Pandora making little or no difference. The division of this, at once beneficent and malign, nature into Demeter and Persephone resulted in the former supplanting to a large extent the vaguer divinity, while countless *δαίμονες* along with Persephone represented her evil powers. To these, as *χρόνιοι*, blood sacrifices were continued; but with apotropaic intent, a post-Homeric conception. This is the significance of the sprinkling the altars with blood and the ceremony of the *οὐλαί* (cf. A. J. P. XXV 220). The strictly observed ritual in Homer yields interesting results when studied as a collection of survivals that were no longer comprehended. Thus in Homer, and later also, are found clear traces of the original worship of Ge.

Der Mimus von Oxyrhynchos (S. Sudhaus). This first example of the popular form of the ancient mime, published in Oxyrh. Pap. III, p. 41, and ably edited by Crusius in the fourth edition of his Herondas is printed here with a critical commentary and explanations, mainly to serve a general discussion. Depending mainly upon his powers of *ἡθοποιία* and improvisation the mime actor with his repertory of *παίγνα*, song and dance, fire-spitting 'feats', etc., has ever remained a favorite with the common people from the Deikelistai of Sparta to the medieval jongleurs (jugglers). Though essentially a solo performance, *mimi secundarum partium* could be employed, and it was for the guidance of such a troupe that this mime was outlined, as shown by the stage directions and cues. It probably represents the customary prose sketch (for the metrical form of Laberius in Rome was only a temporary innovation) and was so meagre in detail in contrast with a rich variety of events that the archmime must have filled in with improvisations and acquired parts; besides it is too brief as it stands, as was proved by a recent performance of a mimiamb of Herondas of approximate length. Sudhaus discusses the intimate relation of the mime to the Greek romance and develops a number of interesting characteristics, and while the picture he presents is meagre by the side of H. Reich's Mimus, it is probably nearer the truth.

Collationen aus der Ars geometrica; die Dresdener Handschrift des Publilius Syrus (M. Manitius).

Die militärische Laufbahn des Kaisers Maximinus (M. Bang). This first attempt at reconstructing the military history of Maximinus Thrax from the fragmentary and somewhat unreliable sources, shows it to have been the ordinary career of an army officer up to his appointment as praefectus tironibus. This unusual command over the *whole* body of new recruits made it comparatively easy for him to succeed in his rebellion against Alexander Severus 235 A. D.

Eisangelie-Gesetz in Athen (Th. Thalheim). Lipsius, following Swoboda, dated the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός, quoted by Hypereides

(Eux. col. 22), 350 B. C.; others assume the period immediately following Eucleides. Thalheim thinks the political events of 411 B. C. give the true explanation of its origin (cf. A. J. P. XXIV, p. 471).

Zu Platons Laches (K. Joel). J. elaborates interestingly his belief that Pl. Laches is an attack on Antisthenes' published views on *ἀνδρεία*, and in so far admits that the person of Nicias is literary; but the character undoubtedly represents the Athenian Cunctator, the embodiment of *ἐπιστήμη δεινῶν καὶ μὴ δεινῶν*. That there existed a dialogue Nicias, by Phaedo, which Plato had in mind is unlikely (cf. A. J. P. XXVIII 99).

Miscellen: F. Bechtel regards the inexplicable aorist γόν (Z 500) to be an imperfect γο(ε)ον, with the loss of ε, just as *δμονόοντες* (Rev. de philol. 26, 307 ff.) was abbreviated from *δμονοόοντες*. Thus we find *μενοίνεον* and *δμόκλεον* alongside of *μενοινάει* and *δμόκλα*. This will throw light on the future forms *κτεριῶ*, *κτεριοῦσι*. E. Löfstedt commends Vliet for rejecting all emendations hitherto suggested for *tebanibus*, and proposes *euantibus* in Apul. Metam. IV 8.

HERMAN L. EBELING.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK,
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1-10. E. Wölfflin, Der Reflexive Gebrauch der Verba transitiva. Dedicated to Dr. Wilhelm Ritter von Hartel in Wien. The subject has not been adequately treated, especially as regards its earlier history and the usage in late Latin. *Recipere* = *se recipere* occurs four times in archaic Latin. On account of the similarity of s and r in the pre-Carolingian minuscules, *se* may have fallen out in some cases. Two cases occur in Fronto, in one of which *nos* is omitted, which are doubtless archaisms. Caesar has the construction with the gerundive and it occurs in the Bell. Alex. and Bell. Afr. with finite verbs. Since it is not used by Cic. and Livy, it was doubtless characteristic of the *sermo castrensis*. Other verbs of this class are also examined. The classical Latin extended the usage, and especially the late Latin, examples from which are lacking in Dräger and Kühner. The pres. act. part. is particularly common, on account of the lack of a pres. pass. part.

10. E. Wölfflin, Der Infinitiv *meminere*. This form is not cited by the handbooks. It occurs in Benedict of Nursia, and its existence in the second half of the fourth century is implied by the comment of Servius on Aen. 2. 12: *animus meminisse horret*] *defectivi verbi ratio est; nec enim potuit dicere "meminere"*.

11-15. O. Schlutter, Beiträge zur lateinischen Glossographie. Additions and corrections for Landgraf's article, ALL. IX. 355 fol.

15. S. Brandt, *Oculis contrectare*. The passage in Tac. Ann. 3. 12 is, like the one in Lactantius (See ALL. IX. 596), an exception to the usual meaning of this phrase. In the latter an ancient interpolation is *contueri*, but *contrectare* is justified by the parallel in Inst. II. 6. 6 with which Cic. Tusc. III. 15. 33 may be compared.

16. J. v. d. Vliet, *Incommoditas*. In S. Silvae *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, p. 19, 1. 1, ed. 2, Gamurini, this word should be read for *in quo moditas* of the MS.

16. J. v. d. Vliet, *Uelum* = *naugium*, *ratis*. This meaning (cf. ALL. IV. 413 fol.) is confirmed by the substantive *uelatura*, Varr. R. R. I. 2. 14 and L. L. V. 44. Possibly *Uelabrum* is derived from *uelum* in this sense.

17-82. S. G. Stacey, *Die Entwicklung des livianischen Stiles*. The innovations of Livy and his deviations from the classical style are most marked in the first third of his work and especially in the first decade, while in his third and still more in his fourth decade he returned to a stricter standard. The poetical coloring of the first decade is due to the influence of the archaic poetry, especially that of Ennius, as well as to that of later poets. Parallelisms are given with Ennius and Livius, with the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Vergil, with the *Aeneid* (direct imitation not before the third decade), with Lucretius, Tibullus, Horace and others. There follows a long chapter on Livy's changes and improvements in Latin style, arranged under the usual heads, and a brief one on his method of introducing citations and of expressing his own views.

83-116. H. Stadler, *Lateinische Pflanzennamen im Dioskorides*. A collection of the synonyms of the Greek plant-names in codd. Byzantinus and Neopolitanus, which are designated as *ῥωμαῖοι*, following the edition of Spengel. Many of these are not found in the lexicons. They date from the beginning of the sixth century at the latest and many of them are considerably earlier.

116. F. Schöll, *Cio*. In the fragment of the *Brutus* of Accius, preserved in Varro, L. L. 5. 80, instead of *consul cluat*, the traditional reading *consul ciat* may be retained with an object in the accusative understood.

116. F. Schöll, *Lato*. This form may be assumed for Plautus (Bacch. 893) on the testimony of Varro, L. L. 7. 16.

117-124. T. M. Auracher, *Die Berner Fragmente des lateinischen Dioskorides*. Those from the first book are given. The others are to appear in Vollmöller's *Romanische Forschungen*.

124. E. Wölfflin, *Pone und post*. In archaic Latin *pone* is local, *post* is temporal. In classical Latin *post* has usurped both

senses. *Pone tergum* for *post tergum* is used by Tacitus, who is followed by Apuleius. Ammianus and Suetonius also use *pone tergum*, but *post tergum* as well; the latter has only one instance of *post tergum*.

125-130. O. Hey, Accipio. *Lexicon* article.

130. E. Wölfflin, *Zur Lehre vom Imperativ*. Examples from the *Twelve Tables*, which may be interpreted as expressing either command or permission. This usage is not found in classical Latin and its limits in earlier Latin have not been determined.

131-134. E. Wölfflin, *Accognosco—Accommodus*. *Lexicon* articles.

135-138. *Miscellen*. E. Lattes, Vibenna. Vivenna. The former and not the latter is the correct form (cf. ALL. IX. 522). It is not true that the Etruscans had neither the sound nor the character B.

F. Wehrich, *Eversuiri*. This form (cf. ALL. II. 349; III. 457; VIII. 338; IX. 492) is given in August. *De consensu euangelistarum*, I, 19, n. 27 by the earlier MSS, the current *eversum iri* appearing first in those of the twelfth century. *Perspicius*. This form in August. *De consensu evangelistarum*, I. 37. n. 50 is parallel with *nocivus* beside *nocuus* and may not be an error. It is read by the cod. *Lugdunensis* of the sixth century.

P. Geyer, *Praesens = ἡγούμενος*. Questions the example cited by Stowasser from Porph. in Hor. *Epist.* I. 20; cf. ALL. IX. 9.

H. Blase, *Zu amabo*. Gives credit to O. Seyffert for the observation as to the persons who use this formula (ALL. IX. 488).

E. Wölfflin, *Sponte sua*. This order occurs in prose first in the *Mon. Ancyr.*, then in *Val. Max.* *Temere ein Tribrachys*. The earliest examples occur in *Plaut. Bacch.* 922 and *Trin.* 740; cf. ALL. IX. 8.

139-149. Review of the Literature for 1895, 1896.

150. Announcement of the contents of the projected *Hist. Gr. der lat. Sprache*.

151-175. F. Stolz, *Zur Bildung und Erklärung der römischen Indigeten-Namen*. The etymology of the word *indiges* proposed by Peter is rejected, as well as his view that the *dii indigetes* were a creation of the priests. Stolz derives *indiges* from **ind-ag-e-to-s* = *invocatus*, the root having the same meaning as in *ad-ag-ium* and in *agis* (see Löwe, *Prodr.* 366), and connects with it *indigito* and *indigitamentum*. This is followed by an examination of the individual names of these gods, arranged according to suffixes.

175. L. Havet, *Meminens*. This form may be restored in Plaut. *Miles*, 888 *memoriat meminens et sempiterna*, instead of *memoriat meminisset*.

176. L. Havet, *Mentio* = *mentior*. In Plaut. *Miles* 254 *mentibitur* may be a corruption of *mentibitis*. Then for the preceding *hunc* we may read *nos*.

176. L. Havet, *Salūs*, *Minertia*, *Latona*. Defends this scan-sion against the criticism of Schöll in *ALL. X.* 116.

177-186. E. Wölfflin, *Die Entwicklung des Infinitivus historicus*. The variations in the use of the construction from Plautus to late Latin and the question whether it died out during the separate existence of the Latin language are discussed. The usage is especially common in the historians and is confined to the present infinitive, except for preteritive verbs and one isolated case in Bell. Afr. 61. 8 (*occupati esse*). Sallust is especially fond of the construction, using thirteen such infinitives in one period. Tacitus also uses it freely, Livy less so. The use of a single infinitive is more common than is generally supposed; it is confined to words denoting continued or repeated action. The historical infinitive is common with frequentative verbs, less so with inchoatives, which however are much used by Tacitus. Transitive as well as intransitive verbs are used in this construction, reflexive verbs rarely. Deponents are used like active verbs, but the passive infinitives were at first avoided. *Esse* is not common. The example from the Bell. Afr. 61. 8 may be compared with the few examples of *esse* which exist. The construction is most frequent in independent affirmative clauses. The only example in an interrogative sentence is in Petr. 62. It is found also in subordinate clauses, but only in Sall. Liv. Curtius, and Tac., and in temporal and relative clauses. The only example in a comparative clause (Tac. Agr. 34) is doubtful. Caesar uses the construction sparingly, and Cic. uses it most frequently in his letters to Atticus. It is not found in Suetonius, and but five times in the Scr. Hist. Aug., while Ammianus and Orosius do not use it at all. It seems to have died out in late Latin. It is not found in the Romance languages.

186. E. Lattes, *Ergenna*. The Latin-Etruscan word *ergenna* = *sacerdos*, *haruspex* (see *ALL. IX.* 595) has a corresponding word in native Etruscan *erce*, *ercem*, *ercefās*.

187-208. O. Schlutter, *Zur lateinischen Glossographie. II.* A continuation of the article on pp. 11 fol.

208. E. Wölfflin, *Tesquitum*. This word (= *tesquetum*) may be derived from *tesqua*, meaning a strip of unfruitful land; cf. Porph. in Hor. Epist. 1. 14. 19.

209-224. G. Landgraf, *Der Accusativ der Beziehung (determinationis)*. This construction, according to Delbrück, begins in

Greek with *ὄνομα* and *γένος*. In Latin *nomen* is not found, but genus and synonyms are frequent and with adjectives of the same meanings as in Greek, very rarely with substantives. The only example of the construction in archaic Latin is a disputed instance in Plaut. Pseud. 785. Vergil first uses the construction freely. He is followed by the other poets and by some few prose writers. The examples are divided into two groups: the acc. with adjectives (and substantives) and the acc. with passive verbs. Under the adjectives, two divisions are made, of acc. substantives modifying an adj. and adjectives modified by the acc. plur. of neuter pronouns, such as *multa*, *alia*, etc., which have become practically adverbs. The adjectives themselves are arranged according to their meanings. An extension of this use from the adj. through the participle is seen in the use with finite forms of intransitive verbs; first in Lucr. 3. 487 *tremit artus*. While in Greek the use with verbs was extended from active to passive forms, in Latin the reverse is true, which favors the view that the construction is a borrowed one. The accusative with verbs used in a middle sense is a native Latin construction, which coalesced with the accusative of relation and cannot in all cases be distinguished from it.

225-228. G. Landgraf, *Nugas* = *nugax*. *Nugas* is used as an elliptical acc. of *nugae* (sc. *agit*, *agit*). It is used in the colloquial language of persons, and as a vulgar form of the adjective *nugax*. The latter has regularly been changed by copyists and editors to *nugax*. Its existence however is assured by two examples in Salvianus, *De Gub.* VII. 1. 6 and by glosses. There was besides an indeclinable adjective *nugas*, the origin of which was parallel to that of indecl. *damnas*.

228. W. M. Lindsay, *Vulgärlateinisches bubia. graba*. *Bubia* (= breast) is found in cod. Bodl. Auct. F IV 32, fol. 23 recto. The editor suggests that it may be the original of Ital. *bogia*. *Graba*, from which *grabatum* is derived, is found in a gloss in Bibl. Bodl. Laud. Lat. 26, fol. 86 recto.

229-246. J. C. Rolfe, *Die Ellipse von ars*. A discussion of the general meaning of *ars* is followed by an examination of the adjectives used as substantives by ellipsis of this word and of the verbs used in combination with such substantives. The adjectives are then given in alphabetical order with the earliest example of the use of each as a substantive, as well as some parallel passages.

246. E. Wölfflin, *Munerarius*. The statement of Quintilian, 8. 3. 34, *Messala primus reatum, munerarium Augustus primus dixerunt*, may be accepted in view of the attitude of Augustus towards new words which were really necessary, in spite of some similar statements of Quint. which have proved to be erroneous. The necessity existed in this case, since *dominus* was ambiguous, while *ludio* and *ludius* were used to express other meanings.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

BRIEF MENTION.

The last few years have been marked by the passing of so many noteworthy personalities from the world of philological activity that the Journal might readily be turned into a Campo Santo. But in the unending procession, 'der eine fällt, die andern rücken nach'; and sometimes the sense of loss makes itself felt more acutely after the lapse of time. With the recent accessions to Homeric literature, with such a monumental work as SEYMOUR'S *Life in the Homeric Age* before me, it is natural that my thoughts should turn to the great representative of Homeric study in England, DAVID BINNING MONRO, to whose memory I am bound by ties of personal gratitude. I was the guest of the late Provost of Oriel a few weeks before his lamented death. He was a stricken man even then, as every eye could see, but no one thought that the end was so near, so bravely did he bear himself among the social exactions of the Encaenia. His demeanor in these trying circumstances was of a piece with his life as revealed by the sketch written some time ago for the *Biographisches Jahrbuch* of the *Jahresbericht* by his friend COOK WILSON, and now reproduced in an English translation by the author (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press) with some slight modifications and a likeness of MONRO after the portrait by the distinguished painter Orchardson. The sketch, slight as it is, conveys a lesson that the showinesses and obtrusivenesses of our day and coming days may well take to heart. MONRO did not give himself freely. So much more precious were his words of approval—*μέγα τοι φίπρας πὰρ σέθεν*—and I cherish the memory of his gracious acts and his kind recognition. Such a man had to be divined and was worth divining and this memoir of COOK WILSON'S gives the answer to the guesses of those that were without his circle and puts the man and the scholar, with his quiet influence and his wonderful activity, in the right light. The versatility of his talent and the variety of his attainments, as set forth in this brief summary, are astonishing and yet I doubt whether all has been told. Left alone for half an hour in his library, not his study, I was struck by the wide range of interest manifested in the selection of the books, not surprising perhaps in a frivolous mortal of the *feuilletoniste* order but delightful in an austere scholar, whose studies lay in such regions as Homeric Grammar and Greek Music. Here the judge was off the bench, and one always thinks of Monro as a judge. His friend and fellow-worker, T. W. ALLEN, himself an eminent scholar, says of him: 'His judgement was unapproached. The motives of like and dislike

were far from him, and from his verdict there is seldom an appeal. Few can have had dealings with him, personal or literary, without feeling that *πρότερος γέγοναι καὶ πλείονα ἤδη.*

From a large mass of material Lady JEBB has selected for publication a number of her husband's *Essays and Addresses* (Cambridge University Press) and has thereby made not only classical scholars her debtors but also those who are interested in the cause of education and especially in the maintenance of Latin and Greek as indispensable elements of the highest culture. It is not the province of this Journal to deal with educational questions. For those who read these pages such questions are settled, and it need only be said here that the advocates of classical training cannot replenish their armory with weapons offensive and defensive of finer temper and greater brilliancy than those which are stored in the essays on *Humanism in Education* and the *Influence of the Greek Mind on Modern Life*. Among the papers that concern the professed Grecian directly may be mentioned the *Genius of Sophocles*, *Suidas on the Change ascribed to Sophocles in regard to Trilogies*, and above all *The Speeches of Thucydides*, a treatise of abiding value, as every student of the historian knows, and the famous essay on *Pindar*, which touches me so nearly that the indulgent reader of *Brief Mention*, although perhaps a little weary of my frequent recurrence to that lonely poet, will forgive me for falling into the reminiscential vein.

My Pindar is the only book I ever made as a labor of love: and though I recognized the fact that others knew Pindar better than I could ever hope to know him, and though my philological training bade me study all the great interpreters, still I dared to face what seemed to me the vital problems independently. Comparison came only after an honest effort to understand the mind of the poet for myself. It is not strange then that Jebb's essay, which appeared in 1882 at a time when I was gathering myself up for my work, disquieted me sorely. Here was a study by an accomplished Hellenist, in whose earliest performances I had recognized the hand of a master, a man of admirable poise, of wonderful insight, of flawless style, a scholar whose renderings made all others seem coarse or crude. If Pindar was to be glorified, he was the man to do it and not I, and if he had edited Pindar, I should have abandoned a work, of which I had been dreaming years before 'the famous freshman' left Charterhouse. So I put the essay aside with 'rueful admiration' (A. J. P. XXVII 481), lest reading it too closely I should copy it too closely and spoil it in the copying. Perhaps if I had learned of Jebb, it would have not been said of my Pindar that I was not in sympathy with the poet, that my book was not a Pindaric book (A. J. P. XXVI 115). But in the course of time that stricture has lost

whatever stringency it had, for, as I have set forth elsewhere, recent critics have been so cruel in their judgments of Pindar that nowadays to call a book a 'Pindaric book' would scarcely be a compliment. Indeed, it would be hard to say what is Pindaric to some people. I have read of late that Méry once quoted Pindar as saying, 'L'or est un rayon de soleil solidifié', and when one of his hearers questioned the accuracy of the master's quotation, his reply was: 'S'il ne l'a pas dit, il aurait dû le dire'. And not a few translations are constructed on that principle. But Jebb's translations have for a generation been the exemplar of all scholars born to the English tongue and if a doubt arises, one must marshal all one's mining apparatus to dislodge the fair structure, the *χρονόδας κίονας* he has reared. Now after all these years, I can study his essay and his renderings in the right spirit of detachment and wonder why I did not use more freely the means of illuminating my poet. And if commenting on translations were not as endless a task as commenting on conjectural emendations, I might take up many pages of *Brief Mention* in unfolding the peculiar felicities of Jebb's versions, felicities that are not all evident to those who are not special students of Pindar; but I can make room for only one little specimen of the thoughts that arise in me as I turn over the pages of the essay on Pindar.

In my commentary on the Fourth Olympian I made v. 18 the keynote of the poem, and translated *διάνειρά τοι θροῶν ἔλεγχος*, 'The final trial is the test of mortals'. The poem, it will be remembered, records the late success of a man who had reached middle age before he made his mark as a contestant for Olympic honors. At least such is the natural inference from the poetic parallel with the Argonaut Erginos and, while I refused to make the parallel between Psaumis and Erginos too close, I was all the time half-consciously making another parallel between another middle-aged man and the victor. The circumstances of my life, notably the upsetting of all my plans of authorship by the Civil War, and its dire sequel Reconstruction had kept me in the background until I had passed the age when some of my contemporaries had won wide recognition and authoritative rank. And so I seem now to detect a personal note in my analysis of the Fourth Olympian.

The final test is the true test. Success may be slow in coming, but when it comes, it reveals the man. The thunder chariot of Zeus is an unwearied chariot. What, though the Horai revolve and revolve ere they bring the witness of the lofty contest? Good fortune dawns and then comes gratulation forthwith.

'The light comes late' I wrote: but there are those who maintain and perhaps rightly that *χρονιότατον* means 'lasting', not 'late', and that the *δια-* in *διάνειρα* refers not to the final perseverance of the saints in which I was brought up to believe, but to the good old heathen doctrine of the value of rivalry, rivalry which I have

always detested, being at least in this particular in thorough sympathy with St. James. According to this view *δια-* here is not the *δια-* of 'decision', but the *certatim δια-*; the *δια-* we have in *διάδω*, *διαβίω* and the whole list which Dr. Holden has been at the pains of collecting in his note on Xen. Cyrop. I 4, 4. Still it is hard for me even now to surrender my interpretation; but I grant that under the circumstances my testimony is suspect and Jebb is in all likelihood a better guide than the ill-balanced student who allowed his petty fortunes to sway his interpretation. 'Jebb was ever a fighter', we are told, and took delight in the contest for supremacy. Indeed nothing comes out more plainly from his *Life and Letters* which the world of scholars owes to the devotion of Lady JEBB (Cambridge University Press). No wonder that he rendered the line in true Pindaric spirit (*Essays and Addresses*, p. 58): 'Trial against their fellows is the test of men', for he had stood every such test triumphantly and might have said with Pindar: πολλοῖσι δ' ἀγῆμαι σοφίας ἑτέροις. Prizeman of Charterhouse, Porson Scholar, Craven Scholar, Senior Classic, Fellow of Trinity, Professor of Greek at Glasgow, Regius Professor (to be) at Cambridge — everything he tried for he gained. 'Cambridge had been his home for seventeen years. He loved every stone in Trinity; the Senate House spoke to him, as he passed, of contests waged and victories won'. He knew the mind of Pindar, he knew the true meaning of *διὰ πείρα τοι βροτῶν λέγῃος*.

Further practical illustration of the importance of the personal equation, drawn from the dissidence between Jebb's view and mine touching Pindar's Panhellenism, might be considered presumptuous (Introd. Ess. xi), but there will be no dispute as to the importance and fascination of the study. The difference due to nationality is more obvious (A. J. P. XXVII 357) and in his essay on Samuel Johnson, Jebb himself calls attention to the fact that 'an eminent French writer, who has shown a power unusual in his countrymen, of comprehending England — Monsieur Taine — is obliged to confess that he cannot understand the English love of Johnson'; but the comparison of Jebb's *Primer of Greek Literature*, which one can readily believe with Lady JEBB 'cost him more trouble than all his other books put together', and Wilamowitz's sketch in the 'Kultur der Gegenwart' would yield interesting results to the psychologist as well as to the student of national character. And it is this personal element that Lady JEBB's memoir enables us to take more fully into account and so to understand better the great interpreter of Sophokles, who, like his poet, does not yield the secret of his art at once. It is Lady JEBB's memoir that has supplied in a measure the peculiar glint of the eye that revealed the thought of the living man, what Dr. VERRALL calls 'the side glance of the eyes, demure and humorous'; and the insight thus gained is worth many pages of the kind of exegesis to which Jebb himself has been

exposed since death has made him a classic. But technical scholarship has its rights and Lady JEBB has left the characterization of her husband as scholar and critic to a scholar of high rank, to a critic of great acumen. How well fitted for his arduous task Dr. VERRALL is, may be gathered from the enthusiasm he rouses in his pupils. In the poems of that 'crabbed coxcomb' Persius there are no lines that appeal to an old teacher like those that set forth the obligations of the youthful Stoic to Cornutus; and I find in the Preface to Mr. CORNFORD'S *Thucydides Mythis-toricus*, which disturbed the peace of my long holiday (A. J. P. XXVIII 356), a tribute to Dr. VERRALL, which I have great pleasure in reproducing here. 'From his books and lectures many of my generation first learned that the Greeks were not blind children, with a singular turn for the commonplace, crying for the light of Christian revelation; and I am conscious, moreover, that in this present attempt to understand not the syntax, but the mind, of Thucydides, I am following, part of the way, a path which first opened before me when in the breathless silence of his lecture-room, I began to understand how literary art could be the passion of a life.' Surely, there could be no better exponent of Jebb than one, whose life is dominated by the passion of literary art. And yet with all his resources of expression Dr. VERRALL pronounces 'the task not merely difficult but truly impossible'. But for all that, he complies with the request 'without hesitation, in the confidence that every reader, in proportion to his own capacity, will be quick to perceive the difficulty and to make the necessary allowance'. 'In proportion to his own capacity' is a characteristic stroke and brings up to every mind Dr. VERRALL'S attitude towards all who approach his own contributions to classical study, which have won so much admiration for their brilliancy from the scholars of our day and carried with them so little abiding conviction.

According to Dr. VERRALL 'sensibility, subtlety, delicacy, economy, reserve were the essential qualities of Jebb's mind and the foundation of his skill in expression', and these essential qualities, which every one will accept, the scholar and the critic, writing of the scholar and the critic, proceeds to illustrate by a study of Jebb's Philoctetes and Trachiniae, with some comments on the Bacchylides. The *Essay on Pindar* and that on *The Speeches of Thucydides* he puts next, as well he may, to the two great editions. I have not space to give specimens of VERRALL'S analysis. Suffice it to say that VERRALL'S study of Jebb itself deserves close study, for there are few better fitted to understand the master; and it has a further interest, of which the author never thought, in that it reveals the difference between the subtlety that insinuates and seduces and the supersubtlety that irritates and repels. But Dr. VERRALL himself would be the first to say that what is subtlety, what supersubtlety, must be judged by

the capacity of the reader; for he is not the one to quote: *Habent sua fata libelli*, without the prefix: *Pro captu lectoris*, lacking which we might as well accept for the famous saying the German schoolboy's translation: *Es haben ein Schweineglück die Wasserjungen*.

Highly characteristic is Dr. VERRALL's ready acceptance of one of the few dangerous doctrines to be found in Jebb, the right to fall back on the original signification of the word. 'Most Indo-European nouns', says Jebb (*Essay on Pindar*, p. 84), expressed some one obvious and characteristic quality of the object which they denoted, e. g. *ναῦς* is "the swimmer", *δρῦς* "the thing which is cleft", etc. Similarly, *ἀκόνη* is the *sharpener*, *κρατήρ* is the *mixer*. A Greek who called a thought an *ἀκόνη* was thus using a less startling image than we should use in calling it a *whetstone*; to call the teacher of a chorus a *κρατήρ* was not the same thing as it would be for us to call him a *bowl*. And such phrases are less audacious in proportion as they are old — i. e. near to the time when the language was still freshly conscious of the primary sense in such words as *ἀκόνη*. It was with distinct reference to this principle that I wrote (*Introd. Ess. xli*):

Even the most familiar words are roused to new life by the revival of the pristine meaning. It is a canon of Pindaric interpretation that the sharp, local sense of the preposition is everywhere to be preferred, and every substantive may be made to carry its full measure of concreteness. This is distinctly not survival but revival. We are not to suppose that *κρατήρ* (O. 6, 91) was felt by the Greek of Pindar's time as a male agent or *άνθρωπος* (O. 6, 82) as a shrill-voiced woman. Whatever personification lay in the word was dead to the Greek of the time and the *γλυκὺς κρατήρ* became a living creature.

After giving his adhesion to the general principle Dr. VERRALL goes on to say: 'Whether this be a sufficient defence for Pindar or no—Jebb does not say so—the principle ought, indeed, as he says to be clearly perceived, and easily may escape notice'. But if Jebb does not apply it to Pindar, what is the relevancy of the examples? Now poetic art was not at its beginnings in Pindar nor for that matter in Homer, and the audacity of the imagery must be charged to the genius of the poet. Within limits the reversion to the primitive meaning is familiar enough in all languages. 'Re-creation' goes back to the original of 'recreation', and Shakespeare's well-worn quibble on 'understand' is an exemplification of the same principle. In Greek, compounds are apt to lose their literal sense, but *συμφέρει*, 'it profits', may be conceived as 'helps to bear', and on O. 9, 87 I have pleaded for *πρόσφορος* = *προσφοράν προσφέρων*, and there are other -φορος compounds for which a similar plea might be set up. But the liberty must be guarded and the reserved right exercised as cautiously as the reserved rights of the States in our Union, and if the employment of this resource is to be guarded in exegesis, it is still more carefully to be guarded in conjectural criticism. In one of Dr. VERRALL's earliest papers

he conjured up an unprovable *τοπῶν* in order to get rid of an undesirable *τὸ πᾶν* (O. 2, 93), and having convinced himself of his success in this case he has not hesitated in time of stress to indulge in what I have called 'plastic emendation'. No wonder then that Dr. VERRALL calls special attention 'to the penetrating and characteristic remark'. It is quite in line with his own practice. Most scholars are delighted when they can summon a glossematic word from Hesychios to their help. Dr. VERRALL is his own Hesychios. Indeed, he distinctly claims the right to construct *παρὰ εἰρημῖνα* and does not balk for a moment at such analogical formations as *ἀντῆς*, 'shrieker', Sept. 132, and *μυθοῦσθαι*, Ag. 1367, *οἴτης*, 'shepherd' Ag. 720, *χέρωμα*, Sept. 1013, *συλαίους*, Med. 910, *ἀνωμάτου* 1184. For *τάσθ' ἐννήν*, 'spin', Cho. 278, he condescends to plead. *ἀνῆλθον*, Cho. 535, he derives from *ἀνάλθω*, and nothing gives him more delight than to elicit new meanings from old groups of letters. So *ἐπ' ἄνδρας*, Sept. 268, becomes *ἐπανδράς*. Doubtless Dr. VERRALL knew as well as any other scholar that *διδράσκω* is a coarse word and occurs only twice in tragedy, once So. Ai. 167: *τὸ σὸν δμῦ' ἀπείδραν*, not an inappropriate expression for the hero's hardy mariners, once in Eur. Herakleid. 14, where it suits the pitiful case of Iolaos. But he cannot set up in defence his note on Sept. 794 where he says that *σποδεῖν* is a strong word of the vulgar vocabulary and accounts for *κατεσποδημένοι* there, 'because all the tragic passages < where *σποδεῖν* occurs > are put, like the present, in the mouth of a common person telling an exciting story'. Eteokles is not a common person and is not capable of 'scuttling', and the assumption of the decompound verb makes the reading still more audacious. In the same line is Dr. VERRALL's derivation of *ἀνακτος* Ag. 1210 from *ἀνάγω*, and perhaps it is this feat that prompted Mr. Bury (Preface to Isthmians) to derive *ἀναξιδόρμυγες* in the Pindaric *ἀναξιδόρμυγες ὕμνοι* from *ἀνάγω*, 'hymns that awaken the lyre', a fancy effectually disposed of by the *ἀναξι-* compounds in Bakchylides as *ἀναξιάλος* 20, 28, *ἀναξιβρόντας* 17, 12 and *ἀναξιμόλπος* 6, 10. On the last cited passage Kenyon hesitates because 'Urania that awakens the song makes good sense', but what are we to do with *ὑμνοάνασσα* 12, 1? Jebb translates as from *ἀναξ* and takes no notice of Bury's suggestions. But why insist on what everybody will admit in theory that there are no worse enemies to criticism and exegesis than Puckish fancies and quaint translations? These be the frisky lizards that do so much harm to the denizens of the antique hive. Absint et picti squalentia terga lacerti. But as I write I recall my own sins. I recall my note on O. 2, 6 where I suggest *δπῖς* = *ὁ δπιζόμενος* which is quite in Dr. VERRALL's vein. I recall my *tunicatim*¹ for *tunicatum* (Pers. 4, 30) and the various characteristics Dr. FENNELL has seen fit to bestow on my exegesis of Pindar (A. J. P. XIV 501).

¹ ἄλλ' ὁμῶς. *Tunicatim* seems to be justified by Eupolis, fr. 255 (Kock): *ἐπιφαγεῖν μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ κρόμμνον λέποντα*.

One more note and I must leave this too fascinating subject. Of Jebb's sensitiveness every critic has much to say, but nothing could illuminate it with a stronger light than a casual footnote of VERRALL'S. 'He could not speak of Euripides, without pain in his voice, and seldom, without necessity, spoke of him at all. He had no strong desire, I think, to comprehend such a person'. Here lies the secret of Jebb's silence about those who had worked on the same lines and haply preceded him. I have touched on this before (A. J. P. XXVII 479). If it had been properly understood in his lifetime, it would have saved much bitter controversy about originality. Like the Greeks whom he knew so well and of whom it was said: *ὅτι περ ἂν Ἕλληνες βαρβάρων παραλάβωσι, κάλλιον τοῦτο εἰς τέλος ἀπεργάζονται*, Epinomis 987 E (Essays and Studies, p. 174), he transmuted everything he received from others and so made it his own. Materiam superabat opus and he might well spare himself 'the pain' of mentioning inferior scholars.

In his *Notes on Xenophon and Others* (London, S. Grant Richards) Mr. HERBERT RICHARDS has brought together his critical contributions to the *Classical Review* with certain additions, omissions and alterations so that the volume may be regarded as a better statement of his views on the passages discussed. Mr. RICHARDS'S *Notes* are not to be confounded with the genial guesswork in which so many of his countrymen indulge. They are based on a close and systematic study of the author with whom they are mainly concerned, and he does not disdain the patient assemblage of facts, lexical and syntactical, so that the Hellenist will find a number of observations to challenge his attention. Strong in grammar, Mr. RICHARDS does not hesitate to correct the slips of such a master as Jebb and to criticize his rendering of Ai. 186: *ἤκοι γὰρ ἂν θεία νόσος*, where *ἤκοι* is equivalent to a perfect optative. Grammar is the Athena of the classical scholar's Pantheon, and when the temptation comes to escape from a controversy on the swift chariot of rhetoric, if syntax, artful maid, is at his back, he may say with Diomed: *ὀκνέω δ' ἵππων ἐπιβαινέμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὼς | ἀντίον εἰμ' αὐτῶν· τρεῖν μ' οὐκ ἔῳ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη*. Of course, a discussion of even a select few of Mr. RICHARDS'S emendations would be impossible in the space I reserve for myself in the Journal. True, Mr. RICHARDS invites corrections of the 'many statements about small matters of fact', but such corrections unless accompanied by a generous recognition of contributions of real merit might produce a false impression and my sins in that line are ever before me (A. J. P. XXVII 229). The syntactician will be interested in Mr. RICHARDS'S valuable discussion of the use of *ἄν* with the fut. inf. in Attic Greek, to which in its original form I have referred in my Greek Syntax (S. C. G. §432), and the special student of Xenophon will weigh his conclusions as to the

genuineness of the disputed works. 'Xenophon's characteristic individual style', he says, 'is found in every one of the disputed writings, the *Respublica Atheniensium* excepted, and in every part of them all'. As to the *Cynegeticus*, which has attracted especial attention in American circles, he does not seem to be acquainted with Professor SANDERS' dissertation (Baltimore, 1903), in which it is maintained that 'a theory by which Xenophon as a young man compiled the *Cynegeticus* from other sources will satisfy the discrepancies between the upholders of the work as Xenophon's and those who consider it spurious', and he takes no notice of Cesareo's assault on the Symposium to which so many pages of the Journal were surrendered in a time of need (A. J. P. XXIII 446-457). 'It is a pity', he says, 'that the dialogue is not more generally known', and he adds 'a new commentary would be worth writing'. 'Generally known' means, of course, 'in England' for he says in his Preface: 'Xenophon is so little studied among us, except as easy Greek reading for beginners and to some extent for historical purposes, and the *Opera Minora* in particular are so unfamiliar that I fear few people will be interested in these discussions'. Whatever stretches of Greek literature the great English scholars have not parked possess scant attractions for their best men and those who have been brought up under other influences find it hard to suppress surprise at the aristocratic limits within which so many of them revolve. Of the *Praelections* delivered before the Society of the University of Cambridge last January, three of the five lectures had to do with Aischylos, one with Plato and the fifth while it began with Pindar led up to Plato. It is doubtless a fine thing to consort chiefly with these elect spirits, but this is not an age of exclusiveness. In spite of Jebb's example it is well for the student of the antique to understand such a person as Euripides, and while I share Niebuhr's prejudice against Xenophon, the man, I should no more shun the study of Xenophon, the author, than I should shun the study of American-English with which, according to Mr. Dakyns's unsupported statement, Xenophon's Greek has so much in common. It is rather interesting to note that Mr. MARCHANT, the editor of Xenophon in the Oxford *Bibliotheca*, should have been the man to open the door of English cubicles to the breeziness of Wilamowitz's Lesebuch.

The confirmation of a conjecture by the discovery of a new MS gives a thrill of joy to minds of a certain order. There are those who write letters to the Times about it. Old proofreaders are less ecstatic (A. J. P. XXIII 348). But those who have established an historical point by elaborate argumentation and find their results confirmed by new documents taste the *amari aliquid* that comes from the thought of labor wasted. The implied compliment to the investigator is much greater than the assurance of a happy 'restoration', but most conjectural critics are conscious after all

that they have been guessing and the reward comes like a prize in the lottery. So I venture to say that the late Dr. ADAM was much more pleased by a reading of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, which corroborated his correction, and mine of a much earlier date (A. J. P. XII 99), than Professor WRIGHT was at the confirmation of his admirable paper on the *Date of Cylon*, which reversed the teaching of all the histories up to that time; and I doubt whether the young scholar, Dr. GRIFFIN, who argued so stoutly in his *Dares and Dictys* (Baltimore) for the Greek original of Dictys Cretensis, read with unmixed joy the Greek fragment of Dictys, that came to light in the second volume of the *Tebtunis Papyri* just after the printing of his dissertation, the fruit of long and patient research. None of these things move the old stager, anticipation, nullification, nugification, and what the Germans call 'todtschweigen' and I, depersonalization. The main thing is that the new generation be not discouraged.

By reason of its bulk, its scope, its imposing array of proof-texts, its critical discussions, to say nothing of the high reputation of the veteran author, who long ago sharpened his syntactical tusks on that whetstone of grammarians, Thukydides, STAHL's *kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit* (Heidelberg, Carl Winter), will at once challenge scrutiny at the hands of all specialists, and will doubtless be accepted by all Greek scholars as an indispensable work of reference. The book is not cumbered with citations of previous researches: and as grammarians are an irritable tribe, it is to be feared that STAHL's blanket acknowledgment of indebtedness to his predecessors—*Wir alle sind Schuldner unserer Vorgänger*—will not serve as an emollient plaster to the sensitive surface of some of those who have toiled for weary hours among the aridities of statistics and haply won here and there from the chaos of details the cosmos of ordered truth. The philosophical soul, however, will rejoice to see STAHL's day and calmly watch 'the dew drop slip into the shining sea', if a syntactical monograph can be called a 'dew drop' or a Greek syntax 'a shining sea'. In most cases 'morass' were a better word. This is but a preliminary notice to be followed in due time by a detailed review of the book with especial reference to the progress of doctrine in the last thirty years.

A. W. VAN B.: Add to the collection of passages in Professor Rolfe's article, *Seasickness in Antiquity*, A. J. P. XXVI (1904), 192 ff.; *Sen. Dial.* I 4, 12: *praebendi fortunae sumus, ut contra illam ab ipsa duremur: paulatim nos sibi pares faciet, contemptum periculorum adsiduitas periclitandi dabit. Sic sunt nauticis corpora ferendo mari dura, agricolis manus tritae, ad excutienda tela militares lacerti ualent, agilia sunt membra cursoribus: id in quoque solidissimum est quod exercuit.*

E. W. F.: Touching Professor Warren's derivation of Skr. *ukṣān* 'taurus' from the root *vah*- 'ducere, trahere', A. J. P. XXVIII 255, it were well to note *anaḍ-vāh*, with a weak stem *anaḍ-ūh*-, 'onus-vehens' > 'taurus'; cf. also the feminine *anaḍukhī*. Other words of semantic interest in this connection are *vāhas* 'shoulder of an ox; a part of the yoke', *vahalās* and *vahin*- 'working in a yoke, yoked', *vahnīs* 'draught animal; team', *vāhās* and *vāhanam* 'horse, steer, animal'. There is no essential difference in semantic development between *ukṣān*- ['wagon-] puller' and (F)δχορ 'wagon.' As to the suffixation of *uxmentum*, Professor Warren does well perhaps to waste no words, further than to note, with an allusion to suffix adaptation, the synonyms *armentum* and *umentum*. Possibly, however, *vahnīs* allows us to predicate a parallel *m*-formation, say *uḡh(s)Mā*, cf. the pair represented by Lat. *palma*, παλάμη, O. Ir. *lám*, in contrast with Skr. *pānīs*. That *uxor* also belongs to the root *weḡh*- seems to me most probable, though I can but think it contains *soror*, i. e. [so]sor, in composition, rather than that its flexional type only is due to *soror*. It seems a mere accident that Skr. *vāhas* did not fully develop the sense of 'yoke', which we possibly have in *uxor* if from *uḡh(s)*-[swē]sor 'yoke-sister', i. e. yokefellow, wife (cf. coniux).

Touching *velōd* (p. 269), I have been able to collect hardly any evidence, and all that debatable, for imperative or subjunctive forms in *-ōd*. But an injunctive **teget*, which might appear in Latin as *tege(d)* (cf. *feced* for *fecit* and *dede* for *dedit*) might, on the assumption that *-ōd* (from *-lōd*, by a false division) became 'productive', have yielded **tegōd*. This is just what happened in the Greek middle ending *-σθω*, and in Sanskrit the normal impv.-injunct. ending *-dhvam* appears in liturgical texts as *-dhvāt*, along with a string of *-tāt* forms (Whitney, Gram². § 571). The productivity of *-ōd* in Latin might be inferred from *sunt* : *sunt-od* : in a formal analogy, *vel* (2^d sg. impv.) : *velōd* :: **aget* (injunc. 3^d sg.) : *agetod* :: *sunt* : *suntod* :: *precamini* (2^d plur.) : *precamino(d)* (2^d and 3^d sg.). On the problem of the shift of person in *velod* from 2^d to 3^d, as well as its mood shift, it will be instructive to note Whitney, l. c. For the solution of the general problem of the intrusion of the impv. into dependent clauses see Gildersleeve's *Syntax of Classical Greek*, § 422.

I trust I may be pardoned for referring here to my explanation of the *-σθ*-forms of the Greek verb in *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 29, 12. This explanation, which is, in my opinion, phonetically and pragmatically sound, has never, to the best of my knowledge, come to the notice of any of the Greek form grammarians.

NECROLOGY.

MINTON WARREN.

January 29, 1850-November 26, 1907.

MINTON WARREN, Professor of Latin in Harvard University, died suddenly on the 26th of November, while still in the fulness of active and vigorous life. His death brings sorrow to all who knew him, to few, a deeper sorrow than to the writer of this tribute to one who was his teacher, his colleague and companion, his dear and valued friend.

A Bachelor of Arts of Tufts in 1870, a Doctor of Philosophy of Strassburg in 1879, he received the degree of LL. D. from Tufts in 1899, from Columbia in 1900, and from Wisconsin in 1902. Soon after leaving Strassburg he came to the Johns Hopkins, where he founded the Graduate School of Latin. In 1896-7 he served as Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. In 1899 he was called from Baltimore to Cambridge.

For many of the younger generation and for all who appreciated his gifts as a teacher and investigator, the loss to scholarship requires no formal analysis. His last important work, *The Stele Inscription in the Roman Forum*, concluded in this number of the JOURNAL, exhibits the most striking qualities of his genius, the scope and detail of his encyclopaedic learning, his familiarity with the most remote provinces of his subject, the thoroughness and accuracy that stamped whatever he did and that gave it a permanent value.

But WARREN, the investigator, was even surpassed by WARREN, the leader in advanced work. The results of many a painstaking research went into his ordinary lectures from day to day and were given to his students without comment, while in the Latin Seminary his rare command of method and of training in its practical aspects made him peculiarly efficient. Devoted to his men and tireless in their service, he was at the same time, a stern task-master of others as of himself, and a just though kindly critic.

For a scholar, accuracy, thoroughness, and honesty are imperative. Few have been more striking exemplars of this unrelenting rule in their own lives, few more successful in impressing its value upon others than MINTON WARREN.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

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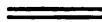
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